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The Byzantine Turks

1204-1461

Rustam Shukurov



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BRILL

The Byzantine Turks, 1204–1461

The Medieval Mediterranean

PEOPLES, ECONOMIES AND CULTURES, 400–1500

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The Byzantine Turks

1204–1461

By

Rustam Shukurov



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Cover illustration: A fragment of a fourteenth-century Byzantine miniature representing a complex mix, Greek and Turkic, in contemporary Byzantine everyday life: the first from the left in the back row is (allegedly) Meletios the Achaemenid – a baptized “Persian” from Anatolia; two persons (presumably Greeks) wear the “Scythian” headdress of *sarāghūch*, while two others wear Byzantine hats; the entire group is placed in an urban (presumably Constantinopolitan) environment as they appeal to Christ, thus symbolizing the common denominator of Byzantine civil and Christian religious affiliation amongst the ethnocultural diversity. (State Historical Museum, GIM 80272, Synodal Gr. 429, fol. 28v; photo courtesy of the State Historical Museum in Moscow).

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In memoriam
Muḥammad Shakūrī Bukhārāī
1925–2012



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Introduction

Throughout most of its history, Byzantium was in a state of permanent struggle with its eastern neighbors for political and cultural supremacy, for the control of the flow of money and goods in the eastern Mediterranean; on occasion this struggle turned into large-scale armed conflict, comparable to the “world wars” of recent history. For many centuries the most dangerous and skilled enemy, in the Byzantine mentality, was located in the East. The empire generally managed to maintain the status quo with Sasanian Iran. The subsequent era of Muslim conquests, however, significantly reduced Byzantium’s territory and greatly weakened its political and economic potential. Byzantium took more than three centuries to recover from the onslaught of the Muslims and to partially restore her position. In the eleventh century, Byzantium suffered another blow from the Turkic peoples who flooded into the Balkans and Anatolia. By the end of the eleventh century, the empire appeared on the verge of annihilation, but in the twelfth century, as in former times, it found the strength to stabilize the situation and restore its prestige. In the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, however, confrontation with the Turkic peoples entered a new phase. By the second half of the fourteenth century, the Byzantines had essentially lost the struggle. This present study is devoted to the final period in the history of the Byzantine empire, a period that ended with its defeat at the hands of the Turkish invaders.

The destruction of the Byzantine world by the Turks is one of the Middle Ages’ most essential phenomena. Why Byzantium was unable to withstand the Turkic invasion and what were the real causes of Byzantium’s historical defeat in the contest with the Turkish Muslim world are fundamental unresolved questions. This book attempts to formulate new ways to answer those questions. To address the major problem, it is necessary to understand how the encounter with the alien Turkic culture affected Byzantine civilization and what the specific features of the Turkic invasion were that made the Turks victorious. These questions cannot be answered by traditional approaches alone.

With the inception of Byzantine studies as a discipline in the seventeenth century, relations with the Turks occupied a central place in the writings of the historians of Byzantium. No generalizing approach to Byzantine history could avoid this topic. In the earlier stages of Byzantine studies, the political and military role of the Turks took a more significant place compared to later historiography. It was only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that scholars began to open other horizons of Byzantine history, to formulate new questions concerning the internal social, cultural, and economic life of the empire. The

main feature of the early historiography was empirical, in which the history of wars, great characters, and diplomatic intrigues dominated. Byzantine-Turkish relations were considered exclusively in political and personal dimensions as an example of religious and cultural confrontation between European Christian and Muslim civilizations. These basic approaches were inherited mostly from medieval (Western and Byzantine) historiography, anti-Islamic polemics, and epics.¹ A typical version of the Byzantine-Turkic conflict was formulated in the canonical work of Edward Gibbon, whose fundamental study crowned the earlier historiosophic tradition.² The writer considered the Turkish conquest possible because of the widespread intrigue, cowardice, and discord among the Byzantine elite. On the other hand, the Turks were described by the author as “ennobled by martial discipline, religious enthusiasm, and the energy of the national character.”³ The description of the historic defeat of Byzantium in Gibbon’s narration seems rather simplistic: on the one hand, it was the military power and the desire for conquest on the part of the Ottomans; on the other, it was a lack of will on the part of traitors that led the Byzantine civilization to disaster.

Subsequent generations of historians stayed conceptually close to Gibbon’s scheme in their explanations of the historical defeat of Byzantium, taking into account two classes of heterogeneous (although deeply related) factors: the so-called internal ones caused by a change in Byzantine social and economic institutions, and external ones brought about by the Turkic-Muslim East, Europe in the West, and the Turkic-Slavic North. Researchers have been all but unanimous in maintaining that the decisive role in the fate of the Byzantine empire was not so much the internal crisis (economic and social), but rather the external impact of the Turks who had suddenly conquered Anatolia, most of the Balkans, and finally Constantinople. The Turkic element is regarded as something alien and opposite to the Byzantine world, and therefore

-
- 1 For more details on the earliest stages of Byzantine studies, see: Pertusi, Agostino. *Bisanzio e i Turchi nella cultura del Rinascimento e del Barocco* (Milan, 2004); Bisaha, Nancy. *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, 2004); *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller and Wilhelm Kühlmann (Tübingen, 2000), esp. the studies of Johannes Helmrath, Wolfgang Neuber, András Szabó, Wolfgang Friedrichs, and Margaret Meserve.
 - 2 Gibbon, Edward. *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 3 vols (London, 1776–89); for the refined and amended version of the book, see: Idem. *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. John B. Bury, 7 vols (London, 1909–14).
 - 3 Gibbon, *History* (1909), vol. 7, ch. LXIV, p. 1.

doubly devastating.⁴ This seemingly self-evident interpretation of the Byzantine defeat has for a long time prevented any serious study of specific mechanisms of accommodation of the Byzantine *oikoumene* to the Turks. At the same time, it must be noted, the description of such mechanisms cannot be limited to the development of purely Turkological topics as a reconstruction of the “methods of Turkish conquest.”⁵

The first important steps toward elucidating the mechanisms of the corrosion of the Byzantine civilization under the influence of Turkic menace were made not so much in summarizing general histories of the empire, but in specialized works focusing on the collection of sources. Probably the earliest and most insightful attempt of this kind was made by Albert Wächter, a student of Heinrich Gelzer.⁶ Basing his writing mainly on the acts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and *Notitiae episcopatum*, Wächter demonstrated the rapidly growing crisis in Anatolian Christianity in the fourteenth century. His study was remarkable for the mismatch between an empirical research manner and his distinctly conceptual approach to the subject. Wächter avoided any analytical reasoning, while the consideration of changes within the organizational structures of the Church in an ethnocultural (not confined to historical and ecclesiastical) perspective was profitable. Wächter outlined a basic indicator of the extinction of a Byzantine legacy in Muslim Anatolia, namely the unfolding of de-Christianization and de-Hellenization of Anatolian ethnocultural space.

The next significant step in understanding the problem was taken many decades later by Speros Vryonis, whose conception organically developed Wächter's approach. Vryonis' work uncovered the significant factor of nomadization of populous and economically important regions of former Byzantine Anatolia, which entailed a massive and transient displacement of autochthonous farmers from their lands. The Turkification of Byzantine Anatolia has been considered by Vryonis to be the result of the Turkic conquests, which initiated two parallel processes: the depopulation of the conquered areas and the

4 See, for instance, some most authoritative general histories of the time: Finlay, George. *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, 4 (Oxford, 1877); Uspenskij, Fjodor I. *История Византийской империи (XI–XV вв.)*, 3 (Moscow, 1997); Vasiliev, Alexander. *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324–1453*, 2 (Madison, WI, 1952); Ostrogorsky, George. *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1963), ch. VIII.

5 Inalcik, Halil. “Ottoman Methods of Conquest,” in: Idem. *The Ottoman Empire. Organization and Economy. Variorum* (London, 1978), no. 1. Cf.: Matanov, Hristo. “A Method of Conquest or a Stage of Social Development?” *Études balkaniques* 3 (1989), pp. 72–77.

6 Wächter, Albert. *Der Verfall des Griechentums in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1903).

Islamization of Greeks who remained under Turkish rule. Growing territorial losses caused not only the economic decline of Byzantium, but also – which may be more important – the depletion of human resources. In Vryonis' interpretation, the problem of Byzantine-Turkic interaction aligns with the future perspective of the political, ethnic, and religious rivalry between the Christian Greek and Turkic-Muslim worlds. Vryonis considered the Turks to be a power external to the Byzantine world, having devastating impact on Hellenism and acting exclusively through, or as a result of, overt violence.⁷

The most influential schools of Turkic and Ottoman studies followed a similar direction, postulating an implacable Otherness of the Greek and Turkic substrates. Thus, in 1936–38, Paul Wittek put forward the conception of “Ghāzī,” which quickly gained general acceptance. According to Wittek's conception, the dominant political ethos among Anatolian Turks, including the Ottomans, from the late thirteenth century, was formed by the idea of *ghazawat*, that is, the “holy war” against Christianity; the Turkic rulers referred to themselves and their soldiers as the Ghāzī, “fighters for the Faith.”⁸

However, the concept of confrontation between Greek and Turkic substrates, despite its influence and seeming self-evidence in the research of the time, was not the only approach. The revision of concepts of confrontation developed in two directions. First, the “Ghāzī theory” has been criticized strongly in

7 Vryonis, Speros. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971); Idem. “The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization: The Book and its Reviewers Ten Years Later,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 22 (1982), pp. 225–85; Idem. “The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the 11th through the 15th Century’: The Book in the Light of Subsequent Scholarship, 1971–98,” in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. Antony Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 133–45; Idem. “Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), pp. 43–71; Idem. “Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower,” in *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans: Reprinted Studies* [Βυζαντινά και Μεταβυζαντινά, 2] (Malibu, 1981), no. 3, pp. 125–40. Some general studies of the last decades of the 20th century that implement Vryonis' ideas include: Savvides, Alexios. *Byzantium in the Near East* (Thessalonike, 1981); Werner, Ernst. *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht – Die Osmanen. Ein Beitrag zur Genesis des türkischen Feudalismus* (Vienna, 1985); Nicol, Donald M. *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge, 1993); Angold, Michael. *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: a Political History* (London and New York, 1997). For the Byzantine Pontic regions Vryonis' approach has been developed in: Bryer, Anthony A.M. “Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic Exception,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), pp. 113–49.

8 Wittek, Paul. *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938); Idem. “The Taking of Aydos Castle: A Ghazi Legend Transformed,” in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of A.R. Gibb*, ed. George Makdisi (London, 1965), pp. 662–72.

recent decades. For example, Rudi Lindner has shown that the Ghāzī theory is based on a single 1337 inscription from Bursa, not enough to construct a universal concept. No specific “Ghazi ideology” existed in Anatolia in the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries, where the Turkic principalities and chiefdoms fought against both Christians and neighboring Muslims. The Ottoman emirate began to turn into a state through sedentarization of nomads and the adoption of Byzantine and Iranian techniques in administrative, social, and economic management. Consequently, it is impossible to talk about any particular ideology of “holy war” developed by the Turks, which would have been a major factor in their destruction of the Byzantine civilization.⁹

Second, another trend in scholarship was associated with the anthropological research on popular beliefs and daily life in Anatolia and the Balkans. A completely different approach to Greek-Turkish relations, suggested by Frederick William Hasluck, explored beliefs, superstitions, customs, and magical rites circulating mostly in the lower social strata of the Anatolian and Balkan population under the rule of the Turks. He demonstrated an entirely different mode of Greek-Turkic and Christian-Muslim interaction and interpenetration, which often resulted in some syncretic unity of the elements of both religions and cultures in the minds of the Greeks and Turks.¹⁰ This trend in research

9 Lindner, Rudi P. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, IN, 1983), pp. 1–43. Lindner’s approach has been developed in many studies: Imber, Colin. “Paul Wittek’s De la défaite d’Ankara à la prise de Constantinople,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 5 (1986), pp. 65–81; Jennings, Ronald C. “Some Thoughts on the Gazi-Thesis,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76 (1986), pp. 151–61; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène. “Analyse de la titulature d’Orhan sur deux inscriptions de Brousse,” *Turcica* 34 (2002), pp. 223–40; Heywood, Colin. “The 1337 Bursa Inscription and its Interpreters,” *Turcica* 36 (2004), pp. 215–32; Lowry, Heath. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany, 2003). See also a series of studies by Keith Hopwood on the Byzantine-Turkic borderland: Hopwood, Keith R. “Peoples, Territories, and States: The Formation of the Begliks of Pre-Ottoman Turkey,” in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirkville, 1993), pp. 129–38; Idem. “Nomads or Bandits? The Pastoralist/Sedentarist Interface in Anatolia,” in *Manzikert to Lepanto. The Byzantine World and the Turks 1071–1571*, ed. Anthony A.M. Bryer and Michael Ursinus (Amsterdam, 1991), pp. 179–94; Idem. “The Byzantine-Turkish Frontier c. 1250–1300,” in *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica: Akten des 13. CIEPO-Symposiums*, ed. Markus Köhbach, Gisela Procházka-Eisl, and Claudia Römer (Vienna, 1999), pp. 153–61; Idem. “Low-level Diplomacy between Byzantines and Ottoman Turks: The Case of Bithynia,” in *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 151–58; Idem. “Osman, Bithynia and the Sources,” *Archív Orientální. Supplementa* 8 (1998), pp. 155–64.

10 Hasluck, Frederick W. *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1929). For recent criticism of Hasluck’s conception and methodology, see: Krstić, Tijana.

was further developed only after World War II. The most prominent is Michel Balivet, who, like Hasluck, concentrates on the positive mutual transformations of the Byzantine and Turkic cultural substrates that led to their gradual rapprochement. Moreover, Balivet developed this approach specifically in the field of Byzantine studies, thus building a serious counterweight to the concept of confrontation. Based on his fresh reinterpretation of religious, cultural, and political contacts between the Greeks and Turks, Balivet combines Byzantine and Turkish elements within the same space, a certain ethnocultural unity (“une aire de conciliation”), in which not only did Greeks transform the Turkic world, but also, according to Balivet’s concept, Turks made a tangible impact on the Greek-Byzantine substrate at the level of popular culture and everyday life. This mutual transformation developed into the disappearance of the most irreconcilable contradictions between the two worlds. Mutual change and convergence led to the formation of “a multiethnic life style.”¹¹

The fruitfulness of Balivet’s approach cannot be questioned: he has made a significant step in the reconstruction of the micro-level contacts between Greeks and Turks. His approach, however, is not particularly popular in modern scholarship; instead, Vryonis’ concept more precisely describes the essence of the Greek-Turkish meeting as a historical phenomenon. In the set of problems associated with the Byzantine-Turkic relations, two axioms are evident, which compel a choice (conscious or subconscious) in favor of Vryonis’ concept. First, the diversity of convergence between Greek and Turkic elements was, for the Greeks, the result of a forced and unwanted adaptation to changed conditions, which were unambiguously destructive of traditional Byzantine life. Second, the problem of Greek-Turkic interaction should be evaluated in the context of the disappearance of Byzantium as a civilization; it would be unwise to reinterpret this undeniable fact as a kind of metamorphosis of Byzantium into a new Turkic/Turkish entity.

“The Ambiguous Politics of ‘Ambiguous Sanctuaries’: F. Hasluck and Historiography of Syncretism and Conversion to Islam in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Rumeli,” in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878–1920*, ed. David Shankland, 3 vols (Istanbul, 2004–13), 3:247–62, and her monograph: Eadem. *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, 2011).

11 Balivet, Michel. *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc: Histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque* (Istanbul, 1994); Idem. *Byzantins et Ottomans: Relations, interaction, succession* (Istanbul, 1999); Idem. *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans Ottomans. Vie du Cheikh Bedreddîn le 'Hallâj des Turcs' (1358/59–1416)* (Istanbul, 1995); Idem. *Turcobyzantiae: échanges régionaux, contacts urbains* (Istanbul, 2008).

For these reasons I follow Vryonis in interpreting the Greek-Turkic encounter as a conflict of civilizations, one which was fatal for one of the parties. However, the data concerning Byzantine-Turkic contacts found in a variety of written and material sources allow a revision and supplement to modern concepts of the Byzantine-Turkic conflict. Sharing Balivet's approach, I consider the Turkic element not only as an external military and political factor that affected Byzantine civilization from the outside, but, since at least the thirteenth century, as an influential *internal* social and cultural factor transforming the Byzantine world. The focus of the present study is to attempt to "interiorize" the problem of Byzantine-Turkic antagonism, to view Byzantine Greek society from the standpoint of its reaction to meeting the alien. From this point of view, the Turks are an indispensable element of Late Byzantine civilization. This perspective distinguishes my approach from both the concept of confrontation and the idea of convergence of Greeks and Turks. I am moving beyond the binary concept of "influences," which considers the Byzantine and Turkish elements external to each other, and am attempting to find out how far and in what direction the Turkic element could have transformed Byzantine society and culture. Hence, the chronological scope of this study is the Late Byzantine period from 1204 to the mid-fifteenth century, when drastic changes occurred in the role of the Turkic factor in internal and external life of the Byzantine world.

Another way in which this study will differ from existing approaches is that it will compare the two major cultural and political areas of the Byzantine world, that is, western (Nicaean, Palaiologan, Epiran) and eastern (Grand Komnenian), and will highlight paradigms of the west and east Byzantine worlds in coping with Turkic newcomers. I will also compare the two major cultural divisions of Turkic newcomers in their interactions with Byzantine societies: Anatolian Turks, who were mostly Islamized and included a large portion of urban Persian population, and the Qipchaq Turks and Golden Horde Mongols and Turks who were primarily nomads and pagans (or at least little Islamized). Such comparisons have never been made systematically.¹²

Chapter 1 discusses how the Byzantines identified "Turks" as a nation different from their own; I pay less attention to the well-studied subject of

12 The necessity of a comparative typology of the Balkan and Anatolian Turks in their interaction with Byzantium has been touched upon in: Tapkova-Zaimova, Vasilka. "Turcs danubiens et turcs d'Asie Mineure (problèmes de contacts dans le cadre de l'empire byzantin)," in Lampakis, Stelios (ed.) *Η Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6ος–12ος αι.)* (Athens, 1998), pp. 189–96.

“the image of the Turks” in Byzantine literature¹³ and focus on the cultural distinction of the Turks (especially those who entered Byzantine society) from the Greek majority in that society.

In Chapters 2–5 and 7 I analyze the demographic and social consequences of the Turkic presence within the borders of the Byzantine world. Turkic individuals and tribal groups penetrated Byzantine society and, on assumption, changed the demographic makeup in the areas under Byzantine control. However, as of yet we do not know which particular regions of the Byzantine empire (urban, rural) were affected by ethnic Turkification and to what extent. Consequently, one aim of my research is to reconstruct a virtual “map” of the Turkic enclaves in territories belonging to the Byzantine states during different periods.

In order to understand the social and demographic changes caused by Turkic penetration, Chapter 6 specifically analyzes the legal and cultural aspects of socialization and naturalization of the Turkic newcomers in Byzantine society. Most Turks who settled in Byzantine lands, throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, adopted Christianity and, thus, entered Byzantine society.

The Orthodox Turkic groups in the population of the Byzantine world I describe as “Byzantine Turks”: they constituted a specific Turkic minority within Byzantine society. For many readers, the term “Byzantine Turks” may seem to be an oxymoron like “wet fire” and inappropriate in scholarly discourse. However, the term finds some justification in the Byzantine tradition, in which such usage was not completely alien. For instance, Skylitzes called the Pechenegs who had become Byzantine subjects “Constantinopolitan Pechenegs” (τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Πατζινάκων).¹⁴ Theodore II Laskaris

13 See, for instance: Oikonomides, Nicolas. “The Turks in the Byzantine Rhetoric of the Twelfth Century,” in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirkville, 1993), pp. 149–55; Laiou, Angeliki E. “The Foreigner and the Stranger in 12th Century Byzantium: Means of Propitiation and Acculturation,” in *Fremde der Gesellschaft. Historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zur Differenzierung von Normalität und Fremdheit*, ed. Marie Theres Fögen (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), pp. 71–97; Malamut, Élizabeth. “L’image byzantine des Petchénègues,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 88 (1995), pp. 105–47; Beihammer, Alexander. “Die Ethnogenese der seldschukischen Türken im Urteil christlicher Geschichtsschreiber des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 102 (2009), pp. 589–614; Idem. “Orthodoxy and Religious Antagonism in Byzantine Perceptions of the Seljuk Turks (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries),” *Al-Masāq* 23/1 (2011), pp. 15–36.

14 Skylitzes, John. *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, ed. Hans Thurn (Berlin, 1973), p. 460.93–94.

speaks of “my most beloved Scythian” (τὸν ἐμὸν Σκύθην Κλεόπαν τὸν φίλτατον).¹⁵ At this time, Byzantine law refers to “the Barbarians subjected to our state” (τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ βαρβάροις).¹⁶ Interestingly, this definition corresponds to the name that the Ottomans, in the first half of the fifteenth century, applied to Turkic subjects of Byzantium, calling them “the Turks of the Roman land” (*rûm ilindeki atrâk*), equivalent to my term, Byzantine Turks.¹⁷ Ethnocultural realities in the Byzantine empire, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were more complex than the binary model that most scholars use to describe relations between Greeks and Turks. This binary model – which considers Byzantines and Turks to be somehow fundamentally incompatible, upon whose meeting only one survives – has developed only in modern times in western Europe, in particular in connection with the evolution of the modern ideology of the so-called national state. The concept of ethnicity in the Byzantine mind, as well as the mentality of other cultures in the medieval Mediterranean, had a completely different application to that of modern consciousness.

Another important focus of my approach (Chapter 8) deals with the mental effects of demographic and social changes caused by the Turkic penetration. I focus on the alien influences on Byzantine daily life through available linguistic, social, and cultural information from an allological standpoint. Greek and Turkic bilingualism of *mixobarbaroi* and Turkophonia among Greeks will be discussed in detail. Everyday contacts with the Turks resulted in crucial transformations inside the Byzantine substratum, which may have contributed to the eventual collapse of Byzantium.

This study is based predominately on Greek sources. However, it expands the traditional set of sources with a greater involvement of history texts in Oriental languages little known or unknown to specialists in Byzantine history, especially Persian and Arabic (Turkish literature is much better known). My intention is to make these Oriental sources available for the Byzantinist community, so I cite these in full with translations and detailed commentaries, especially those unedited or not yet translated into major European languages. Chapter 9 presents etymologies of Oriental proper names and lexica borrowed by the Byzantines. The lack of new facts has not allowed, in the last decades,

15 Laskaris, Theodore. *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae cccxvii*, ed. Nicola Festa (Florence, 1898), no. 259.28.

16 *Basilicorum libri LX* 22.1.33.7.19 and 28.4.51.10, ed. Herman Jan Scheltema, N. van der Wal, and D. Holwerda, 8 vols (Groningen, 1955–88).

17 Yazıcızâde ‘Alî. *Jazîyyoğlu ‘Alî, Oğuzname*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Orient. Quart. 1823, fol. 409v.

our understanding of Late Byzantine society to improve. Another objective is to enrich the source base of Late Byzantine history by putting into circulation Oriental material in various forms, both textual and linguistic.

I follow the rules of *ET*² in the Roman transliteration of Arabic and Persian words with the following exceptions: the letter ج is transmitted as “j” and not “dj,” the letter ق is transmitted as “q” and not “k.” In most cases, for original Turkic words I use “ç” instead of “ch,” “ş” instead of “sh,” and “ğ” instead of “gh,” following the conventions of Republican Turkish. An exception is made in preserving “q” for fricative “k” for Turkic words if it was predominant in Medieval Arabic script. I follow *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* in the spelling of Byzantine Greek terminology and names.¹⁸

¹⁸ *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, et al., 3 vols (New York and Oxford, 1991).

The Byzantine Classification of the Turks

This chapter will attempt to reconstruct Turkic identity as it was understood by the Byzantines using the self-description paradigms of the Byzantines by which they differentiated themselves from others. Using this criteria I identify the key elements that divided “the Roman” from “the Turk” to determine what “to be a Turk” meant for the Byzantine mentality. I will focus on the following components in the Byzantine self-description model: (1) the concept of πατρίς “homeland,” i.e., a specific locus or place of origin associated with “ethnicity” (ἔθνος, γένος); (2) τὸ ἔθος/τὰ ἔθη, “temper, habit,” or “way of thinking,” therefore “education” or, in our terms, “culture,” which includes γλῶσσα “language” as a component; (3) πίστις, θρησκεία “religion.” Another important component of the Byzantine model of self-description is that of “citizenship,” indicating one’s allegiances (ὑπήκοος) to one or another political power. Chapter 6 will focus on the Turks who adopted Byzantine allegiance.¹

1 On Byzantine Epistemology

I begin my discussion with the Byzantine ethnogeographical classification of the Turkic peoples, especially from the eleventh to the mid-fifteenth centuries, the most active time of contacts between Byzantium and the Turks. The Byzantine nomenclature relating to the Turkic peoples was distinguished by a variety of terms – more than two dozen of them – the interrelationships of which are not always easy to determine. Analysis of the Byzantine terminology concerning the Turkic peoples is facilitated by the fundamental work of Gyula Moravcsik in *Byzantinoturcica*, a comprehensive collection of lexical elements in Middle Greek related to the history of the Altai peoples. The most reliable and complete component of *Byzantinoturcica* is that concerning toponymics

¹ The question of the Byzantine patterns of self-description and self-identity has long been debated. See two most recent studies, of which the former is much more balanced and conceptually coherent: Kaldellis, Anthony. *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition (Greek Culture in the Roman World)* (Cambridge, 2007), esp. Part I (pp. 11–187); Page, Gill. *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans, 1200–1420* (Cambridge, 2008).

and ethnonymics.² No attempt so far, however, has been made analytically to reevaluate the material collected by Moravcsik. I shall try below to delineate general epistemological principles underlying Byzantine ethnic and geographical conceptions. Based on these principles it is possible to reconstruct the logical mechanisms of the specific Byzantine taxonomy and to construct a hierarchy of Byzantine ethnic terms and place-names referring to the Turks. In what follows I use the most typical examples from Byzantine texts, directing those who want a detailed list of Byzantine terms to Moravcsik's compendium containing references to relevant sources.

One important reservation needs to be made. I utilize proper Byzantine classification of ethnic and geographical names as a historical given without analyzing the "real" historical content of those terms. Recent studies of medieval identity show that ethnic terminology used in medieval sources almost never indicated ethnicity in our modern sense.³ The reconstruction of the ethnic, social, political, and cultural content of a Byzantine ethnic name referring to the Turks will need be the subject of a separate study.

In the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries, Byzantines extensively used ancient ethnic terms such as "Gauls," "Colchians," "Gepidae," "Scythians," "Sarmatians," "Huns," "Tauroscythians," and "Dacians," which, according to our modern view, did not correlate to the medieval nations they designated. According to modern scholars, Byzantines avoided ethnic and geographical neologisms from the outside world. The realities of alien social and cultural life were often referred to using classical terms, commonly known as "archaization."

The origins and functions of Byzantine archaization have been dealt with in scholarly literature employing several methodologies. Most interpretations have been developed in the framework of traditional philology and literary criticism, focusing on the analysis of the stylistic features of Byzantine texts. According to the literary-critical explanation, Byzantines reproduced archaic place-names and ethnic terms so as to preserve the integrity of classical literary discourse, often at the expense of accuracy.⁴ Herbert Hunger formulated

2 Moravcsik has summarized lexical material in the Indexes (see the sections *Volksnamen*, *Stammensnamen*, and *Geschlechtsnamen*), thus making the first step toward an analytical appraisal of the data collected: Moravcsik, Gyula. *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1983) 2:359–76 (*Wortverzeichnisse* 1–2).

3 See, for instance, a comprehensive discussion of modern interpretations of medieval ethnic conceptions in: Amory, Patrick. *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge, 2004), Chapter 1: "Ethnicity, Ethnography and Community in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries," and esp. pp. 13–33.

4 See, for instance: Dieterich, Karl. *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde*, 5.–15. Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1912); Ditten, Hans. "Der Russland-Exkurs des Laonikos Chalkokondyles, interpretiert und mit Erläuterungen versehen" (Berlin, 1968), pp. 3–11.

this idea explicitly, even denoting the stylistic “snobbery” of Byzantine authors who avoided new information that could have affected the classical stylistic purity of their texts. Hunger also indicated this “archaism” in cautious terms as a sort of “mimesis,” an imitative play with the language, stylistic peculiarities, and topics of ancient literature.⁵ Consequently, modern scholars have serious doubts about the ability of the Byzantines, who were completely immersed in the simulation of ancient forms and images, adequately to represent reality.⁶ For instance, Hans-Georg Beck spoke of a lack of curiosity among the Byzantines in relation to other peoples, a consequence of the fundamental autarky of the Byzantine culture and mentality; for example, barbarians were seen as an undifferentiated and homogeneous unity.⁷

An important contribution has been made by Michael Bibikov. While retaining the framework of a philological approach, he used the more sophisticated analytical tools of poetology. According to Bibikov, “archaism” was not a slavish imitation of ancient models but rather a function of the poetological structure. Bibikov speaks of the specific *chronotope* of the barbarian world, that is, a special organization of space and time in the narrative that determined functionality and the substantive significance of ancient ethnic and place-names in the Byzantine context.⁸ Specific stylistic strategies of the Byzantines contributed to traditional archaizing practices, in particular aimed at avoiding the inclusion in the narrative of elements of “foreign language,” i.e., barbarous neologisms, so as not to compromise the integrity of the textual fabric.⁹ Bibikov

5 Hunger, Herbert. *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols (Munich, 1978), 1:71, 407–08, etc., and esp. p. 509 and the section “Archaisieren” in the Index; Idem. “On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969–70), pp. 15–38.

6 Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen*, p. xx: “Konnten denn aber die Byzantiner wirklich beobachten und Beobachtetes auch wirklich darstellen? – Schon die Stellung dieser Frage schiene absurd, wenn von irgendeiner andern Menschenklasse die Rede wäre als von Byzantinern.”

7 Beck, Hans-Georg. *Theodoros Metochites: die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1952), pp. 89–90; Lechner, Kilian. “Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner: die alten Bezeichnungen als Ausdruck eines neuen Kulturbewusstseins.” Thesis (doctoral)–Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Munich, 1954), p. 75.

8 Bibikov, Mikhail V. *Византийские источники по истории древней Руси и Кавказа* (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 91–97; Idem. “Пути имманентного анализа византийских источников по средневековой истории СССР (XII–первой половины XIII вв.),” in *Методика изучения древнейших источников по истории народов СССР* (Moscow, 1978); Idem. “Византийская этнонимия: архаизация как система,” in *Античная балканистика. Этногенез народов Балкан и Северного Причерноморья* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 70–72.

9 Bibikov, *Византийские источники*, pp. 87–88.

interpreted “archaism” in the context of the “literary etiquette” of medieval discourse, which linked ethnic names to geographic space.¹⁰

“Archaization” has also been interpreted as a sociocultural phenomenon, albeit with a clear bias toward philological explanations. For example, Hunger believed that, in the fourteenth century, “archaism” was practiced by many intellectuals from the stratum of μέσοι, for whom it was a sign of corporate unity and exclusivity. Ihor Ševčenko supports this idea, arguing that classical knowledge (as well as the ability to imitate classical discourse) was a prestigious group marker which distinguished intellectuals from the lower classes.¹¹ A comprehensive discussion of these and other points of view can be found in Mark Bartusis’ study summarizing the dominant modern approaches toward “archaization,” also putting forth his own conception. He considers “archaism” part of the broader issue of the relationship of the Byzantines to their past.¹²

There is another possible solution to the problem of “archaization” in the particular context of Byzantine ethnonymic and geographical classification. The problem is unlikely to be solved solely by means of literary criticism and poetology. If we look at the problem from a general epistemological standpoint we may be able to achieve greater clarity in understanding how the Byzantines structured the world around them, what criteria for identities and differences were used by the Byzantines in their construction of ethnic taxonomies. A starting point is the works of Gilbert Dagron and Sergej Averintsev. In an article dealing with the Byzantine descriptions of surrounding nations, Dagron suggested that the ancient ethnic names in the Byzantine context played the role of ideal models, models that generalized a variety of specificities found in the real world. However, Dagron gives no detailed justification of this idea, which was at the periphery of his main argument.¹³ The mechanisms of such ideal types have been discussed in detail by Averintsev in his study of the principles of Greek rhetoric.¹⁴ Both researchers have made a significant attempt

10 Bibikov, Mikhail V. “К изучению византийской этнонимии,” in *Византийские очерки* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 154–55.

11 Hunger, Herbert. “Klassizistische Tendenzen in der byzantinischen Literatur des 14. Jh.,” in *Actes du XIV^e congrès international des études byzantines*, 1 (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 139–51; Ševčenko, Ihor. “Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century,” in *Actes du XIV^e congrès international des études byzantines*, 1 (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 88–89.

12 Bartusis, Mark. “The Function of Archaizing in Byzantium,” *Byzantinoslavica* 56/2 (1995), pp. 271–78.

13 Dagron, Gilbert. “‘Ceux d’en face’: les peuples étrangers dans les traités militaires byzantins,” *Travaux et mémoires* 10 (1987), pp. 207–32, esp. pp. 214–15.

14 Averintsev, Sergej S. *Риторика и истоки европейской литературы* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 158–90.

to go beyond the philological approach in the interpretation of the Byzantine mentality.

What I conventionally call a “scientific” method of the Greek Middle Ages goes beyond literary criticism and poetics. It concerns those epistemological models according to which the Medieval Greeks generated and reproduced knowledge. The basic logic of the Byzantine method of systematization and classification of objects can best be illustrated by elementary Aristotelian logic. In its principles, the scientific method of the Byzantines was not so different from today’s: both look back to the Aristotle’s epistemology which prevailed in traditional sciences until the nineteenth century. Two related pairs of categories, keys to understanding the Byzantine taxonomy, were elaborated in detail by Aristotle and were perceived by Byzantine science as fundamental. The first pair is the Universal and the Particular, and the second is the Genus and the Species. The particular is perceived sensually and is present “somewhere” and “now.” The universal is what exists in any place and at any time (“everywhere” and “always”) and can manifest itself under certain conditions in the particular through which it is established. This universal, determined by intellect, is the true subject of scientific study.¹⁵

A variety of individual objects or species, however, can be united by the similarity of their properties and attributes and can be reduced to conventional universal categories, namely genera. According to Aristotle’s definition, “A ‘genus’ is what is predicated in the category of essence of a number of things exhibiting differences in kind.”¹⁶ In other words, generic categories are universal models and ideal types, which, in classification, combine individual, real, and different objects (“things exhibiting differences”) that possess similar universal features. According to the descriptive models of Aristotle’s *Topics*, “all the attributes which do not belong to the genus do not belong to the species either; whereas all those that are wanting to the species are not of necessity wanting to the genus. Since those things of which the genus is predicated must also of necessity have one of its species predicated of them, and since those things that are possessed of the genus in question, or are described by terms derived from that genus, must also of necessity be possessed of one of its species or be described by terms derived from one of its species.”¹⁷ Species are united into genera only due to some of their properties and, therefore, the genus can combine dissimilar species, which have, however, some common essential features (see Fig. 1).

15 Aristot. *Met.* 1.981a, 3.999a ff.

16 Aristot. *Topics* 1.5; Aristot. *Categ.* Part 3.

17 Aristot. *Topics* 11.4.

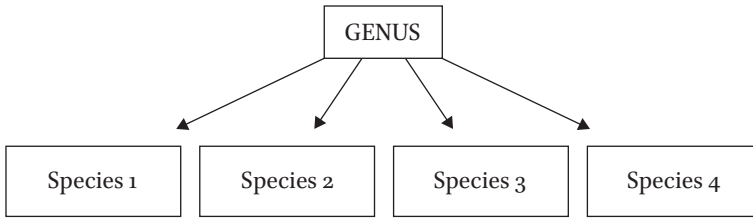


FIGURE 1 *Genus and species.*

Ideally, the generic category encompasses not only known individual objects, but also those newly discovered. In this sense, the Aristotelian method is identical to the contemporary one: both describe the unknown through similarity and analogy with the known. The Byzantine taxonomic hierarchy was substantively and methodologically inherited from this aspect of classical antiquity.

In the fifth century, Zosimos, when defining the Huns, placed them under the generic model of the Scythians, while clearly acknowledging that this new people was not completely identical with the ancient Scythians: “une tribu barbare se jeta sur les peuplades scythes établies au-delà du Danube, tribu auparavant inconnue et surgie alors soudainement; ils les nommaient Huns, qu’il faille les appeler Scythes royaux, les identifier avec ces hommes au nez camus et au corps chétif qu’Hérodote dit habiter près du Danube, ou qu’ils aient passé d’Asie en Europe.”¹⁸ Zosimos did not think that all Huns were identical to the Scythians of Herodotus but, according to his classification, the previously unknown Huns were of the ideal generic concept of “Scythians,” similar to some species of the ancient Scythians of Herodotus.

By the same logic, Michael Attaleiates, Nikephoros Bryennios, John Skylitzes, and others, while reporting the appearance in the eleventh century of a new force in the East, the Seljuk Turks, were unanimous that the Turks were of the Hun-type, which had by then become generic. In these cases, the historians did not claim that the eleventh-century Turks were identical to the historical Huns, but only indicated an ideal scientific type to which these newly emerging nomads might belong.

In the same way, Laonikos Chalkokondyles places the Vlachs into the classification of the Dacians and the Russians under the general category of the Sarmatians: “The Sarmatians are next to the Scythian nomads, the Dacians and the Lithuanians . . . They have the same customs as the Hellenes and use

18 Zosimos. *Zosime: Histoire nouvelle* IV.20.3, ed. François Paschoud, 4 vols (Paris, 1971–89), 2/2:280.1–5.

implements similar to the Scythians.”¹⁹ Chalkokondyles admits the existence of significant Hellenized features of the Russians, who, nonetheless, belonged to the generic model of the Sarmatians.

The principles of Byzantine science in this regard did not change significantly between the fifth century and the fifteenth. “Archaization” was a direct consequence of the Byzantine method of mastering new information. Byzantine sources did not know any other logic than to combine individual objects under the abstract category of a genus.

The term “archaism” is to be used with caution as it can be misleading. One can hardly apply the terms “archaism” and “imitation” to the Byzantine geographic and ethnic nomenclature; one should regard it instead as a particular method of systematization and classification of new knowledge. In the case of ethnonymics, “archaization” was not an independent principle (as understood by contemporary literary critics and poetological studies), but rather a means to implement a certain epistemological strategy. Here “archaization” was always instrumental: it was a tool with which to include new objects into existing knowledge through assimilation and analogization with elements of the normative and long-tested conception of the surrounding world. This method of Byzantine intellectuals, who sought to explain the contemporary world by establishing similarities and analogies (cf. σύγκρισις “comparison” of rhetoric²⁰), helped to preserve the integrity and internal consistency of the Byzantine system of knowledge and to ensure its ability to recognize and systematize new objects.

2 The Locative Criterion and the Theory of Climates

The Byzantine taxonomic grid of similarities and differences, on the basis of which new information was incorporated into already existing models, differed

19 Chalkokondyles, Laonikos. *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols (Budapest, 1922–27), p. 122.5–12; Nicoloudis, Nicolaos. *Laonikos Chalkokondyles: A Translation and Commentary of the “Demonstrations of Histories”* [Books I–III] (Athens, 1996), p. 289 (English translation). For more on this passage, see: Ditten, Hans. “Известия Лаоника Халкокондила о России (I, 122.5–126.9),” *Византийский временник* 21 (1961), pp. 51–94; Idem. *Der Russland-Exkurs des Laonikos Chalkokondyles, interpretiert und mit Erläuterungen versehen* (Berlin, 1968), pp. 16–17; Bibikov, “К изучению,” pp. 150–51.

20 Averintsev, *Риторика*, pp. 162–65. Σύγκρισις is also discussed by Hunger developing his interpretation in the framework of literary conception of mimesis: Hunger, “On the Imitation,” pp. 23–27.

significantly from our contemporary one. Unlike today's ethnic classifications, the Byzantines did not use the *linguistic* criterion. In the Byzantine model of classification, the language criterion played almost no role. Even in the Greek models of self-identity, the linguistic criterion was of a secondary character, which has been discussed in detail with respect to the classical and late Roman periods.²¹ Byzantine knowledge categorized nations by their geographical or, more precisely, *locative* features. It is this peculiarity of the Byzantine classification model, which disregarded language, that makes it so different from the modern one. The Byzantines did take into account as a secondary criterion the sociocultural characteristics of nations. The place of a nation in the Byzantine taxonomy was defined by its habitat (Gaul, the northern Black Sea, Caucasus, Anatolia, the Middle East, North Africa, etc.) and lifestyle (nomadic/sedentary).

According to Dagron's apt remark, "la géographie commande à l'ethnologie"; the significance of the locative criterion, however, went far beyond Byzantine "ethnography."²² To begin the discussion of the locative criterion, geographic locus (πατρίς "fatherland," "native land") was basic and one of the most common in the personal identification of the Byzantines.²³ Byzantines associated themselves with the place of their birth and, accordingly, with the people living there. Πατρίς could mean village, city, province, or historic region (Isauria, Thrace, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Pontos) or state (e.g., Romania) in their geographical aspect. The important role of πατρίς as one of the most common ways to identify a person is certified by Byzantine anthroponymic models and, especially, nicknames that indicated the geographical origin of their bearers. The identification of a person by a locative sobriquet originating from the place of his or her birth or residence (Caesarea, Gaza, Cappadocia, Trebizond, Paphlagonia) was typical for the Byzantine empire and was inherited from earlier times. The locative nicknames indicated specific cultural connotations of a geographic locus, but not of ethnicity or language. Apparently, locative nicknames were the most convenient way to specify the individuality of a person.

The attention of Byzantines to their πατρίς is certified in many texts, belonging to a special genre of *patria*. One of the most developed branches of the Byzantine *patria* genre was the so-called *Patria Constantinopolitana*,

21 Zgusta, Ladislav. "Die Rolle des Griechischen im Römischen Kaiserreich," in *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit* [Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, 40] (Bonn, 1980), pp. 121–22. Cf.: Walbank, Frank W. "The Problem of Greek Nationality," *Phoenix* 5/2 (1951), pp. 41–60.

22 Dagron, "Ceux d'en face," p. 215.

23 On the notion of *patria*, see also: Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, pp. 46–49.

that is, “Constantinopolitan Fatherland,” which describes the topography, monuments, churches, holy places, office buildings, palaces, and markets of Constantinople.²⁴ We know of numerous descriptions of towns and cities written especially in the early Byzantine period, such as Antioch, Thessalonike, Tarsos, Beirut, and Miletos.²⁵ From the subsequent period, *ekphraseis* survive that extol many large and small centers of the Byzantine world: Antioch, Nicaea, Trebizond, Herakleia Pontica, Amasya.²⁶ Passion for one’s homeland is manifested not only in *patria* and *ekphrasis* but can be found as a structural element of other genres of Byzantine literature. For instance, it can be a history of the native city or area of the author, such as *The Capture of Thessalonike* by John Kaminiates, who described the Arab siege and capture of the city in 904. Kaminiates begins his description of the beauties of Thessalonike, “Our homeland, my friend, is Thessalonike” (Ἡμεῖς, ὦ φίλος, πατρίδος ἐσμέν Θεσσαλονίκης), thus anticipating the sad story of how the Arab attack nearly razed the city to the ground.²⁷ The significance of spatial dimension can most clearly be seen in Byzantine hagiography. An essential element of hagiographic narrative was an indication of the precise geographical locus from which the saint originated; as a Byzantine hagiographer in the end of the ninth century put it: “But since it is customary in narration of history to describe who [a person is] and wherefrom [he comes].”²⁸ Hagiographers usually briefly outlined the laudatory characteristics of the birthplace of the saint (“glorious city,” “blessed island,” etc.), being particularly attentive to whether this place had been the cradle of other holy men in the past. It is as if the hagiographer is attempting to find reasons

24 *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Theodor Preger, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1901–07); Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: études sur le recueil des “Patria”* (Paris, 1984); *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai. Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, ed. Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin (Leiden, 1984), pp. 3–9; *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople. The Patria*, transl. Albrecht Berger (Washington, DC, 2013).

25 Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, pp. 9–13.

26 See the chapter “Ekphraseis” in: Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:171–88, and also: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, et al., 3 vols (New York and Oxford, 1991), 1:683.

27 Kaminiates, John. *Ioannis Caminiatae de expugnatione Thessalonicae* 3 (1), ed. Gertrud Böhlig (Berlin, 1973).

28 *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints’ Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, DC, 1996), p. 165. For the indication of saint’s birthplace as an indispensable structural element of hagiographical narration, see: Mertel, Hans. *Die biographische Form der griechischen Heiligenleben* (Munich, 1909), p. 90, and Loparev, Chrysanth M. *Греческие жития святых VIII–IX вв.* (Petrograd, 1914), p. 16.

for the outstanding merits of the saint in the characteristics of his native land, and the effects on the character of its inhabitants.²⁹

Many Byzantine texts, however, suggest that one's origin from a particular area also could be the cause of certain defects of character. Some of these prejudices are reflected by Constantine the Porphyrogenetos in his *De Thematibus*: the natives of Cappadocia were regarded as greedy and wicked as the echidna.³⁰ The Paphlagonians were described, with reference to Homer, as "blameworthy and being known for their obscenity and depravity,"³¹ while subsequent Byzantine tradition spoke even worse of them.³² Similar prejudices existed in regard to the natives of Isauria who were considered bandits and ruthless barbarians.³³ Geographic origin could easily become an object of scorn and ridicule, in which the alleged negative traits inherent in the natives of an area were depicted in a grotesque and exaggerated manner.³⁴ Such topographic prejudices are well known in many cultures of the Mediterranean and beyond; the Byzantines were in no way an exception. Those originating from outside the *πατρίς* were referred to as "foreigners" and "outsiders" (*ξένοι, ἄλλότριοι, ἐξωτικοί*, etc.).³⁵ The negative connotations of "foreigners" and "outsiders" were mainly of a "cultural" sense, denoting that the character, upbringing, and education were inferior to those of the locals.

Curiously, positive and negative assessments of the effect of a particular spatial locus upon the character of its inhabitants coexisted in Byzantine thought. Constantine the Porphyrogenetos, having discussed negative

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- 29 For a similar theme of the Byzantine "hagio-geography" of sacred sites, see: Magdalino, Paul. "Constantine VII and the Historical Geography of Empire," in *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*, ed. S. Bazzaz, Y. Batsaki, and D. Angelov (Cambridge, 2013), p. 24.
- 30 Porphyrogenetos, Constantine. *Costantino Porfirogenito, De Thematibus* II 66.70–77, introd., critical text, and commentary Agostino Pertusi (Vatican City, 1952).
- 31 Porphyrogenetos, *De Thematibus* VII 72.1–2ff.
- 32 Magdalino, Paul. "Paphlagonians in Byzantine High Society," in Lampakis, Stelios (ed.), *Η Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6ος–12ος αι.)*, pp. 141ff.; Haldon, John. "Humour and the Everyday in Byzantium," in *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Guy Halsall (Cambridge, 2002), p. 58.
- 33 Burgess, William D. "Isaurian Names and the Ethnic Identity of the Isaurian in Late Antiquity," *The Ancient World* 21 (1990), pp. 109–21.
- 34 Cf.: Halsall, Guy. "Funny Foreigners: Laughing with the Barbarians in Late Antiquity," in *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 89–113.
- 35 Laiou, Angeliki E. "The Foreigner and the Stranger in 12th century Byzantium: Means of Propitiation and Acculturation," in *Fremde der Gesellschaft. Historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zur Differenzierung von Normalität und Fremdheit*, ed. Marie Theres Fögen (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), pp. 71–97 and esp. pp. 71–72.

characteristics of the Cappadocians (who were like the greedy and wicked viper), suddenly made flattering remarks that among these notorious people many famous people of wisdom and zealots of the Christian faith, such as Saint Gregory Thaumaturgos of Neocaesarea, Phoedimus of Amasea, Basiliskos of Comana, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nazianzos, shone as bright stars.³⁶ Constantine the Porphyrogenetos gives no explanation for this contradiction and completes the section on Cappadocia: "Here is, in brief, of Cappadocia." He then goes on to describe another province.³⁷

It must be emphasized that the biogeographical features of one's origin had nothing to do with ethnic, tribal, or religious components of identity but rather indicated the "cultural" and "psychical" features of a person. Normally Byzantine authors, describing their own or someone else's homeland, paid little attention to the ethnic or religious affiliation of the population, while at the same time emphasizing the "cultural" advantages or disadvantages (virtue, education) associated with a particular locality. Geographical locus by itself, especially its spatial characteristics, predetermined the qualities of its inhabitants. Unselfconscious and subconscious geographical determinism, rooted in ancient tradition, seems to have been functional in the worldview of the Byzantines.

Attention to the geographical origin of a person had an apparent relationship to the more general "biogeographical" ideas of ancient Greek astronomy/astrology, geography, and physiology, which were amalgamated in the theory of climates. In astronomy/astrology, the climate (κλίμα "slope, inducement" from κλίνω) was understood as the angle of the polar axis of the celestial sphere with respect to the horizon, which increased with distance from the equator. Latitudinal changes are extremely important for drawing up horoscopes, and the angle of declination of the celestial sphere at a certain locality is of primary importance for astrological examination. In ancient and Byzantine geography, the climate was understood as the angle at which sunlight hit the earth's surface, which determined the length of the day; respectively, in the south the days were shorter and longer in the north. Initially, climates designated areas on the earth's surface, in which the average length of the day differed by half an hour, resembling modern time zones.³⁸ Later in the development of the

36 Porphyrogenetos, *De Thematibus* II 66.78–90.

37 Porphyrogenetos, *De Thematibus*, p. 91.

38 Honigsmann, Ernst. *Die sieben Klimata und die ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΙ: eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Geographie und Astrologie im Altertum und Mittelalter* (Heidelberg, 1929), pp. 4–7, 13–14ff.; Bagrow, Leo. "The Origin of Ptolemy's Geographia," *Geografiska Annaler* 27 (1945), pp. 320–29; Dicks, David R. "The ΚΛΙΜΑΤΑ in Greek Geography," *Classical*

theory of climates, ancient science developed the idea of latitude zones on the surface of the earth stretching from east to west and located from south to north parallel to the equator. The populated part of the earth was divided into seven climates, i.e., latitudinal bands from Meroe in the south to Borysthenes in the north. The concept of latitude parallels can be found in its fully developed form in Claudius Ptolemy's texts.³⁹

The combination of astrological, geographic, and physiological concepts led to the idea of the influence of latitudinal differences on human characteristics and habits. Hippocrates formulated the dependence of the natural qualities of people on the influence of their surrounding natural environment.⁴⁰ Poseidonios linked the intensity of sunlight and the effects of other celestial bodies with the geographic characteristics of the earth's surface and with the temper of the peoples living there. The extreme southern and northern climates were determined through ethnic names, respectively, "Ethiopian" and "Scythian and Celtic." Poseidonios, apparently, continued to consider the climate not as a latitudinal band but rather as a region.⁴¹ The first thinker who articulated this ethnographic aspect of climate theory was probably Pliny the Elder, who postulated the dependence of flora, fauna, and human morals on latitudinal location.⁴²

The idea of the relationship between the geographical locus and characteristic features of both individuals and nations can be traced explicitly in astrological texts. The peculiarities of geographical origin that affected the "cultural" features of nations were, in no small measure, due to the celestial bodies. First among these were the Sun and the Moon, which affected various

Quarterly, New Series 5 (1955), pp. 248–55; Evans, James. *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy* (New York and Oxford, 1998), pp. 95–97.

39 Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*, pp. 58–72.

40 Hippocrates. *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, ed. E. Littré, 10 vols (Paris, 1839–61), 2:14–20; Müller, Klaus E. *Geschichte der Antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung. Von den Anfängen bis auf die byzantinischen Historiographen*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1972–80), pp. 137f.; Backhaus, Wilhelm. "Der Hellenen-Barbaren-Gegensatz und die Hippokratische Schrift Περί αἰέρων, ὕδατων, τόπων," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 25/2 (1976), pp. 170–85 (esp. p. 183); Dagron, "Ceux d'en face," pp. 209–10.

41 Strabo. *Strabonis geographica* 2.2.1–3, 2.3.1, ed. August Meineke, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1877); Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*, pp. 24–30; Dihle, Albrecht. *Die Griechen und die Fremden* (Munich, 1994), pp. 90–93.

42 Pliny. *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis historiae libri xxxvii* 2.5–6, 7.41, and esp. 2.80, ed. Karl Mayhoff, 6 vols (Stuttgart, 1967–70); Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*, pp. 33–40; Trüdinger, Karl. *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie* (Basel, 1918), pp. 37–38, 51ff.; Müller, *Geschichte* 1:141–42. Cf.: Halsall, "Funny Foreigners," p. 91ff.

points on the earth's surface differently depending on the angle of slope of their light. Specific astrological descriptions of climates, based on the studies of Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, are described as a special genre of "astrological chorography." Usually, these are brief treatises that establish the correspondence of various regions of the *oikoumene* with zodiac signs and luminaries.⁴³ The most theoretically elaborate and accomplished astrohorographical conception can be seen in the *Tetrabiblos* of Claudius Ptolemy.⁴⁴ Ptolemy believed that the most important astrological task was to describe, first, nations and, secondly, individuals: "prognostication by astronomical means is divided into two great and principal parts, and since the first and more universal is that which relates to whole races, countries, and cities, which is called general, and the second and more specific is that which relates to individual men, which is called genethliological."⁴⁵ (This passage clearly demonstrates the use of genera-species organization of scientific discourse). Ptolemy then goes on to confirm the importance of astrological descriptions of nations: "The demarcation of national characteristics is established in part by entire parallels and angles, through their position relative to the ecliptic and the sun." Further, he explains this idea in detail in numerous individual examples.⁴⁶ Ptolemy's astronomical ethnography has been studied in detail by Bouché-Leclercq, Ernest Honigmann, and Mark Riley.

According to generally accepted ideas derived from astrological and geographical interpretations, the superiority of the Romans and Greeks arose from the fact that they lived in the central part of the *oikoumene*, which was located in the most favorable climate with the perfect balance between hot and cold natures. Other nations were located in regions that lay outside their climatic balance, which caused an imbalance in their natures. Only the Romans and Greeks living in the middle part of the civilized *oikoumene* had harmonious national characters.⁴⁷

From the earliest times, astrological knowledge in general and the astrological theory of climates in particular encountered criticism, first on the part of

43 Bouché-Leclercq, Auguste. "Chorographie astrologique," in *Mélanges Graux* (Paris, 1884), pp. 341–51; Idem. *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899), p. 327.

44 Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie*, pp. 338–355; Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*, pp. 41–50; Riley, Mark. "Science and Tradition in the 'Tetrabiblos,'" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 132/1 (1988), pp. 67–84.

45 Ptolemy. *Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia* 2.1.2, ed. E. Boer and F. Boll, second edn. Wolfgang Hübner, 3/1 (Stuttgart, 1998).

46 Ptolemy 2.2.1, ed. Hübner.

47 Riley, "Science," p. 76; Dauge, Yves Albert. *Le barbare: recherches sur la conception romaine de la barbarie et de la civilisation* (Brussels, 1981), pp. 806–10.

pagan intellectuals and later of Christian theologians.⁴⁸ However, the theory of climates was still well known in the Middle and Late Byzantine period. In the fourteenth century George Pachymeres repeated the ancient scheme arguing that the natural abilities of people, their character and temperament, depended on the strength of sunlight and the warmth of the climate. Southerners, who get more sunlight, are more clever, capable in arts and sciences, but too self-indulgent and unskilled in war, while the northerners, living in the cold climates, are pale, narrow-minded, cruel, rude, and more warlike. Geographical position, as Pachymeres explained, directly affects character, disposition, and natural abilities.⁴⁹ Such arguments (though less detailed and conceptual) can be found in the descriptions of other Byzantine authors.⁵⁰

In Byzantine times, climate theory continued to be closely related to astrology. A popular genre of specific lists of πόλεις ἐπίσημοι, “famous cities,” recorded major cities in the *oikoumene* (mainly its Greco-Roman part) and grouped them according to latitude climates.⁵¹ In the fourteenth century, John Katrares, in the context of Greek astrology, linked the destinies of nations with their location. He laid out seven latitude climates and established their dependence on specific planets and zodiac signs. In his description, the fate of the cities and, consequently, those living there was predetermined by the place they occupied in the climate and by the influence of the corresponding area of the celestial sphere.⁵² Thus, astrogeographical determinism, rooted in ancient tradition, remained functional in the worldview of the Byzantines. The spatial

48 Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie*, pp. 570–629.

49 Pachymeres, George. *Georges Pachymères, Relations Historiques* 1.111.3, ed. Albert Failler, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), 1:236–37, esp. p. 237.3–7. For a comprehensive analysis of the passage with its English translation, see: Petrides, Antonis K. “Georgios Pachymeres between Ethnography and Narrative: Συγγραφικὰ Ἱστορία 3.3–5,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 49 (2009), pp. 295–318. See also on this passage: Uspenskij, Fjodor I. “Византийские историки о монголах и египетских мамлюках,” *Византийский временник* 24 (1926), pp. 1–8; Laiou, Angeliki E. “The Black Sea of Pachymeres,” in *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies Dedicated to D.M. Nicol* (London, 1993), pp. 109–11. For similar examples of correlation between geography and “national character” in Byzantine military treatises, see: Dagron, “Ceux d'en face,” pp. 211–15.

50 See, for example: Eustathius Thessalonicensis, “Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem,” in *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 2:258, 265, 339.

51 Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*, pp. 82–92.

52 Katrares, John. *Anonymi christiani Hermippus De astrologia dialogus* 2.12–14, ed. W. Kroll and P. Viereck (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 51–58, esp. pp. 56–58; Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie*, pp. 322–23, 346–47; Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*, pp. 100–01; Borodin, Oleg R. and Gukova, Sania N. *История географической мысли в Византии* (St. Petersburg, 2000), p. 126.

circumstances of birth (heavenly and earthly) of both the individual and community of people were directly dependent on the locus.

The significance of location for the formation of personal characters and the collective traits of human communities pushed geographical knowledge to the fore. In geography until the fifteenth century, the Byzantines adhered to the ancient picture of the world, relying mainly on Strabo. After the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* by Maximos Planoudes in 1295, Ptolemy's influence increased. Byzantine geographers tried to adjust Strabo's system by comparing it with that of Ptolemy.⁵³ Lands to the north of the Danube, and eastward up to the limits of the *oikoumene*, Byzantine geographers continued to classify as Scythia, which stretched in the south as far as the Indus River. The Caspian Sea was still considered a bay of the ocean or a lake which was separated from the ocean by a narrow strip of land. In Scythia north of the Caspian Sea, they noted the lands of the Huns, Massagets, Tochars, Saks, etc. In the Middle East, they knew Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, Media, Armenia, etc. The entire surface of the *oikoumene* was still divided into seven climates.⁵⁴ In other words, the Byzantines inherited the entire bulk of ancient geography, which provided them with basic scientific terminology for their description of the contemporary world.

Both in ancient and Byzantine science, ethnic terminologies were generally dependent on and followed place-names. Nikephoros Gregoras clearly reflected the dependence of ethnic names on geographical ones. In a passage on the Mongol and Turkic nomads of the northern Black Sea region, he maintains that "The [Scythians] are the people extremely numerous living far to the north of our *oikoumene*, not in the North Pole itself but still up to the northern parallels, which divide the entire known world. So ancient historians tell us and so we ourselves, as far as possible, have found out due to many years of study... Ancient savants give us their name differently: Homer refers to them as Cimmerians, Herodotus, who described the Persians, [calls] them Scythians of different [tribes], Plutarch of Chaeronea [calls] them Cimbri and Teutones... They each have real names in their own language. Those who use their Greek names call them differently, as they want, depending on what

53 Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:509–14; Borodin and Gukova, *История географической мысли*, pp. 126–32ff.; *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. Brian Harley and David Woodward (Chicago and London, 1987–98), 1:268; Laiou, "The Black Sea," p. 95.

54 Blemmydes, Nikephoros. *Conspectus geographiae*, in *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. Karl Müller, 2 vols (Paris, 1855–61), 2:463–67; Idem. *Ἑτέρα ἱστορία περὶ τῆς γῆς*, in *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 2:469–70; *The History of Cartography* 1:266–67.

location they hold overflowing throughout our *oikoumene* like a stream.”⁵⁵ Thus, as pointed out by Gregoras, the Scythian tribes were generally named after the geographic position they inhabited. Moreover, the assertion of Gregoras that his compatriots called them by various names shows that the Byzantines themselves were clearly aware of some arbitrariness of their ethnic nomenclature, which was inherited from antiquity.

In Byzantine times, the ancient ethnic and geographical models, as well as the idea of the climatic origin of racial differences, were generally accepted ways of explaining the world. The names of the peoples were closely linked with the geographical spaces they occupied and the character of nations depended on the climatic characteristics of the geographical position. The devotion of the Byzantines to traditional geographic and ethnic nomenclature is rather understandable; ancient geographic and ethnic names were not simply names but rather *concepts* containing a reference to the origin, internal structure, and meaning of the phenomenon. Concepts of “Scythian,” “Persian,” and the like initially contained the relevant information about the objects (the habitat, habits, customs of warfare, etc.) and placed these objects in a definite place in the taxonomic hierarchy.⁵⁶

3 Two-Part Classification: Genera and Species

Ultimately, the Byzantine method led to the transfer of older terminology to the new realities of the Middle Ages, which seems paradoxical and often causes confusion for researchers. In fact it is not paradoxical; modern scientific taxonomy works in the same way using generic and specific and highly conventional categories that emerged at different times in the past. For example, we employ the geographical terms “America,” “Australia,” by virtue of cultural tradition, not because they adequately reflect the specific historic, geographic, or ethnic characteristics of these places. The difference between modern and Byzantine classification paradigms consists in using different criteria.

The ancient and Byzantine “ethnological” theory, however, was less consistent and strict compared to the modern one as it was not subjected to

55 Gregoras, Nikephoros. *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker, 3 vols (Bonn, 1829–55), 1:30.24–32.19.

56 Cf. with similar interpretations of ethnic terms as concepts containing diverse cultural information: Gyóni, Mátyás. “Le nom de βλάχοι dans l’Alexiade d’Anne Comnène,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44 (1951), pp. 246–47 (“Vlach” as a style of life); Bibikov, “К изучению,” pp. 155–56 (ethnic name as geographic, cultural, and lifestyle concept).

problematization or categorical study. Strabo aptly criticized ancient ethnology: “I maintain, for example, that in accordance with the opinion of the ancient Greeks – just as they embraced the inhabitants of the known countries of the north under the single designation ‘Scythians’ (or ‘Nomads,’ to use Homer’s term) and just as later, when the inhabitants of the west also were discovered, they were called ‘Celts’ and ‘Iberians,’ or by the compound words ‘Celtiberians’ and ‘Celtiscythians,’ the several peoples being classed under one name through ignorance of the facts [ὅφ’ ἐν ὄνομα τῶν καθ’ ἕκαστα ἐθνῶν ταπτομένων διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν].”⁵⁷ Strabo sensed the limits of the method; however, it was not so much in ἄγνοια, “ignorance,” but rather in the mechanisms of accommodation of new information. The previous statement of Gregoras concerning the arbitrary application of generic names to new people is in tune with Strabo (although Gregoras did not maintain that this arbitrariness was a consequence of ignorance).⁵⁸

Strabo’s remark may be understood in the sense that the weak point of ancient and Byzantine taxonomy was its lack of fine distinctions. The Byzantine taxonomic scale was not detailed enough, dealing mostly with two categories: genera (universal) and species (individual). For the northern and eastern barbarians it was often impossible to construct a more complex classification than this basic one. Aristotle himself gravitated to this kind of two-part taxonomy in his arguments rather than creating a multilevel hierarchical system.

Late Roman and Byzantine intellectuals recognized both the methodological advantages and disadvantages of their science. The Byzantine paradigm of accommodation of new information was fully reflected in the nomenclature of Turkic peoples. In the Byzantine classification of the Turks a significant degree of inconsistency and contradiction existed.

4 Generic Categories

First, the Turkic peoples belonged to the most general category of “barbarians.” In Byzantine times, “barbarians” were opposed not so much to “Hellenes,” as in the classical and Hellenistic periods, but rather to the “Romans,” Ῥωμαῖοι.⁵⁹ The transition from the model Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι to that of Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ

⁵⁷ Strabo, 1.2.27.9–10.

⁵⁸ See Section 2.

⁵⁹ Dihle, *Die Griechen*, pp. 36–53, esp. pp. 44–49; Idem. “Die Wahrnehmung des Fremden im Alten Griechenland. Akademievorlesung gehalten am 29. Oktober 2002,” in *Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften e.V., Hamburg. Jahrg. 21,*

βάρβαροι, after the introduction of the Christian component into the Roman imperial identity, has been described in detail by Kilian Lechner. As Lechner showed, the concept of “barbarians” had a negative meaning supplementary to the concept of the “Romans” (*Komplementärbegriff*). The basic binary model Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ βάρβαροι divided mankind into “us,” i.e., Christians and citizens of the Roman empire, and all others living outside the empire.⁶⁰ In this case, “barbarian” was a political-cultural concept and not an ethnic designation. I do not delve here into the polysemantic definition of “barbarian,” in particular into its functions in the Byzantine descriptions of the “Roman” self, that is, the subjects of the Roman state.⁶¹ It will suffice to indicate that the Turks were regarded as a part of the barbarian sea outside the Roman empire.

The traditional classification model of the Scythian nomads, with its subsequent modifications, was the most universal description of the Turkic peoples. The name Σκύθαι marked a special class of peoples living in the north and northeast of the mouth of the Danube, in the northern Black Sea region and further to the east to the limits of the habitable land. Besides the main locative feature of their ethnic classification, the Byzantines (again following ancient science) used additional sociocultural criteria. Ancient science distinguished three main types of barbarian societies: sedentary barbarians, hunters, and nomadic herders.⁶² Accordingly, all peoples of the north and northeast who led a nomadic life belonged to the category of “Scythians.” The common prevalence and functionality of this identification criterion are attested by the numerous references of Byzantine authors to the nomadic life of the Scythians/Turks, who, in the sources, are also called νομάδες, ποιμνῖται, σκηνῖται.⁶³ In the thirteenth century, Nikephoros Blemmydes, basing himself on Dionysios Periegetes, continued to classify all nomadic peoples inhabiting the northeast generally as Scythians.⁶⁴ In the fourteenth century, the northern Black Sea

Heft 2 (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 3–30. See also a representative collection of articles: *Greeks and Barbarians*, ed. Thomas Harrison (New York, 2002).

- 60 Lechner, “Hellenen und Barbaren,” pp. 10–37, 73–83; Idem. “Byzanz und die Barbaren,” *Saeculum* 6 (1955), pp. 292–94.
- 61 Dauge, *Le barbare*, pp. 307–78; for the concept of “Romanness,” see also: Mango, Cyril. “Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), pp. 29–43.
- 62 Müller, *Geschichte*, 1:120f.
- 63 Vryonis, Speros. “Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), pp. 48–49.
- 64 Blemmydes, *Conspectus*, p. 464.3–6: “εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πυκνοὶ Σκύθαι, οἵτινες κατοικοῦσιν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα μέρη, ὅπου οἱ ἄνεμοι δυσάνεμοι καὶ χάλαζαί εἰσι, καὶ ἔστι τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο ἀόικητον.” Cf. also: *Ibid.*, p. 468.1.

coast (including Crimea) was marked as ἡ Σκυθία by John Kantakouzenos, who also called the population of the Golden Horde “Scythians.”⁶⁵

Turkic peoples matched an additional criterion characterizing the “Scythian” type, which was developed primarily by military thought: the Turks, like the Scythians, fought on horseback, were archers, and were a highly mobile light cavalry.⁶⁶ In the Byzantine historiography of the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, this feature of the Turkic military art became a commonplace characteristic of the Turks (those living both to the north of the Danube and in Anatolia) and was described in detail by many authors from Attaleiates to Nikephoros Gregoras. Turkic military contingents in the Byzantine army (Pechenegs, Uzes, Cumans, Anatolian Turks) as a rule formed the light cavalry.⁶⁷

In astrological chorography, Scythians were characterized by their nomadic way of life, primitive social organization, poverty, ignorance, and belligerence, which coincided with the opinions of historians and geographers. Claudius Ptolemy confirms the generic nature of the name “Scythian,” speaking about the inhabitants of the northeastern part of the *oikoumene* that “in general we call them Scythians” (καλοῦμεν δὲ τοὺτους ὡς ἐπίπαν Σκύθας). Those who lived in this part of the *oikoumene* felt the cold of the Arctic Circle and the moisture inherent in this region, so they were white-skinned, had straight hair, were tall, of good physique and cold temperament; their customs were barbaric because of the cold. The cold climate determined the flora and fauna of the region.⁶⁸ Ptolemy locates the Scythian lands in the triangle of the zodiac signs of Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius; Aquarius has the greatest influence on these lands and Saturn and Jupiter are its most powerful planets. The peoples inhabiting this part of the world are chaste, honorable, honest, loyal, and prepared for self-sacrifice. However, the predominant influence of Aquarius makes them rude, intemperate, and inflexible.⁶⁹

Astrologers, however, did not agree on some important details. Besides the Ptolemaic scheme of correspondences between geographical regions and the zodiac signs and planets, there were other schemes. Marcus Manilius

65 Kantakouzenos, John. *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri iv*, ed. Ludwig Schopen, 3 vols (Bonn, 1828–32), 3:192.7 and below (iv.26).

66 See details in: Pohl, Walter. “Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity,” in *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*, ed. W. Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 1998), pp. 28–30.

67 See, for instance: Bartusis, Mark. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 257–58, 330; Birkenmeier, John. *The Development of the Komnenian Army: 1081–1180* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2002), pp. 27, 81, 91, passim.

68 Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie*, pp. 344–45; Ptolemy 2.2.2, ed. Hübner.

69 Ptolemy 2.2.3, ed. Hübner.

(first century AD) believed that Scythia, Asia, and Arabia were under the influence of Taurus. Vettius Valens (second century AD) also placed Scythia under the patronage of Taurus.⁷⁰ In an astrological text of the eleventh century, contradicting statements about the correspondence of land and celestial objects were arranged in a comparison table.⁷¹ Bouché-Leclercq believes that these correspondences, as well as disagreements about them, were arbitrary. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Byzantine astrologers, under the influence of Iranian astrological tradition, linked Τουρχία (i.e., Scythia) to the sign of Leo and the planet Mars.⁷²

At various times in the historical narrative, the generic category of Scythians was applied to Huns, Göktürks, Khazars, Avars, Bulgars, Hungarians, Pechenegs, Uzes, Cumans, Mongols, and Tatars; the Anatolian Turks of the Seljuk period and Ottoman Turks could also be designated as Scythians.⁷³ In the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, the category “Scythians” acquired the more restrictive sense as a designation of the northern nomads (Pechenegs, Cumans, and Golden Horde Mongols and Turks), as opposed to the “Persians” of Anatolia and Iran (which will be discussed in the section on “Persians”).

The Byzantines first met the Altaic peoples in the fourth century, in the form of the Huns, who, apparently, were closely related to the later Turks. The Greco-Roman world, however, had possibly known about the Huns since the second century AD (Οὔννοι, Χοῦνοι); Ptolemy believed that Χοῦνοι were one of the tribes of Sarmatia.⁷⁴ As early as the sixth century, the name “Hun” shifted from the level of species to the generic category; Agathias of Myrina considered the names “Scythian” and “Hun” as synonymous.⁷⁵ “Huns” from then on was used as a synonym of “Scythians,” a generic label for the Bulgarians, Avars, Göktürks, Uzes, Hungarians, and Cumans; from time to time the Anatolian Seljuk Turks and, more rarely, the Ottomans were also classified as “Huns.”⁷⁶

70 Vettius Valens. *Anthologiarum libri novem*, 1.2, ed. David Pingree (Leipzig, 1986), p. 7.14–15.

71 *Anecdota Astrologica*, ed. Arthur Ludwich (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 112–19; Bouché-Leclercq, “Chorographie,” pp. 343–50.

72 *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, 12 vols (Brussels, 1898–1953), 4:126 (fifteenth c.), 5/2:138 (fourteenth c.), 5/3:131 (fourteenth c.), 9/1:160 (fifteenth c.). Cf.: Miquel, André. *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 10^e siècle*, 2: *Géographie arabe et représentation du monde: la terre et l'étranger* (Paris, 1975), pp. 34–50.

73 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:279–83.

74 Ptolemy. *Claudii Ptolemaei geographia* 3.5.10, ed. Karl Müller (Paris, 1883).

75 Agathias. *Agathiae Myrinaei historiarum libri quinque*, ed. Rudolf Keydell (Berlin, 1967), p. 177.1–2: “οὗτοι δὲ ἅπαντες κοινῇ μὲν Σκύθαι καὶ Οὔννοι ἐπωνομάζοντο.”

76 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:231–37.

There was some fluctuation of the categorical status of “Huns”; in the twelfth century, the term “Huns” was applied to Hungarians, being moved to the lower level of species (John Kinnamos, Niketas Choniates) since the Hungarians were considered the same as a Scythian people.⁷⁷

In the Black Sea, Göktürks in the sixth century were first referred to by the Byzantines as Τοῦρκοι. They qualified them as a type of “Scythian” and “Hun.”⁷⁸ For Maurikios in the second half of the sixth century, “Scythians” and “Huns” were functionally interchangeable, belonging to generic categories, while Τοῦρκοι and Ἀβάρεις were attributed to species.⁷⁹ In the middle of seventh century, Simokatta testified that in his time the name Τοῦρκοι was used mainly in common language and, therefore, had the status of species: “These are Huns, who dwell in the east as neighbors of the Persians and whom it is more familiar for the many to call Turks.”⁸⁰

The ethnic name Τοῦρκοι was borrowed from the Middle Persian language (it was a Persian denomination of the Göktürks), as was pointed out by Theophylaktos Simokatta.⁸¹ At about the same time, the name “Turks” from the Iranians penetrated the Arab linguistic space, where it was first recorded in written form in pre-Islamic poetry of the early seventh century.⁸² Muslim ethnography, which was more sensitive to linguistic criteria than either classical or Byzantine thought, used the term “Turks” (Persian ترک/pl. ترکان; Arabic

77 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:280 (Σκύθαι) and 235 (Οὔννοι); illustrations from Constantine the Porphyrogenetos, Leo the Deacon, Niketas Choniates, John Kinnamos; see also: *TLG*.

78 Menander Protector. *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. Carolus de Boor (Berlin, 1903), p. 204.6–7; *Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri Historiarum quae supersunt*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1829), pp. 297–98.

79 Maurice. *Mauricius, Arta militaria*, XI.2, ed. H. Mihăescu (Bucharest, 1970), pp. 268–69: “Πῶς δεῖ Σκύθαις ἀρμόζεσθαι, τουτέστιν Ἀβάροις καὶ Τούρκοις καὶ λοιποῖς ὁμοδιαίτοις αὐτῶν Οὔννικοῖς ἔθνεσιν”; and for further examples see *Ibid.*, Index, p. 384 (Οὔννικὸν ἔθνος; Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος).

80 Simokattes, Theophylaktos. *Theophylacti Simocattae historiae* I.8.5, ed. Carolus de Boor, corr. Peter Wirth (Stuttgart, 1972): “Οὔννοι δ' οὗτοι, προσοικούντες τῇ ἔφ, Περσῶν πλησιόχωροι, οὓς καὶ Τούρκους ἀποκαλεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς γνωριμώτερον . . .”

81 Simokattes III.6.9: “τῶν Οὔννων τοιγαροῦν τῶν πρὸς τῷ βορρᾷ τῆς ἔφ, οὓς Τούρκους ἔθος Πέρσαις ἀποκαλεῖν.” This was repeated by Constantine the Porphyrogenetos: Porphyrogenetos, Constantine. *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, ed. Carolus de Boor, I: *Excerpta de legationibus*, pts 1–2 (Berlin, 1903), p. 223.1–2; Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen*, 2:24.

82 Doerfer, Gerhard. *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, 4 vols (Wiesbaden, 1963–75), 2:490.

ترك/pl. اترك) in the modern sense to signify the nations and tribes that were closely related by language and origin.

In the ninth century, the name Τοῦρκοι, being applied to the Khazars, Hungarians, and Turks in the service of the Caliphate, began to serve as a generic category.⁸³ Since then “Turks,” as a generic concept, partly replaced “Huns,” labeling all the Turkish people who came to the attention of Byzantium. In historical literature, Turkic nomads Uzes and Pechenegs were never called “Turks,” although this does not mean that they were not considered as belonging to the generic category of Τοῦρκοι. The name Τοῦρκοι was common for denoting the Anatolian Turks, both the Seljuks and Ottomans, and for the latter it was the most prevalent.⁸⁴ Along with “Turks,” Byzantine writers continued to call the Black Sea and Anatolian nomads “Scythians” and “Huns.”

In late astrological literature, “Scythians” was replaced by Τοῦρκοι almost everywhere. In a fourteenth-century astrological text (Vat. gr. 191, f. 232r), the following relationship between heavenly bodies and the national character of the Turks is recorded: “The rising sign of the second [region] Tourkia is Leo in the house of the Sun, the Moon is in Sagittarius, [the region’s] ruler is Mars. For this reason, most of them due to the rising Leo have an animal nature, being robbers and unsociable, due to Mars they are bloodthirsty and warlike, due to Sagittarius they are dissolute, zoophiles, and horsemen.”⁸⁵ Despite the complete mismatch between links to celestial bodies in Ptolemy and in this anonymous text, their conclusions about the sociocultural physiognomy of Scythians and Turks are identical.

The transformation of the ethnic name Τοῦρκοι into the place-name Τουρκία is rather curious. By the ninth century Τουρκία turned into a full equivalent of “Scythia” denoting the lands north of the Danube (including the lands of the Hungarians) and eastward up to the Caspian Sea. In this sense, Τουρκία was commonly used until Late Byzantine times, as seen in later astrological treatises where Τουρκία designated the northern climates. However, from the eleventh century, Τουρκία was sometimes applied to Turkish Anatolia, while in Ottoman times it signified the territory of the Ottoman Sultanate.⁸⁶

83 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:321–22.

84 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:322–25.

85 *Catalogus codicum astrologorum*, 5/2:138.9–13: “Δεύτερον δὲ Τουρκία ἔχουσα τὸν ὠροσκόπον Λέοντα οἶκον Ἡλίου, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην ἐν Τοξότη, ὠροκράτορα Ἄρεα· διὰ τοῦτο ἐγένοντο οἱ πλείστοι διὰ μὲν τὸν ὠροσκόπον τὸν Λέοντα θηριώδεις, ἀρπαγαί, φιλέρημοι, αἰμοπόται δὲ καὶ πολεμισταὶ διὰ τὸν Ἄρεα καὶ ἀσελγεῖς καὶ κτηνοβάται καὶ ἵπποτρόφοι διὰ τὸν Τοξότην.”

86 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:320; Lampros, Spyridon. “Τραπεζουντιακὸν ὠροσκόπιον τοῦ ἔτους 1336,” *Νέος Ἑλληνομῆμων* 13 (1916), p. 33: “Τουρκίαν καὶ Ταταρίαν.” Here Τουρκία

In summary, the main generic categories designating the Altaic nomadic peoples were Σκύθαι, Οὔννοι, and Τοῦρκοι. The most common was the name Σκύθαι, which could be applied to the nomadic peoples originating in the regions north and east of the Danube, the northern Black Sea, and Caspian Sea. These three terms were synonyms, from which a Byzantine was free to choose any of the categories. The most prevalent and generally accepted was the name Σκύθαι, which ideally covered all the nomadic (and sometimes even the settled) peoples who lived north of the civilized world. The neologisms Οὔννοι and Τοῦρκοι often appeared to be functionally interchangeable with “Scythians,” but one may notice in their use some restrictive tendencies; we have no information about some “Scythian” peoples called “Huns” and “Turks.” Nevertheless, at least by the eleventh century, the categories Huns and Turks, along with the Scythians, belonged to the higher generic level in Byzantine classification.

5 The Species

The species represented a lower taxonomic level, labeling individual nations and tribes, those that belonged to the generic class of “Scythians,” with some distinguishing features. Among the species, there are both traditional ethnic names dating back to antiquity and new ones. Contrary to the modern accusations of blind imitation of antiquity and an inability to perceive new information, a large number of new ethnic names often originated from ethnic self-names and can be found in the Byzantine nomenclature. These new ethnonyms most often first appeared at the level of spoken discourse and were only later adopted by “scientific” discourse.

There were several ways to designate specific categories. First, traditional nomenclature was used, as for example the rather widespread term Μασσαγέται (Massagets), which was applied to the Huns, Alans, Göktürks, Mongols, Tatars, and eastern Turks.⁸⁷ “Massagets” designated nomadic peoples, who belonged

designates the northern climates, but not Anatolia, despite Moravcsik's and my own earlier interpretations: Shukurov, “Horizons of Daily Interest,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 25 (1999), p. 8. See also some instances missed by Moravcsik: *Catalogus codicum astrologorum*, 4:126.7–8, 5:2138.9, 5/3:131.17, 9/1:160.5, etc. For Τουρκία as a designation of the Ottoman lands, see: Schreiner, Peter. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols (Vienna, 1975–79), 1:110. 65.111.30: “ἐγένηκε πείνα μεγάλη εἰς τὴν Τουρκίαν ὅλην καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν.”

87 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:183.

to the generic category “Scythians”⁸⁸ that came from the regions northeast of the Caspian Sea, as was clearly outlined by Laonikos Chalkokondyles in his account of the origin of Tamerlane (whom he regarded as being originally Massaget).⁸⁹ The concept of “Massagets” bore a distinct restrictive sense in comparison with the category “Scythians”; “Massagets” was used mostly to emphasize an origin from the extreme Transcaspian steppes of the northeast. That is why in the Late Byzantine period it was used to designate Mongols and eastern Turks by Michael VIII Palaiologos,⁹⁰ Pseudo-Sphrantzes, and Chalkokondyles, for example. However, this usage was not stable. Although Nikephoros Blemmydes, the elder contemporary of Michael Palaiologos, localizes the Massagets to the right of the Caspian Sea and south of Khorezm (i.e., rather far to the east),⁹¹ the younger contemporary of Michael VIII, Nikephoros Gregoras, consistently refers to the Iranian nomads, Alans, as Massagets and places them closer to Europe in the areas east to the Tanais.⁹²

Turks were occasionally called by the ancient name Σαυρομάται, “Sarmatians,” the people who, according to ancient Greeks, conquered the northern steppes from the Scythians. At times the term “Sarmatians” was applied to the Hungarians, Pechenegs, and Uzes.⁹³ A rare case of the designation of the Ottomans as Sarmatians can be found in post-Byzantine tradition, in the sixteenth century, namely in the apocalyptic text of George Klontzas, although it is possible that the Byzantines themselves would have considered this identification as incorrect.⁹⁴ “Sarmatians” and “Sarmatia” were reserved more or less consistently for Russians and Russia respectively.⁹⁵

88 See, for example: Stephen of Byzantium. *Ethnika*, ed. August Meineke (Berlin, 1849), p. 435.16: “Μασσαγέται, ἔθνος Σκυθῶν . . .”

89 Chalkokondyles, 1:109.23–110.1: “λέγεται δὲ αὕτη καὶ Κασπία ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους τούτου ἐπωνυμίαν· διήκει δὲ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν Σάκας τε ἔχων καὶ Καδουσίους ἐπὶ σταδίους τρισμυρίου, πρὸς ἔω δὲ καὶ βορρᾶν Μασσαγέτας . . .”

90 Grégoire, Henri. “Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi de vita sua,” *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60), p. 453 (translation p. 454); Troitskij, Ivan E. *Автобиография императора Михаила Палеолога* (St. Petersburg, 1885); *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders’ Typika and Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas, A.C. Hero, and G. Constable, 5 vols (Washington, DC, 2000), 5:1243.

91 Blemmydes, *Conspectus*, pp. 464.33–40.

92 See, for instance: Gregoras, 1:36.5–8, 204.15–16.

93 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:270.

94 Lampros, Spyridon. “Ο μαρκιανός κώδιξ του Κρητός Γεωργίου Κλόντζα,” *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 12 (1915), p. 44.

95 Ditten, “Der Russland-Exkurs,” pp. 16–19 passim.

Niketas Choniates, on several occasions, used Ταυροσκύθαι as an alternative term for the Cumans. This attribution, however, was not supported by other authors.⁹⁶ In general, Ταυροσκύθαι consistently signified the settled population of Old Russia.⁹⁷ The bipartite compound names of the same type indicated only the species categories.⁹⁸

In addition to traditional “scientific” Μασσαγέται, Σαυρομάται, and Ταυροσκύθαι, the Byzantines used as species categories new “barbarian” ethnic terminology, some of which was adopted from civilized neighbors of the Byzantines (both eastern Muslims and western Christians) or gleaned from their own communication practices with new tribes. These specific names quite accurately identified various Turkic tribal groups. For example, in the tenth to twelfth centuries, one can find the neologisms Πατζινάχοι⁹⁹ and Οὔζοι¹⁰⁰ designating the Oğuz confederation of the Turkic tribes, which invaded the Balkans from the south Russian steppes. Both names appeared to be Turkic self-denominations (Πατζινάχοι ← Turkic *beçenek*; Οὔζοι ← Turkic *üz* ← *oğuz*). In the same way, from the eleventh through the fourteenth century, the Byzantines used the tribal name Κούμανοι (← Turkic *quman*).¹⁰¹

A number of new ethnic names came to the Byzantine world during the Mongol invasions. In addition to the generic terms “Scythians” and “Huns,” and the species name “Massagets” applied to the Tatars and Mongols, the Byzantines knew the specific terms Τάταροι (thirteenth-fifteenth c.),¹⁰² Μουγούλαιοι and Μουγούλαιοι,¹⁰³ which were adopted from the Perso-Arabic world (respectively, *tātār* and *mughūl*). In addition, the eastern Turks, Tatars, and Mongols in the fourteenth century were labeled with the term Χαταϊδες, corresponding to the place-name Χαταϊά (from Persian خطای *Khīṭāy* “China” ← Uighur *kytai*), which the Byzantines localized somewhere in the east near China.¹⁰⁴ In addition, in the mid-fourteenth century, for “Chinese” the Byzantines may have used

96 Choniates, Niketas. *Historia*, ed. Jan Louis van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1975), 1:312.2–3, 333.54; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:303.

97 Ditten, “Der Russland-Exkurs,” pp. 9, 83 (n. 63), 91f. (n. 106), 135 (n. 225).

98 See also Section 6.

99 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:247–49. For the Pechenegs in Byzantine literature, see: Kurat, Akdeş Nimet. *Peçenek tarihi* (Istanbul, 1937), pp. 1–10, 143ff.; Malamut, Élizabeth. “L’image byzantine des Petchénègues,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 88 (1995), pp. 105–47.

100 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:228.

101 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:167–68.

102 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:301.

103 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:193.

104 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:342–43; Vasmer, Max. *Этимологический словарь русского языка*, transl., ed. O.N. Trubachev and B.A. Larin, 4 vols (Moscow, 1986), 2:240–41.

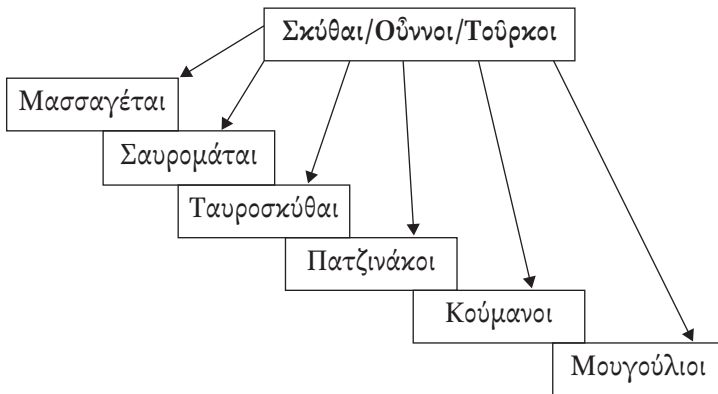


FIGURE 2 The two-part classification of the Turks.

one more foreign neologism, σινιτικός ← Arabic صيني *ṣīnī* “Chinese.”¹⁰⁵ These new species were analogized with the traditional equivalents Τόχαροι¹⁰⁶ and Κιμμέριοι,¹⁰⁷ also designating the Mongols and Tatars.¹⁰⁸

In the post-Byzantine period, under the influence of the Ottoman terminology, Greek historiography made further borrowings of Oriental terminology: Ὀθομάνοι and the like (from the fifteenth century),¹⁰⁹ Ὀγούζιοι (i.e., the Oğuz tribes in Chalkokondyles).¹¹⁰

To specific categories the names of smaller tribal groupings and individual tribes should be added, names that often were borrowed from the Turks themselves, such as Ποσδογάνης (← Turkic *bozdoğan*),¹¹¹ Καρμανοί and Καρμιάν (← Turk. *germiyan*),¹¹² Καραμάνοι and Καραμάν (← Turk. *qaraman*),¹¹³ Ἀμιτιώται tribes (probably ← the place-name Omidie; Greek equivalent for the Aqquyunlu tribes),¹¹⁴ and the like (see Fig. 2).

105 Schreiner, Peter. *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican, 1991), p. 216 (33/1); *LBG*, p. 1554.

106 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:329.

107 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:160.

108 For a fresh analysis of the Byzantine “ethnographic” conceptions of the Mongols, see: Kaldellis, Anthony. *Ethnography After Antiquity: Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature. Empire and After* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 156–66.

109 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:215.

110 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:213–14.

111 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:256; Shukurov, Rustam. *Ближние Комнины и Восток (1204–1461)* (St. Petersburg, 2001), pp. 237–38.

112 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:160.

113 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:151–52.

114 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:58; Shukurov, *Ближние Комнины*, pp. 233–36.

The differences in ethnic origin were clearly reflected in Byzantine personal names, as one can see in a variety of foreign tribal and ethnic names, including Τοῦρκος (found as an independent nickname and as the first element in compound names Τουρκοθεόδωρος, Τουρκοθεριανός, Τουρκοῖωάννης, etc.), Κούμανος/Κουμάνος, Κουνούκης (←Turkic tribal name *qunıq*?), Μουγούλ(ης), Ἀράπης, Κοῦρτος, and the like.¹¹⁵ Most of these names were nicknames that indicated the ethnicity of their owners or their immediate ancestors.

6 The Concept Πέρσαι

Another major taxonomic category was given the name Πέρσαι. Since the eleventh century, the category Πέρσαι was widely used to designate the Anatolian Turks, as well as the residents of the historic Περσίς, that is, Azerbaijan, Iran, and Khorasan, including the Turks and Mongols who settled there.¹¹⁶ For instance, Kinnamos refers to the Anatolian Turks only as “Persians” and never as “Turks.”¹¹⁷ Generally speaking, in Classical times and up to the eleventh century, Πέρσαι and Περσίς were important generic categories, being a general definition for many geographical and ethnic individualities.¹¹⁸ Πέρσαι and Περσίς, as generic categories, stood in the same line with Σκύθαι and Σκυθία. However, in the later period, as an element of the nomenclature of the Turkic/Scythian peoples, Πέρσαι and Περσίς underwent a curious metamorphosis, having been reduced in their status from the generic level to the species. Πέρσαι, as the designation of the Anatolian Turks and Iranian Mongols, was in a subordinate position in relation to the generic concepts of Scythians/Huns/Turks.

Attaleiates was the most explicit in identifying the Anatolian Turks with “Persians,” applying the name to them only by virtue of their settlement in the territory of historical Persia: “the Persians, who are now often referred to as the Turks” (οἱ Πέρσαι, Τούρκους δὲ τούτους νυνὶ ὁ λόγος οἶδε καλεῖν),¹¹⁹ and

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 7, Section 2.

¹¹⁶ Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:252–54.

¹¹⁷ Kinnamos, John. *Ioannis Cinnami epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. August Meineke (Bonn, 1836), passim. At one point, Kinnamos refers to “Turkomans” as subjects of the Seljuk sultan, having in mind the Turkmen nomads of the *uc* areas: Kinnamos v.3 (p. 208.1).

¹¹⁸ Dagron, “Ceux d'en face,” pp. 211–13; Cameron, Averil. “Agathias on the Sassanians,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23–24 (1969–70), pp. 67–183; Schreiner, Peter. “Theophylaktos Symokattes und das Perserbild der Byzantiner im 6. und 7. Jh.,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 21, Suppl. v (1980), pp. 301–06.

¹¹⁹ Attaleiates, Michael. *Miguel Atalates, Historia*, intro., ed., transl. and commentary by I. Pérez Martín (Madrid, 2002), p. 80.4–3.

“since the Turks emerging from Persia attacked the Roman lands” (οἱ γὰρ ἐκ Περσίδος ἐπιφανέντες Τοῦρκοι τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσαντες θέμασι).¹²⁰ Such an understanding is also found in Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Komnene, who extended the name “Persians” to include the Turks because the latter had mastered Persia.¹²¹ In the thirteenth century, Theodore Skoutariotes confirmed that the pair Turks/Persians were synonymous in regard to the Seljuk Turks, maintaining that they were “Turks who were also called Persians.”¹²²

However, the Byzantines never forgot about the Scythian/Hun/Turkish origin of the Anatolian and Iranian Turks. Their Scythian origin was discussed by all the major historians who were contemporaries of the Seljuk conquests in Asia Minor in the eleventh century. Michael Attaleiates, calling the Seljuk Turks “Persians,” at the same time defines them as a type of Hun (Οὐννοὶ Νεφθαλίται; τῶν Νεφθαλιτῶν Οὐννων ἥτοι τῶν Τούρκων).¹²³ Michael Psellos and Nikephoros Bryennios qualified the Seljuk Turks as a Hunnic tribe.¹²⁴ Similarly, Theodore Gazes in the middle of the fifteenth century, in his letter to Francesco Filelfo, reproduced the old tradition and repeated that the Turks belong to the Hunnic peoples (Τοῦρκοι ἔθνος Οὐννικὸν εἶναι φησιν).¹²⁵ Nikephoros Gregoras, describing the Seljuk embassy to the emperor John III Vatatzes, called the Anatolian Seljuks “Turks” and the Iranian Mongols “Scythians.”¹²⁶ The Byzantines had not the slightest doubt about the origins of Middle Eastern Turks and Mongols, who acquired the name “Persians” due to the locative criterion.¹²⁷

From the end of eleventh century, a clear trend in Byzantine literature contrasts the two areas: the “Persian” in the east and the “Scythian” in the west.

120 Attaleiates, p. 135.17–18.

121 See, for instance: Bryennios, Nikephoros. *Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire*, ed. P. Gautier (Brussels, 1975), p. 97.1–2 (“Ἀλλ’ οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαίων οἱ Τοῦρκοι γεγόνασιν ὅμοροι, τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντες...”); Komnene, Anna. *Annae Comnenae Alexias* vii.7.4.9, ed. A. Kambylis and D.R. Reinsch (Berlin and New York, 2001): “οἱ δὲ νῦν τὰ Περσῶν φρονοῦντες Τοῦρκοι.”

122 Skoutariotes, Theodore. *Ἀνωνύμου Σύνοψις Χρονικῆς*, in Sathas, Konstantinos. *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7:183.27.

123 Attaleiates, pp. 33.16–17, 59.16–17.

124 Psellos, Michael. *Michaelis Pselli orationes panegyricae* v.127, ed. G.T. Dennis (Stuttgart, 1994); Bryennios, p. 91.1.

125 Gazes, Theodore. *Theodori Gazae epistolae*, ed. Petrus Aloisius M. Leone (Naples, 1990), p. 97.11.

126 Gregoras, i:41.4–6.

127 For more on the Byzantine conceptions of Seljuks’ origins, see: Beihammer, Alexander. “Die Ethnogenese der seldschukischen Türken im Urteil christlicher Geschichtsschreiber des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts,” *Byzantische Zeitschrift* 102 (2009), pp. 589–614.

A rhetoric text describing the dire state of the empire at the beginning of Alexios I's reign opposed ἡ Σκυθῶν μυριαρχία in the west and ἡ Περσικῶν ὀπλων βία in the east.¹²⁸ Until the mid-fourteenth century, the opposition Πέρσαι and Σκύθαι remained commonplace; the former referred to the Anatolian Turks and later to the Iranian Mongols, while the latter to the Balkan Cumans, Alans, and later the Mongols of the Golden Horde.¹²⁹ There may appear to be an incorrect impression that the Anatolian and Balkan Turks of the time, in the Byzantine ethnographic taxonomy, were classified into different generic categories, which would repeat the classical generic division between the Persians and Scythians. However, the trend to demarcate the two Turkic areas still did not disguise an awareness about the "Scythian" origin of the Turks and Mongols who mastered Persia and Anatolia. Attaleiates, who qualified the Anatolian Turks as Huns and Persians, in another passage maintained that one of the Seljuk leaders Chrysoskoulos, looked like a Scythian (τὴν ὄψιν Σκύθης) because he was descended from the Scythians (τὸ γένος ἐκ Σκυθῶν), thus emphasizing the genetic relationship between the Balkan Scythians and Anatolian Persians.¹³⁰ Similarly, Nikephoros Gregoras knew that the Mongols of Iran actually were of Σκυθικὸν γένος and had some time ago conquered Assyria, Media, and Persia.¹³¹

In the Ptolemaic system, Persia was located in the eastern part of the Mediterranean and so the Sun's impact was more profound in comparison to the west; the region was therefore characterized as solar, diurnal, right-handed, and male, in contrast to the western Mediterranean which was lunar, nocturnal, left-handed, and female. Accordingly, people who lived in Persia enjoyed common sense, curiosity, and a penchant for science; they were courageous and determined.¹³² Persia, according to Ptolemy, was dominated by the zodiac signs of Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn, and the planets Saturn and Venus. Because of this, people living there were characterized by the ability to predict the future, passion, lust, and love of luxury, as well as by the nobility of their character, generosity, and combativeness.¹³³ In classical astrological chorography, there could also be found different celestial links for Persia,

128 Maas, Paul. "Die Musen des Kaisers Alexios I," *Byzantische Zeitschrift* 22 (1913), pp. 348–69, and also 361.

129 See, for instance: Choniates, 1:30.1–2, 178.4–5, passim; Grégoire, "Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi de vita sua" v–vii.

130 Attaleiates, p. 107.1–2. For additional examples, see: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:282 (10).

131 Gregoras, 1:35ff., 2:689.5–6.

132 Ptolemy 2.2.2, ed. Hübner.

133 Ptolemy 2.2.3, ed. Hübner.

distinct from those of Ptolemy.¹³⁴ In fourteenth- and fifteenth-century astrology, under the influence of the Iranian tradition, Persia was associated with Aries and Jupiter.¹³⁵

Thus, the transfer of the name “Persian” to the Anatolian Turks was caused by the geographical views of the Byzantines, who considered the region east to Anatolia as Persia and its inhabitants as Persians. The Turks who invaded Anatolia in the eleventh century came from Persia and, according to the locus of their origin, were called Persians. However, the Byzantine practice was not due only to the internal logic of traditional Byzantine geographic views. The name Πέρσαι, being assigned to the Turks of Anatolia, overshadowed (but did not eliminate) the term Τοῦρκοι. The formation of the Byzantine nomenclature occurred simultaneously with the development among the Anatolian Turks of the idea of a connection between their states and the Iranian imperial Achaemenid and Sasanid tradition.¹³⁶ Persian culture and language played a significant role in all strata of Seljuk society. The upper class of Muslim society in Anatolia associated itself with the Persians, and not with the Turkic nomads, whose civilizational status in the Muslim Middle Ages was rather low. One may assume that it was the Byzantine identification of the Anatolian Turks as Persians that provided an important impulse for constructing such ideological connections between Muslim Anatolia and Iranian civilization in the self-identity models of the Anatolian Turks. In addition, the Persian element in the Turkic self-identity might well have been strengthened by analogizing the transfer of the traditional model of Greco-Persian relations in the ancient and early medieval period to the Byzantine-Turkish relations in Anatolia, which was attested in Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This external stimulus, given by the Byzantines, coincided with a broad influx of Persian immigrants to Anatolia from northern Iran, Khorasan, and Mawarannahr, which peaked in the first half of the thirteenth century. Persian was the predominant spoken language of the Muslim population in Anatolian urban centers, as well as the language of the official chancellery, palace culture, and literature until the last decades of the thirteenth century. Possibly,

134 For differing zodiac and planetary links for Iran, see: *Anecdota Astrologica*, pp. 112–19; Bouché-Leclercq, “Chorographie,” pp. 343–50.

135 *Catalogus codicum astrologorum*, 4:126.4–5, 5:131.2.

136 For additional information on the usage of “Turk” and “Persian” in Byzantine literature of the time, see: Durak, Koray. “Defining the ‘Turk’: Mechanisms of Establishing Contemporary Meaning in the Archaizing Language of the Byzantines,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 59 (2009), pp. 65–78; Todt, Klaus-Peter. “Islam and Muslims in Byzantine historiography of the 10th–15th centuries,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, ed. D. Thomas et al., 5 (Leiden, 2013), pp. 35–46.

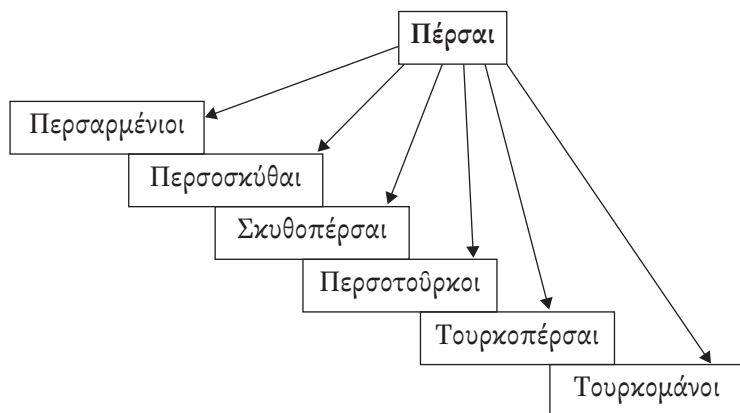


FIGURE 3 *Πέρσαι as a generic category.*

the sudden combination of these two factors – the Byzantine interpretation of the Anatolian Muslims as Persians and the physical presence of Iranians and Iranian culture – prompted the Seljuk elite to such a surprising turn in its search for an Anatolian Muslim identity.

In the category *Πέρσαι*, one can distinguish some subspecies terms: such as *Περσαρμένιοι* (the Danishmandid dynasty in the twelfth century, which controlled a major part of Greater Armenia),¹³⁷ *Περσοσχύθαι* and *Σκυθοπέρσαι* (the Seljuk Turks),¹³⁸ *Περστοτῦρκοι* and *Τουρκοπέρσαι* (the Aqquyunlu Turkmen tribes in eastern Anatolia).¹³⁹ In the twelfth century, the term *Τουρκομάνοι*¹⁴⁰ appeared, designating the Turkmen nomads of Anatolia, which, apparently, was borrowed from the settled Muslims of Anatolia. *Τουρκομάνοι* were considered a subspecies in the general category of *Πέρσαι*; Akropolites linked these two when speaking about Turkmens that “that nation guards the remote borders of the Persians” (ἔθνος δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς ἄκροις ὁρίοις τῶν Περσῶν ἐφεδρεῖον).¹⁴¹ Consequently, *Πέρσαι* in relation to subspecies played the role of a generic category (see Fig. 3).

¹³⁷ Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:254.

¹³⁸ Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:255, 283. Moravcsik missed many references to *Περσοσχύθαι* found in the literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; see, for instance: Laskaris, Theodore. *Teodoro II Duca Lascari, Encomio dell'Imperatore Giovanni Duca*, ed. Luigi Tartaglia (Naples, 1990), p. 50.94–95; see also *TLG*.

¹³⁹ Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:255, 327.

¹⁴⁰ Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:320, 327.

¹⁴¹ Akropolites, George. *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. August Heisenberg, Peter Wirth, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1978), 1:36.11–12.

The category Πέρσαι stands apart, since its status varies between the generic and the specific. The term, as a designation of a powerful and warlike Oriental nation played the role of a generic concept that covered a series of species. The Byzantines, however, did not forget that the eleventh- to fourteenth-century Πέρσαι originally were one of the varieties of Scythians/Huns/Turks, thus relegating the term to a lower category of species.

7 The Defects of the Method

In the passage quoted above, Nikephoros Gregoras maintains that Byzantine authors “call [barbarians] differently, as they want.” Gregoras grasped the main defect of the Byzantine method of accommodating new information about the structure of the external world; Byzantine authors exhibited some inconsistency in the distribution of new nations to genera and species. The attribution of a nation to this or that generic category was not strictly logical. For instance, if for Attaleiates the Seljuk Turks were the Huns who conquered Persia, Anna Komnene tended to attribute the term “Persians” more often to the Great Seljuks of Iran and to call the Anatolian Turks Τοῦρκοι, although in some cases she also called the Anatolian Turks “Persians.” John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates never called the Seljuk Turks “Huns,” although, judging by the preceding and following traditions, this identification was generally known and commonplace. Kinnamos and Choniates reserved the term “Huns” exclusively for the Hungarians. Kinnamos never called the Seljuk Turks Τοῦρκοι, whereas Choniates designated them both as Τοῦρκοι and Πέρσαι. George Pachymeres called the Anatolian Turks Πέρσαι while reserving Τοῦρκοι solely for the Turkic allies of the Catalans in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Such examples could be multiplied at the expense of discord in the naming of the northern Turks (Pechenegs, Uzes, Cumans, Mongols), as well as of the usage of traditional specific categories such as Μασσαγέται, Τόχαροι, and Κιμμέριοι.

Modern scholars have often discussed the lack of uniformity in the usage of ethnic names by Byzantine authors, a peculiarity that is extremely confusing for modern readers. The noted inconsistency, however, never resulted in arbitrariness. In Byzantine thought, traditional and new ethnic names existed as a series of generic and specific synonyms of equal value. Byzantine authors were free to choose a synonym that seemed more appropriate for a particular reason. Although Kinnamos never called the Anatolian Seljuks “Scythians,” “Huns,” or “Turks,” it is difficult to imagine that he did not

know about their “true” Scythian/Hun/Turkic origin. Differences between synonymous groups were always operative; none of the Byzantines would call Pechenegs or Cumans “Massagets” and “Tocharians” (these names were reserved for the peoples living in the eastern part of “Scythia”), and nobody referred to the Turks and Iranians of the Middle East as “Arabs” or “Saracens” (the latter name was reserved, contrary to Moravcsik’s opinion, solely for the Arabs).¹⁴²

As noted above, the Byzantine classification of the northern and eastern nations was primarily bipartite. It is hardly possible in most cases to build a taxonomic hierarchical scale that would contain more than two hierarchical categories. Genus-species pairs are normally found in Byzantine texts as diatomic molecules eluding any hierarchical subordination. It was another important limitation of the Byzantine classification system.

In summary, in the Byzantine model of the classification of nations, the *language criterion* played almost no role; the Byzantines categorized nations by their *locative* features. The main generic categories designating Altaic nomadic peoples were Σκύθαι, Οὔννοι, and Τοῦρκοι. The most prevalent and common was Σκύθαι, which could be applied to all the nomadic peoples coming from the regions north and east of the Danube, the northern Black Sea, and the Caspian Sea. A great variety of species – such as Μασσαγέται, Σαυρομάται, Ταυροσχύθαι, Πατζινάκοι, Κούμανοι, and Μουγούλιοι – was subordinate to the generic notions of Σκύθαι, Οὔννοι, and Τοῦρκοι.

The name Πέρσαι semantically underwent an interesting transformation, being an exception in Byzantine nomenclature. The term “Persians” initially designated people living in the lands of ancient Persia. However, after the loss of Anatolia to the Seljuk Turks it acquired an ambivalent meaning in Byzantine usage. The category Πέρσαι, while in principle subordinate to the generic concept of Scythians/Huns/Turks, nonetheless had its own subspecies. In some cases, Πέρσαι served as a generic term for the Turks who lived in Muslim Anatolia and the Middle East as opposed to the Scythians who lived in the north and northeast.

Byzantine classification was primarily bipartite. Of course, in the hierarchical scales Barbarians-Scythians-Persians-Persoarmenians, one can see as many

142 The name Saracen was applied by the Byzantines exclusively to the Arabs: Christides, Vassilios. “The Names ἄραβες, σαρακηνοί etc. and their False Byzantine Etymologies,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 65 (1972), pp. 329–33.

as four taxonomic levels. Such sophisticated scales can be reconstructed only speculatively, by analogy with modern classifications. They were not in vogue in the actual practice of Byzantine intellectuals.

The so-called archaization was not an independent principle but rather an epistemological tool of scientific systematization and classification of newly discovered objects. The charges against the Byzantines of rigidity and inability to accommodate new information appear to be exaggerated. The Byzantine scientific method, in its principles, was analogous to deductive methods of contemporary science. The only essential difference between Byzantine and contemporary scientific methodology lies in the fact that we, in comparison with Medieval Greeks, are able to construct more hierarchies than those of genera and species.¹⁴³

8 The Linguistic Criterion

The dominance of locative criterion in classification models does not mean that the Byzantines did not recognize the linguistic specificity of “new” peoples and did not distinguish foreign languages. The issue of language and linguistic identity, however, is one in which one can trace considerable inconsistencies within Byzantine thought. Multiple conflicting models of linguistic identity in Byzantine thought can be distinguished, which remained unreconciled to the end of Byzantine civilization.

The basic division between “We” and “They,” between “One’s Own Self” and “Alien” in ancient and medieval Greek cultures was introduced by the primary linguistic criteria in the “generic” term for a foreigner *βάρβαρος*, an onomatopoeia, which delineated the boundaries of Greek Own Self through linguistic criterion opposed to alien foreign language. Although the feeling of a certain connection between Greek identity and the Greek language survived through the ages, the issue of language was constantly glossed over (not always expressed explicitly) by broader concepts such as *διάνοια* (mindset), as was used in the famous maxim of Isocrates¹⁴⁴ or more commonly in Byzantine

143 For similar conclusions dealing with the essence of “Byzantine ethnography,” albeit with a strong literary-critical bias in argumentation, see: Kaldellis, *Ethnography After Antiquity*, pp. 106–17.

144 Cf.: Isocrates. *Isocrate, Discours*, ed. Émile Brémond and Georges Mathieu, 4 vols (Paris, 1928–62), 2:50.4–7: “τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα μηκέτι τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλλον Ἑλλήνας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδείας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας.”

times ἔθος/ἔθη (“habit” and consequently “way of life,” “mindset,” or what we now call “culture”) and γνώμη (“viewpoint, way of thinking, opinion”).¹⁴⁵ Niketas Choniates, wishing to express a deep cultural Hellenization of Aldebrandinos the Italian, speaks about his upbringing in the Roman/Greek “way of life” (έντεθραμμένος τοῖς Ῥωμαῖκοῖς ἔθεσι).¹⁴⁶ In the fifteenth century, Chalkokondyles uses the same formula, trying to persuade the reader that the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond were Greek: “Ἑλληνάς τε ὄντας τὸ γένος, καὶ τὰ ἦθη τε ἅμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν προῖεμένους Ἑλληνικὴν.”¹⁴⁷ A modern observer would say that the Hellenic “mindset,” “way of life,” or “culture” assumed the possession of the Greek language as the main instrument of thought. Paradoxically, the ancient Greeks and Byzantines never problematized the role of language in the process of “domestication” and Hellenizing assimilation. The mastery of the Greek language was implied as a matter of course, but as a rule was not considered explicitly as a prerequisite of Hellenization. Chalkokondyles’ example of τὰ ἔθη is remarkable for he uses it as a general concept and language as its particular manifestation. The problem of language was obscured as insignificant and minor or, rather, taken for granted.¹⁴⁸

Explicit contradiction in the issue of language is noticeable in the late Roman and Byzantine periods. According to Gilbert Dagron, “les Byzantins tentent de concilier un plurilinguisme de fait et un monolingue de droit.”¹⁴⁹ In fact, ideally, in the late Roman empire one state language existed, Latin, although this ideal, when faced with the actual Latin and Greek diglossia, later changed into Greek monolingism.¹⁵⁰ Notwithstanding, the idea of an “imperial” universal language survived. The expression Ῥωμαϊκὴ γλῶσσα, “the Roman language,” could have meant (paradoxically for a contemporary observer) equally Latin and Greek.¹⁵¹ Moreover, the universal character of

145 As Deborah Gera has shown, every specific language for ancient Greeks was associated also with a specific diet: Gera, Deborah L. *Ancient Greek Ideas on Speech, Language, and Civilization* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 10, 44, 57–61, 192–94.

146 Choniates, 1:639.6.

147 Chalkokondyles, 2:219.4–5. For more examples of this sort, see: Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, pp. 90–92; Page, *Being Byzantine*, p. 54.

148 For the discussion of a quite close topic of Greek *paideia*, see: Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, pp. 21–41.

149 Dagron, Gilbert. “Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance (IX^e–XI^e siècle),” *Travaux et mémoires* 12 (1994), p. 219.

150 Dagron, Gilbert. “Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine: langue de culture et langue d’état,” *Revue historique* 241 (1964), pp. 23–56; Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, pp. 66–70, 113–14.

151 Dagron, “Formes et fonctions,” pp. 219–40.

the Roman/Byzantine empire led to factual linguistic pluralism when many languages functioned in the marginal territories of the empire along with the “state” Latin/Greek language (Syriac, Coptic, Georgian, Slavic, Arabic, etc.). In these marginal territories, knowledge of the Greek language for Byzantine subjects was desirable but not mandatory.¹⁵² A simple scheme based on linguistic differences – “Byzantines speak Greek”; therefore “non-Byzantines are those who speak other languages” – did not work in the Byzantine sphere. Of course, the linguistic pluralism of Byzantine civilization should not be exaggerated. Despite the multilingual nature of the Byzantine imperial domain, knowledge of the Greek language was an important precondition for social success.¹⁵³

“Innate” contradictions in language were superimposed by another tradition, which came from the Semitic cultural environment. The biblical model of linguistic diversity in the world was perceived as an explanation and justification of actual multilingualism. The multilingualism of the world was seen to correspond to God’s plan, which was demonstrated by the Old Testament story of the Tower of Babel and the New Testament *glossolalia*. Although, dogmatic theory recognized only three “major languages” – Hebrew, Greek, and Latin – and questioned the legitimacy of the translation of the Scripture and liturgy into local languages. However, it did not disavow the idea of divine participation in the world’s factual multilingualism.¹⁵⁴

The various attitudes to language (both Byzantine and of others) in Byzantine mentality did not converge and were never systematized. In practice, these contradictory tendencies resulted in a fundamental indifference to

152 *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit*, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, 40 (Bonn 1980); Dagron, “Formes et fonctions,” pp. 219–20; MacMullen, Ramsay. “Provincial Languages in the Roman Empire,” *American Journal of Philology* 87 (1966), pp. 1–17. For local languages and literatures in the margins of the Roman world, see now: Codoñer, Juan Signes. “New Alphabets for the Christian Nations: Frontier Strategies in the Byzantine Commonwealth between the 4th and 10th Centuries,” in Ana de Francisco Heredero, David Hernández de la Fuente, and Susana Torres Prieto (eds), *New Perspectives on the Late Roman Eastern Empire* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2014), pp. 116–62.

153 Koder, Johannes. “Byzantinische Identität – einleitende Bemerkungen,” in *Byzantium. Identity, Image, Influence. Major Papers. XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies. University of Copenhagen, 18–24 August, 1996* (Copenhagen, 1996), pp. 4–5; Vacalopoulos, Apostolos. *Origins of the Greek Nation. The Byzantine Period, 1204–1461* (New Brunswick, 1970), pp. 46–60; Page, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 58–63.

154 Borst, Arno. *Der Turmbau von Babel. Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1957), pp. 227–57; Thomson, Francis J. “St Cyril and Methodius and a Mythical Western Heresy: Trilingualism. A Contribution to the Study of Patristic and Mediaeval Theories of Sacred Languages,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 110 (1992), pp. 67–122.

the knowledge of foreign languages. The languages of other peoples were never studied systematically, with the exception of Latin in some periods, which, however, was considered Byzantium's own language. In the Byzantine world, there did not exist any tradition of bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, which were so widespread in the Muslim Orient, the Slavic World, and western Europe. Byzantines produced only Greco-Latin dictionaries, which were composed mostly before the end of the seventh century and were in use until the end of the empire, and Greek to Greek explanatory lexicons. The study of Latin, however, was more of remembering Byzantium's own past in the sense of Platonic remembrance rather than the learning of a foreign language. Byzantines' lexicography interpreted and memorized their own Greek classic language, which was increasingly moving away from them.¹⁵⁵ The problem of foreign language was not of self-sufficient importance, as well as that of adequate communication in a foreign environment. Interest in foreign languages was always utilitarian in nature; they were mastered only under compelling circumstances and were used reluctantly.

The essential indifference to the problem of language was not characteristic of the Byzantine mentality alone: it was a common feature of ancient and medieval cultures. This is a fundamental difference between ancient and modern ideals of knowledge. The problem of foreign language and full-value communication has been objectified only in modern civilization, especially through the "linguistic revolution" that began approximately with Wilhelm von Humboldt and lasted to Ferdinand de Saussure. The typology of languages was formulated as late as the nineteenth century, forming the basis of modern classification of ethnicities and cultures. In ancient and medieval times a variety of attitudes to foreign languages could have arisen due to specific historical circumstances. Apart from the Byzantine model, other models interested in foreign speech existed. For example, the west European medieval mind was more receptive and open than was the Byzantine, while Persian mentality occupied a middle position: they were more open to foreign languages (Arabic, Indian, and Turkic) than were the Byzantines although they were more centered on their own language than the western Europeans were.

¹⁵⁵ Baldwin, Barry. "Theophylact's Knowledge of Latin," *Byzantion* 47 (1977), pp. 357–60; Whitby, L. Michael. "Theophylact's Knowledge of Languages," *Byzantion* 52 (1982), pp. 425–28; Brock, Sebastian. "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979), pp. 69–87.

9 The Languages of the Turks

The learning of foreign languages and their use in the Byzantine world was unsystematic and purely utilitarian. Although the idea of learning foreign languages as an intellectual practice was alien to Byzantine education, the Byzantines, of course, were aware of the fact that the surrounding people spoke their own languages and that the Turks among them were no exception. Anna Komnene knew that the Turks spoke *τουρκική διάλεκτος*.¹⁵⁶ Later astrological chorography also recognized the Turkish language among others. An anonymous treatise of the fourteenth century, entitled by the editor *De planetarum patrociniis* (Monac., no. 287), maintained that Saturn dealt with the Egyptian and Hebrew languages, Mars with Persian, the Sun with the Frankish language and partially with Greek, Mercury “control[led] the Turkic and Khazar languages, participating with the Sun in the Greek language.”¹⁵⁷ One may conclude from this interesting passage that, along with the Coptic, Hebrew, and Persian languages, the Byzantines knew of the existence of various Turkic languages, differentiating the two species “Turkic” and “Khazar.” (As noted earlier in this chapter, the Byzantines knew that the Khazars were Turks.) In the same vein, one can interpret Anna Komnene’s remark in her description of the battle at Levounion (1091) that Pechenegs and Cumans speak the same language (*ὁμόγλωττοι*).¹⁵⁸ Apparently, Anna had in mind not so much the full identity of the two Turkic languages as their proximity. It is also interesting that Greek by its cosmological nature is similar to the Frankish and Turkic languages, sharing the Sun and Mercury as planet protectors. Thus, Greek, Turkish, and Frankish, all belonging to a closely related group, oppose “alien” Asian languages such as Egyptian, Hebrew, and Persian. An astrological connection between the Sun and the Turkic language was perhaps well known to contemporaries, as with the remark of George of Trebizond calling the language of the Turks “solar and exceedingly bright.”¹⁵⁹ Only astrology gives a comprehensive systematization

156 Anna Komnene XI.2.9.2.

157 *Catalogus codicum astrologorum*, 7:96.16–17, 97.27–28, 98.5–6: “Ἡλῖος . . . κοινωνεῖ δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν . . .,” 7:98.31–32: “Ἑρμῆς . . . ἄρχει δὲ καὶ τῆς Τουρκικῆς διαλέκτου καὶ τῆς Χαζαρικῆς, κοινωνῶν δὲ τῷ Ἡλίῳ καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς.”

158 Anna Komnene VIII.5.6.5–6.

159 Zoras, Georgios. *Γεώργιος ο Τραπεζούντιος καὶ αὶ πρὸς ἐλληνοτουρκικὴν συνεννόησιν προσπάθεια αὐτοῦ* (Athens, 1954), p. 94.23–24: “ἡλιακὴν καὶ ὑπέρλαμπρον τῶν Τούρκων διάλεκτον.” See also French and Russian translations in: George of Trebizond. *George de Trébizonde. De la vérité de la foi des chrétiens*, ed. Adel-Théodore Khoury (Altenberge, 1987), p. 68.23–24; George of Trebizond. *Георγiй Трапезундскiй, Об истинности христианской веры*, ed. Ksenia I. Lobovikova (Samarkand, 2009), p. 20. For more information on the treatise, see:

of languages, which, however, was rather atypical for Byzantine science in general.

The separation of Turkic and Persian into different language groups in astrological “linguistic theory” was not commonly accepted. The Byzantines do not seem to have distinguished in daily life between Turkish and Persian, sometimes mixing them. The key text that clearly indicates this is an excerpt from *Theogony* by John Tzetzes, who refers to samples of the “Scythian” and “Persian” languages.¹⁶⁰ Tzetzes, claiming to be able to welcome every foreigner in Constantinople in his own language, provides, in Greek, transcriptions of the standard phrases of different peoples in their original languages. Obviously, John Tzetzes follows here Meleagros of Gadara, a Greek poet and collector of epigram (first c. BC).¹⁶¹ Three passages relate Scythian, Persian, and Arabic:¹⁶²

καὶ Σκύθην ἀσπαζόμενος οὕτω προσαγορεύω·
καλὴ ἡμέρα σου, αὐθέντριά μου, καλὴ ἡμέρα σου, αὐθέντα μου.
σαλαμαλέκ ἀλτή [– –] σαλαμαλέκ ἀλτοῦγεπ.
τοῖς Πέρσαις πάλιν Περσικῶς οὕτω προσαγορεύω·
καλὴ ἡμέρα σου, ἀδελφέ, ποῦ ὑπάγεις; πόθεν εἶσαι, φίλε;
ἀσάν χαῖς καρούπαρζα χαντάζαρ χαραντάση.
{...}
τοῖς δ' Ἀραψιν ὡς Ἀραψιν ἀραβικῶς προσ[λέγω].

Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond, ed. John Monfasani (Binghamton, NY, 1984), p. 491. See also: Balivet, Michel. *Pour une concordance islamo-chrétienne. Démarches byzantines et latines à la fin du Moyen-âge (de Nicolas de Cues à Georges de Trébizonde)* (Rome, 1997).

160 Tzetzes, John. *Die Teogonie des Johannes Tzetzes aus der Bibliotheca Casanatensis*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1840* (Berlin, 1842), p. 169.768–73; Hunger, Herbert. “Zum Epilog der Theogonie des Johannes Tzetzes,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 46 (1953), pp. 304.1–305.8. For a deciphering of and commentaries on the passage, see: Moravcsik, Gyula. “Barbarische Sprachreste in der Theogonie des Johannes Tzetzes,” *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 7 (1930), pp. 352–65; Idem. *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:18–19.

161 Cf.: *Anthologia Graeca*, ed. Hermann Beckby, 1 (München, 1965), no. 419.7–8:

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν Σύρος ἐστί, „Σαλάμ“, εἰ δ' οὖν σύ γε Φοῖνιξ,
„Αὐδονίς“, εἰ δ' Ἑλλήν, „Χαῖρε“, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ φράσσον.

This connection between Tzetzes and Meleagros has also been noted in: Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, p. 21.

162 Tzetzes' text contains also an Alan phrase: Kim, Ronald. “On the Historical Phonology of Ossetic: The Origin of the Oblique Case Suffix,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 123 (2003), pp. 43–71; Idem. “The Origin of the Pre-Ossetic Oblique Case Suffix and its Implications,” *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 6 (1999), pp. 233–50.

ποῦ ὑπάγεις, πόθεν εἶσαι, αὐθέντριά μου; αὐθέντα μου, καλὴ ἡμέρα σου.
ἀλενταμόρ βενένεντε σίτη μουλὲ σεπάχα.

I reproduce here the reading and interpretation of these phrases by Moravcsik,¹⁶³ with some updates and additions. The “Scythian” phrase can be reconstructed as follows: *σαλαμαλέκ* is the same as Turkic *selam-alek* ← Arabic *al-salām ‘alayk* “peace be upon you, hello”; *ἀλτή* corresponds to Turkic *altı* (*aldi*) “bought woman, slave girl,” also used as a female name; *ἀλτοῦγεπ* probably corresponds to Turkic *altı + ağa + bek* (?) “master, leader, sir.” Not everything in this interpretation is without doubt, but no better reading exists. The entire phrase might have looked like: *Salam-alek altı, salam-alek altı-ağa-bek*, that is, “Hello slave girl, hello Sir.” This phrase most likely derived from the Cuman dialect; its Greek translation by Tzetzes reproduces the meaning rather closely with the exception of his reading of *altı*.

In the “Persian” phrase, *ἄσάν χαῖς*, which is translated into Greek by Tzetzes as *καλὴ ἡμέρα σου, ἄσάν* may be equivalent of Turkic *hasan* “good” ← Arabic *حسن*, while *χαῖς* possibly corresponds to Turkic *qays(sin)* with the meaning “good!, all right!”,¹⁶⁴ *καρούπαρζα* seems to be Turkic *qaru barsa* “where are you going?”; *χαντάζαρ* looks like Turkic *qanta(n) a(r)sar*, that is, “where are you from?”; and finally, *χαραντάση* stands for Turkic *qarındaş* “brother.” The whole phrase, therefore, may be reconstructed as *Hasan qays(sin), qaru barsa, qanta(n) a(r)sar, qarındaş?*, that is, “Good, all right! Where are you going, where are you from, brother?” The phrase probably corresponds to an Anatolian Oğuz dialect of Turkish. Again, it is very close to the Greek translation of Tzetzes.

The Arabic phrase is the easiest to read and understand:

علي أين تمر من أين أنت ستي مولاي صباح

that is, *‘Alā ayn tamurr min ayn anti sittī mawlayī ṣabāḥ* or “Where are you going, where are you from, lady? Good morning, my lord.” Perhaps its plainness and legibility is rather symptomatic; in the twelfth century, the Greeks had more precise and accurate knowledge of Arabic rather than of Turkic or Persian.

The problem is that the phrase marked by Tzetzes as Persian is actually Turkic. Tzetzes likely sought to reproduce some of the Anatolian dialects of Turkic, assuming that he really was cognizant of the difference between the

163 Moravcsik, “Barbarische Sprachreste,” p. 357; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:19.

164 Radloff, Wilhelm. *Опыт словаря тюркских наречий*, 4 vols (St. Petersburg, 1893–1911), 2:44.

“Persian” and “Scythian” idioms. Perhaps John Tzetzes’ incompetence is solely responsible for the confusion between Persian and Turkic. Such a reproach, however, would be unfair. Byzantine authors did not distinguish Persian from Anatolian Turkish. For instance, Pachymeres calls Persian the Turkish nickname of Patriarch Germanos III Μαλκούτζης ← Turkic مالقوج *malqoç* “sly fellow, intrigant,”¹⁶⁵ while Doukas qualifies as Turkish σιαραπτάρ ← Persian *sharābdār* شرابدار “cup bearer.”¹⁶⁶ Michael Choniates, who had a vital interest in Turks and Turkic customs, like Tzetzes, refers to the “Persian” and “Scythian” tongues as to Anatolian and Cuman variants of Turkish.¹⁶⁷ The Byzantines simply did not distinguish the two languages on the level of scientific and literary discourse.

John VI Kantakouzenos repeatedly mentions his knowledge of the Persian language (Περσιστί, διαλέγεσθαι Περσιστί).¹⁶⁸ However, throughout his *History* he constantly referred to Anatolian Turks as “Persians,” never using Τοῦρκοι. If so, one may wonder which language Kantakouzenos meant: Persian or Turkish? Most likely, he meant Anatolian Turkish under Περσιστί, although we can not exclude that both languages Persian and Turkish may be implied. Of course, on a utilitarian level the Byzantines in their speech practice could not have confused Turkic and Persian, and in particular, John Kantakouzenos, while speaking the language of the Anatolian Turks, definitely did not confuse the two languages. However, because he called the language “Persian” we do not know which language he spoke in reality, Persian or Turkish. Similarly, the reader is left in perplexity from Pseudo-Kodinos’ statement that the Vardariotai Turks at the imperial court praised the emperor “in the language of their ancient homeland, that is, in Persian” (περσιστί).¹⁶⁹ It could have been either Turkic or Persian or even both (if acclamations included phrases in both Persian and Turkic), because Persian was the official language of the Anatolian Muslim courts.¹⁷⁰

165 Pachymeres IV.13 (2:367.24).

166 Doukas. *Ducas, Istoría turco-bizantina* (1341–1462), ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), pp. 235.25–6, 237.1.

167 Choniates, Michael. *Μιχαήλ Αχομινάτου του Χωνιάτου: Τα σωζόμενα*, ed. Spyridon Lampros, 2 vols (Athens, 1879–80), 1:124.28 (Or. 5): “ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀπὸ διαλέκτου περσικῆς ἢ σκυθικῆς.”

168 Kantakouzenos, 2:408.3, 2:552.20, 3:66.5–7.

169 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Jean Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), p. 210.7–8.

170 Cf.: Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: *Offices and Ceremonies*, ed. Ruth Macrides, J. Munitiz and D. Angelov (Farnham, 2013), p. 103 n. 222 and p. 155. Editors’ commentary to the Greek text indicates that the Vardariotai in the fourteenth century were Hungarians. The editors maintain also that Pseudo-Kodinos, archaising, calls the Vardariot Hungarians and their language “Persian.” This interpretation is absolutely

Thus, at the level of “scientific” or “literary” abstract reflection, in the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, the denominations “Persian language” and “Turkish language” in relation to a speaker of Muslim Anatolia were interchangeable. To a contemporary reader this paradoxical situation has an exact parallel in the Byzantine term “Roman language,” ῥωμαϊκὴ γλῶσσα, which could be equally applied to Greek and Latin. Not only could Persian and Turkic be labeled with the same term, but the generally accepted term for the very language of the Byzantines concealed two different languages. Confusion between Persian and Turkic, and between Roman and Greek, stems from the “generic” status of the locative criterion of identity, which determines most (if not all) circumstances of the existence of nations. After all, the Greeks consistently qualified Anatolian Turks as “Persians” and their language as “Persian” and never labeled as “Persian” the language of the “Scythians.” Byzantine attitude to the language of the Anatolian Turks reflects the ambivalence of the ethnogeographical terms “Persian” and “Turkic” and their interchangeability in the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, when the Greeks found themselves under Turkish rule, they were able to acquire more precise knowledge about differences between Turkic and Persian. Laonikos Chalkokondyles believed that “the Persians are called *Atzami*, they speak the *Atzamian* language; all of them are Persians and speak Persian.”¹⁷¹ While this statement is somewhat confusing, it is a definite step forward in comparison to the standard Byzantine tradition. Here, under Ἀτζάμιοι ←  *ajam* “non-Arab,” “Iranian” is understood as an old name that the Arab Muslims used for marking the Iranians of the central and eastern parts of the Caliphate. As the Greek historian has found out, it is Ἀτζάμιοι but not the Turks who speak Persian. Chalkokondyles was correct in this, apparently acquiring this information from the Turks or Persians, which had not existed in the Byzantine knowledge of the outer world.

Although the linguistic aspect of identity was known to the Byzantines, it was used by them differently than the modern mind’s usage. For Byzantine “scientific” classification, language was of secondary importance. Language differences were not problematized by Byzantine reflection. Byzantines did not develop language typology, as we do today, and did not look for genetic links between different languages. Similarly, they did not problematize the

improbable: Hungarians were “Huns” and “Scythians” in Byzantine terms, not “Persians.” The “Persian” identity of the Vardariotai clearly indicates their Anatolian origin. For more on the “Persian” identity of the Vardariotai, see below Chapter 4, Section 6.

171 Chalkokondyles, 1:156.18–157.1: “... Περσῶν τῶν Ἀτζαμίων καλουμένων· ὅσοι γὰρ τὴν Ἀτζαμίων φωνὴν προῖενται, Πέρσαι τε οὗτοι σύμπαντες καὶ τῇ Περσῶν φωνῇ διαλέγονται.”

learning and knowledge of foreign languages, which remained on the utilitarian level of everyday life.

10 Turks and Religious Identity

Byzantine law did not know national and racial differences and was emphatically universalistic with regard to ethnicity. Official codes commenced with the defining of religious identity (Orthodoxy) as the core characteristic of a Roman subject.¹⁷² All mankind was divided into two main classes: those confessing the Orthodox faith and all others, including Jews, Christian heretics, and pagans. For the Byzantine legal taxonomy, not ethnicity but religious differences were fundamental.¹⁷³ For this reason, Byzantine legal thought was totally indifferent to the Turks as an ethnolinguistic group. However, given the predominantly Muslim identity of the Anatolian Turks and the predominantly pagan identity of the Transdanubian Turks, some reaction to the Turkic presence in the empire can be found in the Byzantine regulations concerning non-Orthodox individuals and religious communities.

References to the juridical status of Muslims were surprisingly rare in Byzantine legal sources. Neither civil nor canon law provided any explicit definition for the Muslim religion. Such definitions are found, however, in polemical heresiology and seem to have been taken as fundamental by legal thought. It seems that Byzantines virtually divided (albeit never explicitly conceptualized) all the non-Orthodox into three categories: heathens, Jews, and heretics.¹⁷⁴ Jews and heretics were holders of a partial knowledge of the True God, while the heathens completely lacked such awareness. John of Damascus, the most influential Byzantine polemicist against Islam, whose assessment of that religion laid the basis for the later polemical Christian tradition, gave modern researchers a reason to believe that Islam could be considered by the Byzantines to be one of the Christian heresies. John of Damascus, in particular,

172 *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, ed. T. Mommsen, P. Krueger, et al., 3 vols (Berlin, 1928–29), 2: 1.1.1–2; *Basilicorum libri LX* 1.1.1–2, ed. Herman Jan Scheltema, N. van der Wal, and D. Holwerda, 8 vols (Groningen, 1955–88).

173 For more on complex correlations between Romanness and Christianity, see, for instance: Page, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 52–58.

174 *Epanagoge Basilii Leonis et Alexandri* 9.13, ed. Karl Eduard Zachariae von Lingenthal, in *Collectio librorum iuris Graeco-Romani ineditorum* (Leipzig, 1852), p. 83: “Ἕλληνες καὶ ἰουδαῖοι καὶ αἰρετικοὶ οὕτε στρατεύονται οὕτε πολιτεύονται, ἀλλ’ ἐσχάτως ἀτιμούνται.” Cf.: Freidenreich, David M. “Muslims in Canon Law, 650–1000,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, ed. David Thomas et al. 1 (Leiden, 2009), p. 90.

refers to Islam as a false doctrine, inspired by an Arian monk. However, as Paul Khoury has shown, the careful reading of John of Damascus' texts leaves no doubt that Byzantine theology qualified Islam as a false pagan doctrine (ἄρσεις, τὰ συντάγματα) and a pagan faith (θρησκεία, πίστις).¹⁷⁵

Dogmatic interpretation of Islam as paganism is well reflected in canonical legislation and other genres of Byzantine literature that habitually qualified Muslims as infidels (ἄπιστοι, ἄθεοι, ἄσεβεις). The formula of abjuration from Islam, which had taken shape, apparently, at least by the ninth century, anathematized not only the Prophet Muḥammad and his teaching, but also "the god of Muḥammad," thus implying that the Christian (including Christian heretics) and Jewish deity and that of Muslims were different beings.¹⁷⁶ The abjuration formula with the anathema of "the god of Muḥammad" was apparently predominant in being incorporated into standard catechetical books, including those of the Great Church. Of course, such an interpretation of the Muslim concept of the deity was not unquestionable among Byzantine intellectuals. A commonplace example is the emperor Manuel I's attempt to remove the anathema of "the god of Muḥammad" from the abjuration formula, which met fierce resistance by clergy. Theologians (especially, the patriarch Theodosios and Eustathios of Thessalonike) insisted that Muḥammad worshiped *another* (ἕτερος θεός), an idol-like god who "neither begot nor was begotten" and was ὁλόσφυρος.¹⁷⁷

The assessment of Islam as paganism is understandable in the context of Byzantine legal thought. In the twelfth century, the famous canonist Balsamon (d. after 1195), seemingly keeping in mind *Basilics*,¹⁷⁸ explained that in civil law a "heretic" was "a person who eluded the Orthodox faith even if to the smallest extent and was subject to the laws against heretics." At the same time, the canonist continued, Latins, Armenians, Monothelites, Nestorians, and the like had turned aside from the Orthodox Church "not little but very significantly

175 Khoury, Paul. *Jean Damascène et l'Islam* (Würzburg, 1994), pp. 38–39.

176 For editions, see: PG, 140:124–36; Montet, Edouard. "Un rituel d'abjuration des musulmans dans l'église grecque," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 53 (1906), pp. 145–63 (partial edition). For a comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography of secondary sources for the abjuration formulas and rites, see: Rigo, Antonio. "Ritual of Abjuration," in *Christian-Muslim Relations*, 1, pp. 821–24.

177 Choniates, 1:213–19, "ἕτερος θεός" was an expression ascribed to Manuel I (p. 217.44); Hanson, Craig L. "Manuel I Comnenus and the 'God of Muhammad': A Study in Byzantine Ecclesiastical Politics," in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. by John Victor Tolan (New York, 1996), pp. 72–74.

178 *Basilicorum libri LX* 1.1.1.

and inexcusably.”¹⁷⁹ Balsamon did not refer here to Muslims but it is clear that, in the context of these considerations, the distance between Orthodoxy and Islam was seen as immeasurably more significant than the discrepancy between Orthodoxy and Christian heresies.

Canonical literature of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries confirms the likeness of Muslims and pagans in legal discourse. The heathen “Scythians” (i.e., Pechenegs and Cumans, among whom Islam was not prevalent) are always coupled with the “Hagarenes,” that is, the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia who had adopted Islam to an extent during their passing through Central Asia and Iran. It seems therefore that the legal status of Islam in Byzantium should be compared with that of pagans, that is, “Hellenes” and “Gentiles” (τὰ ἔθνη) of the early Byzantine tradition, but not with the status of Jews and heretical Christians, who partially shared with Orthodoxy what was seen as the religious truth.

References to Muslims and Scythian pagans in Byzantine legal or in exclusively canonical literature are random, not systematic. Here I am primarily interested in the response of the Byzantine legal system to the impact of the Turkic penetration of the empire. This perspective predetermines the selection of themes; I leave aside the relationship of non-Christians with the Orthodox population of the Balkans and Anatolia outside the Byzantine borders¹⁸⁰ and focus exclusively on the legal provisions on Muslims and pagans directly or indirectly concerning Byzantine inner life. The central themes most frequently discussed by canonists due to the changing political and demographic situation were marriages with pagans and the problem of dubious infant baptism.

11 Marriages with Non-Christians

Byzantine law evolved from limited recognition of marriages between Orthodox and non-Orthodox individuals (including pagan) to a total prohibition of such marriages. The Basilics explicitly prohibited marriages only with

179 Balsamon, Theodore. *Theodori Balsamoni Opera*, in PG, 138:985: “οὐ διὰ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πλάτος μέγα καὶ δυδιεξίτητον ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὀρθωδόξων Ἐκκλησίας ἀπεξενώθησαν.”

180 For formerly Byzantine Orthodox populations in Muslim Anatolia and the Balkans and their relations with the conquerors, see, for instance: Vryonis, Speros. “Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower,” in *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans: Reprinted Studies*, Βυζαντινά καὶ Μεταβυζαντινά, 2 (Malibu, 1981), no. 3, p. 131; Balivet, Michel. *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc: histoire d'un espace d'imbriation gréco-turque* (Istanbul, 1994), pp. 7–26.

Jews.¹⁸¹ Civil legislation evaded the question of marriages with pagans, apparently believing the direct prohibition of marriages with the non-Orthodox, in the 72nd rule of the Council of Trullo (692), was sufficient. Such marriages, regardless of whether the non-Orthodox was husband or wife, were considered a criminal cohabitation, because “one should not connect incompatible, combining the wolf with the sheep.”¹⁸²

However, in practice, such prohibitions were not always strictly observed. Canon law contained an authoritative contrary view authorizing marriages between Christians and infidels. It was based on the statement of the apostle Paul who admitted marriages in which one spouse was Christian and the other not if the spouses agreed to live together: “For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy” (1 Cor. 7, 12–14). In other words, St. Paul saw in such unions at least partial sanctification of marriage, as well as, perhaps, a means to bring Christianity to the unbelieving spouse and children.¹⁸³ In light of this contradiction, the prohibition on marriages with persons confessing other religions was not always observed, as is indicated by repetitive prohibitions of canonists in this respect, especially since the twelfth century.

A precedent was the decision of the patriarch Theodotos II (1151–54), who occupied the throne during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos. A certain imperial trumpeter (βυκινάτωρ/βουκινάτωρ), after he had converted to Christianity, was ordered to divorce his infidel wife who refused to heed the admonitions of her husband and to accept baptism.¹⁸⁴ Judging by the fact that his wife was called “infidel” (ἀπίστου γυναικός), she and her husband were probably “Scythians” (Cumans). Belonging to the Armenians, Monophysites, Bogomils, or Anatolian Turks is less likely, because in these cases the source instead of ἀπιστος γυνή would likely have used either αἰρετική γυνή, or Ἀγαρηνή/Ἀγαρηνική γυνή. Balsamon in the end of the twelfth century¹⁸⁵ and later Matthew

181 *Basilicorum libri LX* 1.1.34, 1:7.

182 Rhalles, Georgios and Potles, Michael. *Σύνταγμα των θείων και ιερών κανόνων*, 6 vols (Athens, 1852–59), 2:471–72: “μή ἐξέστω ὀρθόδοξον ἄνδρα αἰρετικῇ συνάπτεσθαι γυναικί, μήτε μὴν αἰρετικῷ ἀνδρὶ γυναικὰ ὀρθόδοξον συζεύγυσθαι... οὐ γὰρ χρὴ τὰ ἄμικτα μιγνύναι, οὐδὲ τῷ προβάτῳ τὸν λύκον συμπλέκεσθαι... ”

183 For more examples of the conflicting attitude of canon law to intermarriages, see: Freidenreich, “Muslims in Canon Law,” pp. 92–93.

184 *PG*, 119:768.

185 Balsamon's commentary to the 72nd rule of the Council of Trullo: Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 2:473.

Blastares in the fourteenth century¹⁸⁶ referred to the decision of the patriarch Theodotos II as a precedent. Both canonists remembered that St. Paul allowed such marriages; however, St. Paul's decision made sense only at the beginning of Christianity, while now such marriages had to be recognized as invalid.¹⁸⁷

Balsamon repeatedly mentions marriages between Christians and Hagarenes. In his interpretation of the 72nd rule of the Council of Trullo, as an example of unacceptable practices, he qualifies that of "Ivrons [Georgians], who without restrictions married off their own daughters to Hagarenes."¹⁸⁸ Indeed, Arabic, Persian, Turkic, and later Mongol names, which were widely spread in the Georgian milieu, indicated that marriages with Muslims in the Georgian lands had been the norm ever since the twelfth century.¹⁸⁹

The patriarch of Alexandria, Mark, asked Balsamon if it was allowed to administer communion to Orthodox women who were married to heretics and Saracens. Balsamon reiterated the 72nd rule of the Council of the Trullo, suggesting that these women could receive communion only after termination of unlawful cohabitation and their correction through penance.¹⁹⁰ It is difficult to know which Christian women are meant here: those living in the territory of the empire or beyond. It seems, for the most part, those Orthodox women who lived in the Muslim Middle East and the Anatolian territories conquered by the Turks were implied. Orthodox women in the Muslim lands were frequently mentioned in the canonical literature of the time. It cannot be ruled out, however, that some precedents of marriages between Orthodox Byzantines and infidels may have taken place in the empire's territories, where Muslim and pagan foreigners were always present.

Noteworthy in this respect is another answer of Balsamon to the patriarch Mark's canonical question dealing with illegal cohabitation, i.e., fornication between Christians and Muslims. The question was worded as follows: "If an Orthodox gave himself to lewdness with a Jewish or Hagarene woman, must he be corrected by a penance or rebaptized?" Balsamon answered that baptism was given only once in a lifetime and that a person desecrated by wickedness

186 Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 6:174–75.

187 For more on these two conflicting trends in canon law, see: Oikonomides, Nicolas. "La brebis égarée et retrouvée: l'apostat et son retour," in *Religieuse Devianz. Untersuchungen zu sozialen, rechtlichen und theologischen Reaktionen auf religiöse Abweichung im westlichen und östlichen Mittelalter*, ed. D. Simon (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), pp. 155–56.

188 Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 2:473: "Σημείωσαι οὖν τὸν παρόντα κανόνα, διὰ τοὺς Ἰβήρας, τοὺς ἀδιαφόρως τὰ οἰκεῖα θυγάτρια τοῖς Ἀγαρηνοῖς ἐκγαμίζοντας." Cf.: Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies," p. 143.

189 For more details, see Chapter 7.

190 Balsamon, *Opera*, 138:985.

must be cleaned by an appropriate canonical punishment.¹⁹¹ It is evident here, as in the previous precedent, that the case could be applied to both Byzantine and Muslim territories.

In any case, the possibility of such marriages between Byzantines and infidels is testified by the practice of the Byzantine elite in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The Palaiologoi and Grand Komnenoi concluded dynastic marriages with Turks and Mongols. For instance, in 1265 Michael VIII Palaiologos married his illegitimate daughter to the pagan Abaqa, while in 1346 John VI Kantakouzenos gave his legitimate daughter Theodora to the Muslim emir Orhan.¹⁹² However, if the Palaiologan dynastic marriages with Turkic and Mongol rulers were exceptional, in the Empire of Trebizond such marriages became the enduring and quite successful tool of imperial diplomacy. From the middle of the fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century, at least eight *despoinai*, the daughters of the ruling emperors, were given to Muslims. Moreover, one of the emperors of Trebizond – John IV (1429–60) – was married to a certain Turkic lady who, however, most likely was first converted to Christianity (see Chapter 7, Appendix II). This was a specific practice of Trebizond, contrasting with the predominant Palaiologan tradition. In the precedent of Trebizond one may see a confirmation and some development of features noted by Balsamon: in the northeastern margins of the Byzantine Orthodox world, both Georgians and Pontic Greeks displayed a more liberal attitude to interfaith marriages. However, ideally the Byzantine legal system recognized Orthodoxy as the only legitimate religious affiliation for a subject and restricted communication between Orthodox subjects and infidels within and outside the space of the imperial jurisdiction. All sorts of infidels were subject to prosecution under civil law, while canon law, denying them the right to marry locals, denied them roots in society.

191 Balsamon, Theodore. *Theodori Balsamonis Responsa*, in PG, 119:1076: “Ἐὰν ὁρθόδοξος συμφθαρῇ πορνικῶς μετὰ Ἰουδαίας ἢ Ἀγαρηνῆς γυναικός, δι’ ἐπιτιμίου διορθωθείη, ἢ ἀναβαπτισθῇσεται;”

192 Pachymeres III.25 (1:235); Bryer, Anthony A.M. “Greek Historians on the Turks: The Case of the First Byzantine-Ottoman Marriage,” in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to R.W. Southern*, ed. R. Davis and J. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), pp. 471–93. See also: Nicol, Donald M. “Mixed Marriages in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century,” *Studies in Church History* 1 (1964), pp. 160–72. See also Chapter 6.2 for more details.

12 The Validity of Baptism

Another important subject that occupied the attention of the canonists was the problem of the validity of baptism of those who came from outside the borders of the empire. This concerned Byzantines who were ransomed from “Persians” and “Scythians” and who insisted that they had been baptized as Orthodox in infancy. The question for the ecclesiastical authorities was whether to accept them into the church as true Christians or to rebaptize them, recognizing that their first baptism might be in doubt. Opponents of rebaptism argued that those who were taken captive in Christian lands and who therefore very likely (πρόσληψις ἐστὶ) had been baptized in infancy, did not have to be rebaptized, in order not to enter into conflict with the 47th rule of the Holy Apostles prohibiting rebaptism. A precedent on this issue was established, in all likelihood, under the patriarch Loukas Chrysoberges (1157–70). According to a synodal decree, those taken captive on Byzantine territory and taken to foreign lands, if there were no credible witnesses to confirm that they were baptized in infancy or after their return from captivity, had to be baptized again. Those taken captive by the Byzantines in the lands of infidels had to be baptized without investigation unless witnesses certified that they had been baptized after their capture by the Byzantines.¹⁹³ The first part of the synodal decision apparently referred to captured Byzantines, whose Christian identity was beyond doubt, but whose baptismal procedure was questionable. The second part of the decision seems to allude to both Greek and Turkic populations in the lands of infidels who were seized (or bought) by Byzantines and brought to Byzantium.

The theme of doubtful baptism had an important continuation concerning former Hagarenes (that is, Anatolian Turks) living in Byzantine territories. In the days of the same patriarch, Loukas Chrysoberges, some Hagarenes appeared in the Holy Synod and, being required to be baptized, said that they had already been baptized in infancy in their lands by Orthodox priests. The Synod’s investigation revealed that in Anatolia it was the custom that all Muslim children accepted baptism because their parents deemed that otherwise their children would be possessed by demons and stink like dogs (κατὰ

193 The basis for this decision was the 84th rule of the Sixth Council and the 72nd (83rd) rule of the Councils of Carthage, which prescribed baptism in case of doubt: *PG*, 119:785. For commentaries on the decision, see: Brand, Charles. “The Turkish Element in Byzantium, 11th–12th Centuries,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), pp. 16–17; Vryonis, “Byzantine and Turkish Societies,” p. 131; Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), p. 179 n. 267, pp. 441–42.

κύνας ὀζειν). The Synod decreed that the baptism of the Hagarenes in this case was a medicine or charm rather than a spiritual purifier. Therefore, their baptism was not accepted as valid. Moreover, some of these Hagarenes claimed that they had Orthodox mothers (μητέρας . . . ἔχειν ὀρθοδόξους), who had had them baptized by Orthodox priests. Nonetheless, the Synod decided that these half-Greek Hagarenes should be baptized anew because the Church had no solid evidence substantiated by witnesses that the baptism had actually taken place and that the correct procedure had been followed.¹⁹⁴ Here by “Orthodox mothers,” Anatolian Greek women who had married local Muslims are clearly meant. The Hagarenes who were summoned to the Synod, apparently, were Byzantine Christian Turks, that is, the Turkic subjects of the Byzantine emperor who claimed to be true Christians. Otherwise, if they were foreigners, the whole procedure of investigations and decisions of the Synod would not have made sense. As to the “κατὰ κύνας ὀζειν” mentioned in the Synod’s decision, it was believed in Anatolia that a “bad smell” similar to that of the “smell of dog” was inherent to Muslims. According to F.W. Hasluck, it was a way for local Christians (presumably Greeks and Armenians) to explain the strict Muslim rules of ritual purity such as ablution before prayer. Consequently, in the view of local Christians, Muslims tried both by ablution and the baptism of their children to get rid of the smell.¹⁹⁵

The issue of the baptized Hagarenes remained current throughout the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, and was discussed again at the end of the twelfth century by Balsamon and once more in the fourteenth century by Matthew Blastares, two famous Orthodox canonists. Although Balsamon simply repeats the decisions of the patriarch Loukas Chrysoberges,¹⁹⁶ Matthew Blastares added new details concerning the baptism of the Hagarenes. He maintained that many Hagarenes did not circumcise their children before the

194 PG, 119:785; *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, ed. Venance Grumel, Vitalien Laurent, and Jean Darrouzès, 2 vols, 8 pts (Paris, 1932–89), 1/2–3:no. 1088; Brand, “The Turkish Element,” pp. 16–17. See also Oikonomides’ commentaries: Oikonomides, “La brebis,” p. 155. Those Latins who adopted Orthodox Christianity had to be anointed, but not to be baptized again. See, for instance: Almazov, Alexandr I. *Неизданные канонические ответы Константинопольского патриарха Луки Хризоверга и митрополита Родосского Нила* (Odessa, 1903), p. 61 (the response of the metropolitan Neilos dating to 1350–60).

195 Hasluck, Frederick W. *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1929), 1:32–33.

196 Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 2:497–98.

Christian priests baptized them.¹⁹⁷ Thus, Muslim infants were baptized first and only afterwards circumcised.¹⁹⁸

In the decisions of the Synod it should be noted that the verdicts of the ecclesiastical authorities from the ninth century onward clearly reflected the hardening of the Church's position. As early as 885 or 886, the patriarch Photios in his canonical answer to the Calabrian archbishop Leo prescribed baptism for Saracen infants at the request of their mothers. Photios explained that such baptism provides both children and their mothers the possibility of finding the true faith (τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρραβῶνα). At the same time the patriarch noted that Saracen mothers who decided to baptize their children were quite ready to be taught Christianity (προθυμότεραι καὶ πρὸς τὴν διδασκαλικὴν τελείωσιν ἔσονται) and therefore, presumably, to be converted.¹⁹⁹ Photios clearly saw in the baptism of Muslim infants an important missionary component. A significant difference between the cases of the ninth century and twelfth is that, while Photios talked about Muslim mothers, the later case implied Orthodox Greek mothers. The church authorities in the twelfth century denied the validity of the baptism even of Orthodox women's infants. It is obvious that in the twelfth century the situation in the Muslim lands and Byzantium itself was seen by the ecclesiastical authorities in a completely different light: the baptism of infants had become too widespread among Muslims and did not lead to the adoption of Christianity by the baptized Muslim infants or their parents. From the end of thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, the position of the Church in this regard was the same, or even more rigid. More Byzantine subjects found themselves outside the borders of the empire as a result of the growing political and social crisis and the reduction of the empire's territories. In the lands where imperial control no longer existed and ecclesiastical control was weak, the baptism of both Christian and Muslim infants looked to be more and more dubious.²⁰⁰

197 Rhallés and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 6:120: "ἔθος γοῦν ἔστι τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν τοῖς πλείστοις, μὴ πρότερον τὰ σφέτερα περιτέμνειν βρέφη, πρὶν ἂν οἱ ὑποτελεῖς ὄντες αὐτοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερεῖς, καὶ ἄκοντες ἀναγκασθῶσι ταῦτα βαπτίσαι . . ."

198 For more on the tradition of baptism among Anatolian Muslims with further bibliographical references, see: Shukurov, Rustam. "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yildiz (London, 2012), pp. 115–50.

199 PG, 102:780. For references to other editions of Photios' text, see: *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, 1/2–3:no. 562. For the analysis of the passage, see: Oikonomides, "La brebis," p. 155.

200 On the baptism of infidels and rebaptism in canon law, see also: Freidenreich, "Muslims in Canon Law," p. 95.

There is a telling example of how Byzantine authorities might have been concerned with observance of the rules of baptism. I refer here to the scandal concerning the Christian identity of the Seljuk sultan, ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II, and his male children (who can be identified as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas‘ūd, Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth, Constantine Melik, and Sabbas, as the latter two were known in Byzantium).²⁰¹ The sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus in 1262–64/65 stayed in Constantinople as an exile. The Pisidian metropolitan Makarios witnessed that ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II and his sons were baptized long before their escape to Constantinople in 1262.²⁰² It is probable that the sultan’s sons had been baptized upon their birth (probably by Makarios). During the stay of the sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn and his family in Constantinople, the patriarch Arsenios, relying on Makarios’ testimony, treated them as good Christians. The patriarch allowed the sultan, his children, and his entourage to visit a church bath, ordered a monk to give communion to the sultan’s children, and also permitted all of them, including “sultan’s satraps,” to attend the Easter religious services.²⁰³ After ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus’ escape from Byzantium to the Golden Horde, the Christian affiliation of the sultan and his family was called into question and the patriarch Arsenios was accused of canonically inadmissible conduct with the infidels. It is quite obvious that the case against Arsenios was fabricated by Michael VIII Palaiologos, who wished to depose the patriarch.²⁰⁴ Curiously, the opponents of Arsenios put forward as the main charge his noncanonical communication with pagans (in addition, the patriarch was accused of excluding a psalm glorifying the emperor from the morning service). Byzantine society strictly observed piety, and for a Byzantine everyman the charge of illicit contact with pagans was significant and convincing. An amazing reaction was that of the sultan, Kaykāwus II, who having learned of the trial against the patriarch contacted Constantinople from Crimea and claimed that he was a true Christian and asked Michael VIII Palaiologos to send him his ἐγκόλπια, apparently left in Constantinople, and informed him

201 On Sabbas, see also Chapter 3, Section 3.

202 Pachymeres, 2:339.9–12, 349.10–12. On the metropolitan Makarios, see also: *PLP*, no. 16271.

203 Pachymeres, 2:337–39. About Makarios’ testament the patriarch Arsenios tells: “Τούτέστιν ὥρισα κοινωῆσαι τοὺς τοῦ σουλτάνου παῖδας· τῆς Ἐκκλησίας με ἐξέῴθησε· καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ πανιερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Πισσιδίας ἐγγράφως ὁμολογήσαντος ὡς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐβάπτισε τοὺτους καὶ ἐκοινώνησε” (Autoreianos, Arsenios. *Testamentum*, in *PG*, 140:956). Gregoras also referred to sultan’s Christian identity: “σουλτὰν καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἐγεγόνει τῶν Τοῦρκων, τότε μὲν ἐν κρυπτῷ διατηρῶν τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας καιριώτερα, νῦν δ’ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ τὰς θείας ἀσπαζόμενος εἰκόνας καὶ πάντα ἐς προὔπτον τὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐργαζόμενος ἔθιμα” (Gregoras, 1:94).

204 Troitskij, Ivan E. “Арсений и арсенины,” in *Христианское чтение* (1867). pp. 190–221.

that he was ready to take a bite of salt pork in confirmation of his Christian identity.²⁰⁵

It is worth noting in connection with this interesting case that, if the royal infants had been baptized in the proper way (as the metropolitan Makarios insisted), they must have been born with Christian baptismal names along with their Muslim ones. Unfortunately we do not know the Christian names of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs II or of his sons Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd and Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth. However, thanks to Byzantine sources, we know that another son of 'Izz al-Dīn was probably baptized as Constantine – a rather lofty imperial-sounding name – although we have no information about his official Muslim name (see more details in Chapter 3.6, no. 8).

The policy of ecclesiastical authorities in regard to marriages with infidels and the baptism of infants born outside the empire allows two important conclusions. First, the church authorities in the empire usually avoided compromise in these two important issues and, if required, insisted on the invalidity of interfaith marriages and on the rebaptism of barbarian newcomers. An important exception could have been made only for imperial dynastic marriages to which we have no explicit reaction of church writers in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries; for such writers, it was as if these marriages were nonexistent. Second, many Anatolian Turks who were settled in the empire were already in a sense Christians, although ecclesiastical authority rejected their Christian identity. Previous "Christian" experience of the former Hagarenes no doubt facilitated their incorporation into Byzantine society. Nonetheless, the Byzantine authorities were extremely scrupulous in the question of Orthodox piety of Byzantine subjects and demanded rebaptism in all doubtful cases.

Islam could have been practiced freely in the Byzantine territory only by the subjects of Muslim rulers, including prisoners of war, merchants, and diplomats. Mosques on Byzantine territories served their religious needs.²⁰⁶

205 Pachymeres, 2:347.9–15.

206 For mosques on the territory of the empire, see: Miles, George C. "The Arab Mosque in Athens," *Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 25 (1956), pp. 329–44; Balivet, *Romanie byzantine*, pp. 35–36; Reinert, Stephen W. "The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th–15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations," in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC, 1998), pp. 125–50; *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, DC, 1975), pp. 84–85, 350; Constable, Olivia R. *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 147–50; Anderson, Glairé D.

Under pressure of the Ottomans in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, sharia courts with *qāḍīs* were established in Constantinople, again for meeting the needs of Muslim foreigners, who were for the most part Ottoman subjects.²⁰⁷ Civil and ecclesiastical legislation clearly indicated that the subjects of the Byzantine emperor could only be Orthodox Christians. That is why the Byzantine authorities were so attentive and uncompromising in matters of the validity of baptism of repatriated Greeks and naturalized Turks from Anatolia. A unequivocal ban on interfaith marriages and strict observance of valid baptism were additional tools that monitored the implementation within the empire of fundamental principles of Byzantine law. At the same time, the issues of interfaith marriages and baptism were employed as powerful mechanisms of social regulation aimed at rejecting undesirable barbarians while accommodating desirable ones. We will return in Chapter 6 to a discussion of specific mechanisms of assimilation of immigrants in Byzantine society.

"Islamic Spaces and Diplomacy in Constantinople (Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries CE)," *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009), pp. 86–113. For the possible existence of a mosque in Trebizond, see: Shukurov, Rustam. "The Crypto-Muslims of Anatolia," in *Anthropology, Archeology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia or the Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck (1878–1920)*, ed. David Shankland, 3 vols (Istanbul, 2004–13), 2:135–58.

207 For *qāḍīs* in Thessalonike and Constantinople, see: Necipoğlu, Nevra. "Ottoman Merchants in Constantinople during the First Half of the Fifteenth Century," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 16 (1992), pp. 158–69; Eadem. *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 101–04, 138–39, 201–02, 207.

Byzantine Onomastics: Problems of Method

1 The Onomastic Database

In the previous chapter, I discussed Byzantine ethnonymics and toponymics relating to Asian, and especially, Turkic peoples and lands. Elaborating an analytical approach to onomastics, my subsequent discussion will be based on a broader range of *onyms* which were current in Byzantine society. Onomastics make it possible to evaluate the ethnic features of a region with relative precision, especially when narrative, documentary, and other sources provide insufficient evidence. It must be noted, however, that onomastic study generally occupies a modest place in modern Byzantine scholarship, compared, for example, to classical and medieval studies.¹ Although in some segments of Byzantine scholarship onomastics has filled in gaps in traditional sources. One can refer to the studies on Ravenna by André Guillou and Thomas Brown, which analyzed Latin and Greek names of the population of Byzantine Italy,² Alexander Kazhdan and Nina Garsoïan's works on Armenians,³ and Angeliki Laiou's demographic studies on Macedonian peasant society.⁴ Equally, onomastics provides ample material concerning the presence of Franks in the Peloponnese.⁵ The most considerable contribution of onomastics has been

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- 1 See, for instance, a general survey with a helpful bibliographical section for medieval Europe: *Personal Names Studies of Medieval Europe: Social Identity and Family Structures*, ed. G.T. Beech, M. Bourin, and P. Chareille (Kalamazoo, MI, 2002) with relevant bibliography. See also a study of Ancient Greek anthroponymics: *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, ed. Simon Hornblower and Elaine Matthews (Oxford, 2000).
 - 2 Guillou, André. *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VII^e siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Rome, 1972); Brown, Thomas S. *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy. AD 554–800* (Rome, 1984).
 - 3 Kazhdan, Alexander P. *Армяне в составе господствующего класса Византии в XI–XII вв.* (Yerevan, 1975); Garsoïan, Nina G. "Notes préliminaires sur l'anthroponymie arménienne du Moyen Âge," in *L'anthroponymie. Document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéens médiévaux. Actes du colloque international* (Rome, 1996), pp. 227–39.
 - 4 Laiou, Angeliki E. "Peasant Names in Fourteenth-Century Macedonia," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 1 (1975), pp. 71–95; Eadem. *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977), esp. ch. 4, "Names."
 - 5 Kahane, Henry and Kahane, Renée. "The Western Impact on Byzantium: The Linguistic Evidence," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982), pp. 127–53; Idem. "Abendland und Byzanz,

made in the study of the Slavic ethnic element in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine Balkans.⁶

Before proceeding to Oriental onomastics in Byzantine cultural space, I must make an important digression concerning my methodical approach. The pivotal tool for the following analysis comprises personal names and, to a lesser degree, toponyms and microtoponyms found in Byzantine and foreign sources relating to the Byzantine states in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. Personal and place-names are preserved in Byzantine Greek texts of different genres: for example belles-lettres, vernacular literature, and official documents; to a lesser degree texts written in other languages exist (west European, Slavonic, Oriental), although on occasion they provide important supplements to Greek sources. The principle difference between Byzantine source material of the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries from that of the previous period consists of a significant increase in both public (ecclesiastic and imperial) and private documents that considerably amend traditional narrative sources. Documentary material for research purposes such as demographic, economic, and to a certain extent social history becomes most informative. For my study, the documentary material preserves unique references to persons of different social and property-owning status, as well as to place-names not recorded elsewhere. The data from these sources allow a level of more or less precise statistical estimates, something that in most cases is impossible for Early and Middle Byzantine demography. Although the documentary sources are usually scant in detailed information about the persons

Sprache," in *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, ed. Peter Wirth (Amsterdam, 1968–76), pp. 345–640 (Sprache); Idem. *Italianische Ortsnamen in Griechenland* (Athens, 1940); Markl, Otto. *Ortsnamen Griechenlands in fränkischer Zeit* (Graz, Cologne, and Böhlau, 1966).

6 See, for instance: Dujčev, Ivan. "Славянски местни и лични имена във византийските описни книги," *Известия на Института за български език* 8 (1962), pp. 197–215; Malingoudis, Phaëdon. *Studien zu den slavischen Ortsnamen Griechenlands* (Wiesbaden, 1981); Lefort, Jacques. "Toponymie et anthroponymie: le contact entre Grecs et Slaves en Macédoine," *Castrum* 4 (1992), pp. 161–71; Idem. "Anthroponymie et société villageoise (x^e–xiv^e siècle)," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, ed. Vassiliki Kravari, Jacques Lefort, and Cécile Morrisson, 2 vols (Paris, 1991), 2:225–38; Brunet, François. "Sur l'hellénisation des toponymes slaves en Macédoine byzantine," *Travaux et mémoires* 9 (1985), pp. 235–65; Kravari, Vassiliki. "L'hellénisation des Slaves de Macédoine orientale, au témoignage des anthroponymes," in *ΕΥΡΥΧΙΑ, Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, 2 (Paris, 1998), pp. 387–97; Dželebdžić, Dejan. "Словенски антропоними у судским актима Димитрија Хоматина," *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 43 (2006), pp. 483–98; Đoković, Zorica. "Проучавање словенске антропонимијске грађе у практицима XII и XIII века," *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 43 (2006), pp. 499–516.

and places mentioned, onomastics, by itself, provides a powerful analytical tool for the evaluation of the ethnic features of a society with relatively high precision. These sources contain more than 70 percent of personal names and microtoponyms surviving from Late Byzantine times not mentioned in other sources. In addition, onomastic information can be found in historiographic texts, belles-lettres, marginal notes, and the like.

At the preliminary stage of my research, I extracted anthroponomical and microtoponymical data of Oriental origin from relevant sources relating to the period from 1204 to the 1460s, etymologized them, and created a computer database. The database encompasses Oriental personal and place-names relating to Nicaean and Palaiologan possessions in the Balkans, the Aegean and Ionian Islands, Anatolia, and the Grand Komnenian territories in the Pontos. The database does not include the names of foreigners, the subjects of Muslim states such as the Seljuk Sultanate, the Ottomans, the Mamluk Sultanate, the Golden Horde, principalities of western Anatolia, and the states of Iran and the Near East who were mentioned in Greek sources. It focuses exclusively on the Byzantine population.

The collection of anthroponymic material has been considerably facilitated by the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, which registered more than 28,000 persons living in the Palaiologan period. Of all the personal names recorded in the *PLP* approximately 14 percent are not of Byzantine origin, that is, they are not of Greek, Hellenized Latin, or biblical derivation. Reexamination of the primary sources has generated additions and corrections to the *PLP* records, including the recovery of family links and individuals overlooked by the *PLP*. In addition to the *PLP*, which disregards information from non-Greek sources, the database contains evidence from contemporary Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Slavonic, and west European sources that occasionally mention individuals living in Byzantine lands. These additions, however, are not numerous. Finally, the *PLP* data have been supplemented by anthroponymical material for the period from 1204 to 1261, from both narrative and documentary Greek, Latin, and Oriental sources.

The chosen personal names relating to the west Byzantine lands number around 350, while the Pontic part of the database contains 65 names. The database includes only those names whose Oriental derivation is irrefutable. Outside the database, there remains a comparatively large number of non-Greek names of unknown origin. These unidentified names, if from the west Byzantine region, may have been of Slavic, west European, Armenian, Oriental, or Albanian origin, while unidentified Pontic names may be of Kartvelian or some other Caucasian origin. The analysis of their linguistic provenance is a matter for future investigations, when my list of Oriental names may therefore

increase. The next stage of research consisted of placing the chosen personal and place-names into a historical context by employing traditional methods of prosopographical study. Each entry in the database represents a prosopographical questionnaire consisting of the following rubrics: (1) Family name or sobriquet; (2) Etymological interpretation; (3) Baptismal name; (4) Occupation and social status; (5) Location; (6) Floruit; (7) Family links; (8) Primary sources; (9) Secondary sources.

2 The West Byzantine Lands in the Database

The 350 Oriental names for the west Byzantine lands can be divided by geographical criteria, thereby indicating the major areas of "Oriental" presence. The two major agglomerations are Macedonia from Serres to Skopje and Kastoria (135 names) and Constantinople and neighboring areas including Thrace (69 names). Geographically, 168 names are from western Anatolia (28), the northern and northwestern coasts of the Black Sea (19), the Aegean Sea including Lemnos and Crete (22), Peloponnese (14), Cyprus (11), Kephallenia (5), Thessaly and Epiros (4), and southern Italy (4). Some names cannot be identified geographically at the present stage of research, or their geographic affiliation is questionable (39). These 350 persons constitute about 1.3 percent of all known residents of the west Byzantine states between 1204 and 1453. These calculations may be revised and amended as the result of further etymological work. The general portrayal described here and the numerical proportions between these groups, however, are unlikely to change.

Due to the fragmentary state of Late Byzantine documentary material any comprehensive demographic study can be made only for particular territories. This is true for the entire period of the Nicaean empire. Existing documents of the Anatolian monasteries Lembiotissa near Smyrna and Latra near Miletos are relatively poor and cover areas too small to derive the ethnic structure of Byzantine Anatolia from 1204 to 1260s. Thrace, perhaps the most interesting study area, in which occurred, in the first half of the fourteenth century, intensive contact between the Byzantine and Turkic ethnic substrates did not provide much documentary material. Almost nothing remains of the documentary material concerning the Byzantine possessions in the Black Sea coast of the Balkans, and the northwestern coast of Anatolia. The demographics of the Aegean islands likewise is too fragmentary to construct any ethnodemographic statistics.

An exception is Byzantine Macedonia, extending from the Serres region to Kastoria and Ochrid, a densely populated province of Late Byzantium, which

supports enough demographic data for a statistical approximation. This is due to monastic documents, especially documents of the monasteries of Athos which include imperial chrysobulls and private acts of donation, deeds of purchase, court decisions on disputes over contested lands, and delineations of lands. The most informative type of monastic document, containing abundant anthroponymical data, is *praktikon*, an inventory containing fiscal information on monastic possessions and listing taxes and households of peasants present on its land. Such assessments took place in Macedonia in 1300–01, 1316–18, 1320–21, 1338–41, and sporadically in some intervening years. Assessments ceased after the middle of the fourteenth century, but briefly reappeared in the beginning of the fifteenth century; the last known *praktikon* dates to 1420.⁷

The majority of Oriental names in Macedonia are found in monastic documents. The surviving monastic documentation, however, has a significant limitation; it mostly deals with monastic properties. Only a few of the documents concern lay proprietors because these areas were once incorporated into monastic estates.

The nature of the primary sources defines principal chronological, demographic, and territorial limitations. The elucidation of the Macedonian population from these documents is irregular, as they are mostly from the first half of the fourteenth century. They cover only a portion of existing individuals and concern only those areas that were in the possession of monasteries. A considerable portion of settlements and their respective population remain outside the scope of the primary sources. Other sources such as imperial and patriarchal documentation, account books, marginal notes, and historiography provide additional information, but do not correct the deficiency of the main sources. Moreover, available sources only rarely reflect the activity of merchants. Account books directly concerning trade provide us with a few names of merchants, hence the low percentage of merchants in the database of Oriental names.

From among a total of approximately 10,000 names relating to Macedonia and registered in the *PLP*, I have selected by means of etymological analysis 135 Oriental names, constituting about 1.5 percent of the total number of names for that region. These sources sometimes contain information about blood relatives (parents, uncles, brothers, children, grandchildren). With this additional information the overall number of individuals covered is 198. The importance of the Macedonian anthroponymical material is also due to the fact that these

7 Karayannopoulos and Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1982), 1:105–07; Laiou, *Peasant Society*, pp. 9–10. For more details on the Athonite documents, see Chapter 4 below.

135 names make up more than one-third (39 percent) of the entirety of Oriental names for the west Byzantine region (350 names). This proportion confirms that in Macedonia compared to other regions of the Byzantine world we have detailed demographic data.

3 The Byzantine Pontos

Pontic anthroponymics and toponymics of Oriental origin for the period 1204–1461 is found primarily in Greek private and public documents such as the acts of the Vazelon monastery in Matzouka/Maçka, the main reservoir, the Grand Komnenian imperial chrysobulls, some inscriptions, the texts of the Pontic intellectuals of different genres, and, lastly, some information from Oriental and Latin sources.⁸ These sources have limitations similar to west Byzantine material; they cover the territory of the Empire of Trebizond in a fragmentary manner and shed only uneven light on periods of the history of the Byzantine Pontos. They do cover more or less minutely the most populated zones of the Empire of Trebizond, the *banda* of Matzouka, Palaiomatzouka, Trikomia, Sourmaina, Rhizaion, and the metropolitan region of Trebizond. The most abundant anthroponymical data belong to the regions of Matzouka and Palaiomatzouka. The demographic information regarding Trikomia (northwest of Matzouka) and the districts of Gemora and Rhizaion (northeast of Matzouka) is incomplete.

The number of non-Greek names relating to the Pontos that remain unidentified, with rare exceptions, considerably exceeds the general Byzantine figures. The overall number of unidentified names is estimated at a little more than 40 percent of the total number of names. Generally, this corresponds to the figures of Anthony Bryer who, basing his study of the acts of Vazelon alone,

8 *AVaz*; about the Acts of Vazelon, see: Bryer, Anthony A.M. and Lowry, Heath. "Introduction," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, ed. Anthony A.M. Bryer and Heath Lowry (Birmingham and Washington, DC, 1986), pp. 5–6 and nn. 13 and 15; Dölger, Franz. "Zu den Urkunden des Vazelonsklosters bei Trapezunt," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 29 (1929/30), pp. 329–44; Shukurov, Rustam. "The Oriental Margins of the Byzantine World: A Prosopographical Perspective," in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), pp. 168–69. For other documentary sources, see: Lampros, Spyridon. "Ἀνέκδοτον χρυσόβουλλον Ἀλεξίου του Μεγάλου Κομνηνού αυτοκράτορος Τραπεζούντος," *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 2 (1905), pp. 187–98 (chrysobull of Alexios III); Miklosich, Franz and Müller, Joseph. *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1825–95), 5:276–81 (chrysobull of Alexios III); Laurent, Vitalien. "Deux chrysobulles inédits des empereurs de Trébizonde Alexis IV–Jean IV et David II," *Archéion Πόντου* 18 (1953), pp. 241–78 (chrysobulls of Alexios IV, John IV, and David).

estimated the identified standard Greek names at 47.3 percent. The major portion of unidentified names is certainly of non-Greek origin.⁹ Following these figures, one can expect a more substantial proportion of the population in the Pontos to be non-Greek in comparison to the west Byzantine territories.

From more than 1,600 names preserved in the Pontic Greek sources, 65 names of Oriental origin covering 93 persons have been chosen. Consequently, the approximate ratio of Oriental immigrants or their descendants constitutes 5.8 percent, that is, four times higher than in the west Byzantine lands. These names belonged to persons who lived in the Empire of Trebizond and owned property. Unlike the west Byzantine material, etymologization of the Pontic anthroponymics requires special attention to the specific features of the local Greek dialect, as well as to Kartvelian and Near Eastern onomastics of the time.

One more feature of the Pontic anthroponymics differentiates it from the west Byzantine models. In the Pontos, Armenian and Georgian Christians could have had Arabic, Persian, Turkic, or Mongolian names, as we shall see in the Trebizond section. The adoption of Arabic names by Georgian Christians has been noted by J.-Cl. Cheynet in his study of the Byzantine Arabs for the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁰ There is no evidence of such usage in the west Byzantine anthroponymics.

Pontic onomastics has already been used as a source for the reconstruction of the region's ethnic history. For instance, Bryer, Zhordania, and the present author have studied, to an extent, Kartvelian onomastics.¹¹ The first steps have been taken in the analysis of Latin anthroponymics and Armenian personal names of the Pontos.¹² And Zachariadou's study has discussed some Cuman

9 Bryer, Anthony A.M. "Rural Society in Matzouka," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, pp. 79–80.

10 Cheynet, Jean-Claude. "L'apport arabe à l'aristocratie byzantine des x^e–xi^e siècles," in Idem. *La société byzantine. L'apport des sceaux* (Paris, 2008), 2:628–29.

11 Bryer, "Rural Society," pp. 79–80; Idem. "Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan (I)," *Bedi Kartlisa*, 21–22 [50–51] (1966), pp. 190–91; Idem. "Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan (II)," *Bedi Kartlisa*, 23–24 [52–53] (1967), pp. 161–68; Zhordania, Erekle. "Этнический состав населения Понта в XIII–XV вв. Часть I: Лазы," *Byzantinoslavica* 57 (1996), pp. 125–39; Idem. "Этнический состав населения и некоторые вопросы топонимики Понта в XIII–XV вв. Часть II: чаны," *Byzantinoslavica* 60 (1999), pp. 71–86; Idem. "Картвельское население Понта в XIII–XV вв.," Ph.D. dissertation (Moscow, 2002); Shukurov, "The Oriental Margins," pp. 173–75.

12 Shukurov, Rustam. "Латиняне в сельской Мацуке (13–15 вв.)," in *Mare et litora: Essays Presented to Sergej Karpov for his 60th Birthday*, pp. 627–42; Idem. "The Oriental Margins," pp. 177–78 n. 154.

personal names.¹³ Yet the study of Pontic onomastics in general is still in its infancy and far inferior to the level of the research of similar material from the west Byzantine world. Nevertheless, for the Pontic region, in the absence or insufficiency of other, especially narrative, sources, onomastics is the most informative and reliable source for the reconstruction of its ethnic map.

4 On Byzantine Patterns of Naming

The anthroponymical database contains three types of names: baptismal name, byname or sobriquet, and surname which could have been a simple or composite patronymic derived from either father's or mother's family name or from both. In many cases, it is impossible to distinguish sobriquet from patronymic. Byzantine peasants and the middle classes usually identified themselves by baptismal name and sobriquet, which points, as a general rule, to geographical and ethnic origin,¹⁴ profession, personality, or appearance.¹⁵ In the case of naturalized foreigners, a sobriquet could use the old "pre-Byzantine" name that accompanied his baptismal name. Such surnames sometimes become an indispensable element of the person's name. Persons of the lower and middle classes could be identified sometimes by family links (such as "son of," "son-in-law of," "father of," "wife of"). Individuals of lower classes often held only a single name (mononym), normally a baptismal name.

Byzantines did not always follow either church calendars or ancient tradition when giving first names to their children; the list of Byzantine personal names abounds in unique male and female first names and bynames. There were no strict patterns of name construction. A personal name, as recorded in sources, might consist of one or all of the above elements. In most cases, sobriquets existed within a single generation and did not pass to descendants. Moreover, close relatives having the same ancestors (like full brothers and sisters) might have had different sobriquet or patronymic names. The term

13 Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Noms coumans à Trébizonde," *Revue des études byzantines* 53 (1995), pp. 285–88; Shukurov, Rustam. "Тюрки на православном Понте в XIII–XV вв.: начальный этап тюркизации?," in *Причерноморье в средние века*, ed. Sergej Karpov, 1 (Moscow, 1995), pp. 68–103; Idem. "Eastern Ethnic Elements in the Empire of Trebizond," in *Acts, 18th International Byzantine Congress, Selected Papers: Main and Communications, Moscow, 1991*, ed. I. Ševcenko and G. Litavrin, vol. 2: *History, Archaeology, Religion and Theology* (Shepherdstown, WV, 1996), pp. 75–81; Idem. "The Byzantine Turks of the Pontos," *Mésogaios. Revue trimestrielle d'études méditerranéennes* 6 (1999), pp. 7–47.

14 For geographical indicators in anthroponymics, see also Chapter 5.

15 For more detailed discussion with relevant examples, see: Laiou, *Peasant Society*, p. 108.

“family name,” in the proper sense of the word, should be used with caution because Byzantines had no “family names” in the modern European sense of the term.

A person's sobriquet rarely passed to his descendants. For instance, in Lemnos, in 1425–30, a certain Χατζίλαλα had the son Γεώργιος. Γεώργιος was referred to in monastic documents as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Χατζίλαλα,¹⁶ which corresponded to the popular identification “the son of.” However, elsewhere the same person was called “Γεωργίῳ τῷ Χατζίλαλα,”¹⁷ in which his father's name had become his own byname.

Aristocratic and prominent families having high social standing (military and civil officials, prominent intellectuals) used a sort of patronymic, which was a name or a sequence of names indicating an illustrious ancestor. However, the Byzantine usage of these patronymic names was again very dissimilar to a modern European one. First, a person might have used either paternal or maternal family names, or very often the sequence of both. Second, a husband could have taken as his own the patronymic of his nobler wife; this was the case of Ἰωάννης Μασγιδᾶς Δούκας (*PLP*, no. 17222) who got his patronymic Doukas due to his marriage to Εἰρήνη Δούκαινα (*PLP*, no. 17216). Siblings may have had different patronymic names or sequence of names. The children of Κωνσταντῖνος Μασγιδᾶς (*PLP*, no. 17223) preferred their maternal patronymic: Εἰρήνη Σφράτζαινα and Ἰωάννης Σφρατζῆς (*PLP*, nos 27284–85). It is unclear how arbitrary the preference of this or that model of self-naming by a noble person was or if there was strict regularity in name construction.¹⁸ In the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, the structure of the imperial family's names, the Palaiologoi and the Grand Komnenoi, appear the closest to modern

16 *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. Nicolas Oikonomides (Paris, 1968), nos 21.27 and 25.96–97.

17 *Actes de Dionysiou*, nos 21.15 and 25.90.

18 The problem of aristocratic names is well studied: Kazhdan, Alexander P. “Об аристократизации византийского общества VIII–XII вв.,” *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 11 (1968), pp. 47–53; Kazhdan, Alexander P. and Ronchey, Silvia. *L'aristocrazia bizantina dal principio dell'XI alla fine del XII secolo* (Palermo, 1999), pp. 156–58, 383–91; Patlagean, Évelyne. “Les débuts d'une aristocratie byzantine et le témoignage de l'historiographie: système des noms et liens de parenté aux IX^e–X^e siècles,” in *The Byzantine Aristocracy (XI to XIII Centuries)*, ed. Michael Angold (Oxford, 1984), pp. 23–41; Cheynet, Jean-Claude. “Du prénom au patronyme: les étrangers à Byzance (X^e–XII^e siècles),” in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, ed. Nicolas Oikonomides (Washington, DC, 1987), pp. 57–66; Idem. “L'anthroponymie aristocratique à Byzance,” in *L'anthroponymie, document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéens médiévaux*, ed. M. Bourin, J.-M. Martin, and F. Menant (Rome, 1996), pp. 267–94.

European patterns due to the continuance of dynastic names through generations, probably for ideological and ceremonial reasons.

In any case, the use of a patronymic by itself was a marker of a relatively high social status or of noble lineage. In the context of anthroponymic analysis, nobility will mean, on the one hand, high-ranking military and civilian officials and, on the other, the noble owners of family names that had persisted for several generations.

5 A Linguistic Problem

The Turks in the anthroponymical database might have had Arabic Muslim, Persian, Turkic, and Mongol names. While the Arabic and Persian names are relatively easily recognisable, the identification of Turkic and Mongol ones presents difficulties caused by the obscurities of the ethnolinguistic history of the Turks of the region. A considerable number of names in the database belong to Turks of lower- and middle-standing, which complicates the search for analogies for these names in contemporary Byzantine and Oriental textual sources that reflect primarily the life of the upper classes. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, Turkic personal names in Anatolia and the northern Black Sea region were still in the process of transition from the old pagan Turkic patterns to the standard Muslim ones. Moreover, the noted anthroponymical Islamization developed at different speeds in these two major historical areas, because the northern Cuman and Mongol regions were less Islamized, Iranicized, and Arabicized in comparison to Anatolia, where standard Muslim and Persian names had been in use since the end of the eleventh century. However, even in Anatolia the process of Islamization of personal names embraced first the upper classes. In the thirteenth century, as noted by Vladimir Gordlevsky, members of the Seljukid upper class used a rather complex anthroponymical pattern. The Muslim first name was often accompanied by a pagan surname, nickname, or tribal name such as Fakhr al-Dīn Doğmuş, Mubārīz al-Dīn Qara Arslan, Şayf al-Dīn Salur, Shams al-Dīn Oğuz, and the like.¹⁹ The remnants of the pagan past were more influential among the nomads and lower-class settled Turks; therefore, the devotion to pre-Islamic personal names might well have been more consistent among them. Contemporary sources reflected this rustic Turkic anthroponymical nomenclature rarely and only randomly. The process of the Islamization of Anatolian

19 Gordlevsky, Vladimir. *Государство Сельджукидов Малой Азии* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941), pp. 55–56.

Turkic anthroponymy continued at least until the seventeenth century. Double names, numerous in early Ottoman *defter*s, almost vanished from the registers by the seventeenth century. For instance, the Ottoman *caba defter* of the *liva* of Trabzon for 1695–1731 mentioned double Turkic-Muslim names only occasionally.²⁰ Among the Turkic nomadic population of Anatolia, Islamic names had permanently displaced native Turkic ones only by the eighteenth century.

In the Turkic and Mongol areas of the northern Black Sea, in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, native Turkic and Turkic-Mongol names dominated. Islam began to spread among the area's population as late as under Khan Uzbek (1313–41) and the process of Islamization continued for centuries after his reign.²¹ This led to some conservation of native Turkic anthroponymical nomenclature. Our knowledge of the Cuman and later Mongol anthroponymics of the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries is fragmentary and unsystematic. Some Turkic names survived in Byzantine sources, especially from the “Scythian” regions, but are unique in written sources of that time and have no analogy in available Oriental sources.

Another serious difficulty of a linguistic nature is that we can only guess at the origin and local peculiarities of the Turkic dialects in the north Black Sea area and Anatolia. Several waves of Turkic nomadic expansion covered the Balkans and Byzantine Anatolia in the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries; both Oğuz and Qipchaq tribes participated in these conquests and predatory raids. In the thirteenth century, thousands of Turks of various tribes and tongues were ousted from Central Asia and northern Iran by the Mongol pressure. Nomads and sedentary Turks continued to move through Anatolia and the Balkans until the fifteenth century. Ottoman power had since the fourteenth century practiced a policy of forced resettlement of both nomadic and sedentary groups within the borders of the Ottoman sultanate.²² This permanent change in the ethnic pattern of the Balkans, western Anatolia, and the Pontos prevents the identification of the prevalent Turkic linguistic

20 Velkov, Asparukh and Shengelia, Nodar (eds), *Османские документальные источники о Грузии и Закавказье (XVII–XVIII вв.)* (Tbilisi, 1989), pp. 536–845. About 1,500 entries of the *caba defter* contain a little more than twenty double names such as: Qarā Muṣṭafā (p. 548), Yūnus walad-i Qarā Khān (p. 652), Muḥammad walad-i Aybēk (p. 678), Awliyya walad-i Arslān (p. 692), ‘Uthmān walad-i Khudāwerdī (p. 716), Isma‘īl walad-i Tāsh-Timur (p. 720), and the like.

21 See: DeWeese, Devin. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, PA, 1994).

22 Barkan, Ömer Lütü. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15 (1953–54), pp. 209–37.

substratum. Because of the policy of forced resettlement, it is not always possible to rely on the retrospective analysis of the distribution of contemporary Turkic dialects. Contemporary medieval sources preserve too few traces of the living colloquial dialects of the time.

We know too little about Turkic anthroponymical nomenclature in the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries. Turkic names preserved in the Byzantine sources have no analogy in available medieval sources. It is Byzantine sources, properly elaborated, that may help in writing the ethnolinguistic history of the Balkan and Anatolian Turks. The well-known variability of spelling of proper names in the Late Byzantine texts, however, poses additional difficulties in etymologization of the Oriental personal and place-names.²³

The selection of names is based on general rules of transformation of Oriental lexical elements in Middle Greek, taking into account available data of the modern Turkish dialects in the Balkans and Anatolia. Despite obscurities, these Turkish dialects are often the only surviving testimony for the ethnic and linguistic past of the region. The roots of the selected Oriental names have been checked through the dictionaries of Middle and Modern Greek, as well as some Greek dialects (Pontic, Cypriot, Cappadocian), to verify their inclusion in Greek vocabulary of the time and region. That they were borrowed by Middle or Modern Greek and regional dialects in itself represents additional confirmation. Factors in the inclusion of Arabic, Persian, Turkic, and Mongol lexical elements in Middle Greek are as follows:²⁴

1. Usually, but not always, the original accent is preserved. The words of Arabic origin entered the Greek language in Iranicized or Turkicized phonetic form with the accent on the last syllable, regardless of whether it was long or short in Arabic original. If the Oriental stem is followed by a Greek root or suffix, the original accent moves in accordance with the rules of the Greek language.
2. Most Oriental words acquire the ending of the first declension, with only a small proportion belonging to the second declension. If the stem ends in a vowel, the final vowel is absorbed by the ending of the first declension

23 Trapp, Erich. "Probleme der Prosopographie der Palaiologenzeit," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 27 (1978), pp. 181–201.

24 Moravcsik, Gyula. *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1983), 2:29–36; Hartmann, Richard. "Zur Wiedergabe türkischer Namen und Wörter in den byzantinischen Quellen," *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst* 6 (1952), p. 6; Georgiadis, Pavlos. "Die lautlichen Veränderungen der türkischen Lehnwörter im Griechischen," Dissertation (Munich, 1974).

- ας, -ης, and the stressed syllable of the original stem in most cases acquires a circumflex accent, merging with the ending.
3. Some names do not acquire a Greek ending and in this case do not decline, which was rather common for foreign borrowings in Middle Greek;²⁵ some of these names in oblique cases have endings -α and -η.

The above rules are applicable not only to personal and place-names but also to other Oriental lexical borrowings, which will be discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.

6 The Problem of Generations

Another methodological feature in the interpretation of Byzantine anthroponymical material exists. It is often difficult to know the generation of immigrants to whom the name belonged. In the case of aristocratic patronymics, distant descendants of the founder of the family, a Scythian or a Persian, still continued to use it throughout generations. Obviously, cultural differences between the first, second, and subsequent generations were very important, especially if one takes into account the effectiveness of Byzantine assimilation mechanisms. Only in regard to first-generation immigrants can one speak about the inflow of newcomers in Byzantine society, while in the case of second and subsequent generation immigrants we are dealing with an ordinary Byzantine who for some reason had a non-Greek sobriquet or patronymic. One can ascertain with confidence to which generation a person belonged only in cases where sources provide an explicit indication. Such indications are as frequent in narrative texts as they are rare in documentary sources. Owners of Oriental names from among lower classes referred to in the sources, who unlike the aristocracy had no patronymic, as a rule belonged to immigrants of the first and, less frequently, the second generation of newcomers. For instance, a decision of the archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos of Ochrid, concerning commoners, directly indicates the connection between an Oriental sobriquet of a lower-class person and his belonging to the first generation of newcomers. In a deed concerning the rights of inheritance (ca. 1219–20), the following remarkable testimony of a complainant and resident of Berroia is found: “I had a sister called Maria. Our common father, when she was a maid, married

²⁵ Schweyzer, Eduard. *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von K. Burgmanns Griechischer Grammatik* 1 (Munich, 1939), p. 585 (1v, 29).

her to Theodore, Turkish by birth, nicknamed Saphas.”²⁶ Here Θεόδωρος is the baptismal name of a Turkish newcomer, while Σαφᾶς, seemingly, is his former Muslim name (Şafâ). Theodore was a first-generation immigrant and, as the reader discovers later in the document, a soldier. This supports my belief that other structurally similar names, which were owned by lower- and middle-class individuals, belonged to naturalized newcomers. Their Oriental sobriquets derived from their former Muslim or pagan names. Second-generation immigrants sometimes might also have non-Greek sobriquets.

Even if individuals bearing the same byname belong to the same family, in many cases the degree of relationship between them can be established only tentatively. If the kinship degree is not explicitly recorded in the sources, there is a special scheme that may give a rough idea about the nature of kinship links between them. The known names are placed in *generation scales*, in which one generation equals approximately a twenty-year period, given the early marriage age of the Byzantines. According to Byzantine legislation, marriageable age was 14 for men and 12 for women.²⁷ Laiou has shown that, in the first half of the fourteenth century, the average marriage age for peasant men in the Theme of Thessalonike was 20.²⁸ It is likely that in higher classes the average marriage age was lower. In my generation scales, if the year of birth is unknown, the generation starts with the earliest date an individual is mentioned in the sources. This method allows some idea about possible degrees of kinship between individuals having the same patronymic but living in a different time.

7 Credibility of Anthroponymical Data

The majority of Asian newcomers registered in the database were first-generation immigrants. Often the second generation, who did not use Oriental surnames any more, were indistinguishable from the indigenous population, losing those indications of origin which their fathers' names might give us.

26 Chomatenos, Demetrios. *Demetrii Chomatēni ponemata diaphora*, ed. Günter Prinzing (Berlin, 2002), p. 235.13–15 (no. 67): “Ἀδελφὴν εἶχον καλουμένην Μαρίαν. Ταύτην ὁ κοινὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν παρθένον οὖσαν ἀνδρὶ συνήρμοσε κατὰ γαμικὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῷ τουρκογενεῖ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ ἐπονομαζομένῳ Σαφᾶ.” For the date of the document, see in editor's commentaries: *Ibid.*, p. 150*.

27 Laiou, Angeliki E. *Marriage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux XI^e–XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1992), p. 16.

28 Laiou, *Peasant Society*, pp. 272–73.

Only incoming noble families retained references to their Asian lineage in subsequent generations.

On adopting Christianity, immigrants had to change their Muslim or pagan names to Christian ones. If an individual of low social standing did not retain his former foreign name as a sobriquet, his Asian roots are untraceable. Consequently, some purely Christian Byzantine names might well be concealing those of Asian immigrants (as well as those of other origins) who through their names assimilated to the Greek Christian majority. Only those Asian immigrants of low social standing, whose nickname was related to their original foreign name, are traceable, as this sobriquet had become an indispensable element of their personal identification. The Asians completely changing their names to standard Christian ones (or Greek and Slavic), as well as second-generation Asians who had lost their foreign sobriquet, had become persons of "concealed identity." The problem of spurious and concealed identity has been posed by Ballard, Laiou, and Jacoby in their studies of the Balkan population.²⁹ Christian and Greek names, adopted by foreign immigrants, conceal from a researcher the ethnic identity of their owners. It is for this reason that David Jacoby calls onomastics a "treacherous tool."³⁰ This observation is true for Oriental immigrants as well. For instance, the Byzantine military commander and Theodore II Laskaris' confidant Κλεόπας is characterized in narrative sources as Scythian (Σκυθής Κλεόπας).³¹ It would have been impossible to determine his Cuman identity if not for the direct reference in the sources.

It is possible sometimes to single out persons with such concealed identity. For instance, Γεώργιος Ἀγαρηνός, whose sobriquet indicates his possible origin from Muslim Anatolia, had a cousin Γεώργιος Μαυροϊωάννης. The semantics of the nickname Μαυροϊωάννης, that is, "Black John," in conjunction with the "Muslim" name of his cousin Ἀγαρηνός, suggests that Γεώργιος Μαυροϊωάννης could have been of "Persian" blood.³² Another example: a certain Κομάννα was a daughter of the priest Manuel and Eirene and lived between 1317 and 1321

29 Balard, Michel. *La Romanie génoise (XII^e-début du XV^e siècle)*, 2 vols (Rome, 1978), 2:797; Laiou, Angeliki E. "In the Medieval Balkans: Economic Pressures and Conflicts in the Fourteenth Century," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. Speros Vryonis (Malibu, 1985), p. 145; Jacoby, David. "Foreigners and the Urban Economy in Thessalonike, ca. 1150–ca. 1450," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 86–87, 130.

30 Jacoby, "Foreigners and the Urban Economy," p. 86.

31 *PLP*, no. 11787; Laskaris, Theodore. *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. Nicola Festa (Florence, 1898), no. 259.28; Skoutariotes in: Akropolites, George. *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. August Heisenberg and Peter Wirth, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1978), 1:293.12.

32 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:76–77 (no. XXIV); for etymology of the name Ἀγαρηνός, see Chapter 9.

in Melitziani on the Strymon.³³ It is likely that either her father or mother, or both, were Cuman since they had called their daughter a “Cuman,” even though the ethnic origin of Κομάννα’s parents is not explicitly indicated in the text. A similar instance (ca. 1300) is that a certain Kouman (Κουμανῆς) was a son of John the Apostate (Ἀποστάτης) and had two brothers, Theodore and Demetrios.³⁴ Obviously, the father’s nickname “Apostate” in combination with the Cuman name of his son clearly refers to his Turkic “Scythian” origin and to some essential event in his life; judging by his sobriquet, John the Apostate probably renounced either Christianity (and embraced it again), or Islam, or paganism. The names of his two other sons, Theodore and Demetrios, if they had not adopted their father’s nickname Apostate as a surname, they would no way have reflected their father’s possible Cuman origin. As a similar example, the *paroikos* Γεώργιος Καζάνης (1262) had daughters Maria, Kale, and Eirene.³⁵ The sobriquet Καζάνης indicates that George was most likely a first-generation Turkic immigrant. His daughters, however, when married most likely would not bear their father’s name and, therefore, would become those persons of “concealed” identity.

These limitations lead us to suggest that only some Turkic immigrants preserved their Turkic nicknames, while many others, having adopted Christian, Greek, or Slavic names, became “concealed.” Consequently, the real number of Asian immigrants in Byzantine lands was most likely considerably higher than the figures given in this study. In this sense, my database reflects only the tip of the iceberg. What, at first, seems to be a modest number of Oriental names does not reflect the real extent of Asian presence in Late Byzantine society. It is plausible that unrecognizable Asians outnumbered those whose names or biographic data reveal their Asian origin; however, using the chosen methodology it is difficult to assess the ratio between known and unknown Asian immigrants.

It is always possible that a foreign sobriquet was given to a person for some other reason than his race. It is theoretically possible that a Greek could acquire, for whatever reason, a Turkish, Slavic, or Albanian name, but this would be exceptionally rare. The application of a non-Greek sobriquet to a Greek was possible if the name was derived from a foreign word that was assimilated in Greek or if the name was derived from a foreign technical term.

33 *PLP*, no. 11997. For similar cases, see: *PLP*, nos 12004–05, 12007, 12011, 24860, 24863, 29190, 93832; Mošin, Vladimir. “Акти из светогорских архива,” *Споменик Српске Краљевске Академје* 91 (1939), pp. 207–139, 210–333.

34 Mošin, “Акти,” p. 206.30–35.

35 *PLP*, no. 93676. For a similar example, see: *PLP*, no. 24864.

The first case can be illustrated by the name Βαμβακοράβδης, “having a cotton rod,” as a mocking sobriquet of the emperor Alexios III.³⁶ The name derives from βάμβαξ, βαμβάκιον³⁷ ← dialectal Persian *pambak* “cotton”; it entered Greek in the eleventh century but by the end of the twelfth century βάμβαξ had lost its foreign association. This mocking nickname, of course, had nothing to do with the ethnic origin of Alexios III, who undoubtedly was considered to be of pure Greek blood. In this and similar cases, a foreign name is not an indication of ethnic origin but rather of the dissemination of foreign linguistic elements in the spoken Greek language. A second case can be exemplified by foreign court titles in the Byzantine list of the state hierarchy such as Τζαούσης³⁸ and Δραγουμάνος,³⁹ which were used as sobriquets. The probability that these names or patronymics belonged specifically to Turkish newcomers is close to zero. As far as these Oriental terms were included in the official court nomenclature, they were used as sobriquets or patronymics without any connection to the ethnic origin of their owners, but rather may have pointed to their particular rank in hierarchy. I have therefore excluded such names from my list of Asians. On the contrary, “professional” terms such as Μουρτάτος, Μουρτατόπουλος,⁴⁰ and Τουρκόπουλος⁴¹ most likely indicated that their owners or their forefathers belonged to an “ethnic” military detachments and therefore to their ethnic origin. The prevalence of the sobriquets Μουρτάτος, Μουρτατόπουλος, and Τουρκόπουλος in the Byzantine anthroponymics indicates a relatively large number of military persons among naturalized Turks.

While in most cases foreign sobriquets refer to the foreign origin of its holder, I offer a curious and ambivalent example. The mocking sobriquet of the patriarch Germanos III was Μαλκούτζης/Μαρκούτζης (“intrigant”), which Pachymeres correctly qualified as a “Persian” (i.e., Turkic) word.⁴² He explains that this epithet of opprobrium was applied to the patriarch because of his “Laz” origin. Germanos III was not Laz but belonged to the renowned Gabras

36 Choniates, Niketas. *Historia*, ed. Jan Louis van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1975), pp. 1:453.1 app., 479.44 app.

37 *LBG*, p. 262; Du Cange, Charles. *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyon, 1688), cols 172–73.

38 *PLP*, no. 27785 (with relevant commentaries).

39 *PLP*, nos 5787–91, 5871, 91829.

40 *PLP*, nos 19534–36.

41 *PLP*, nos 29176, 29178, 29180, 29181, 29183, 29184.

42 Pachymeres, George. *Georges Pachymères, Relations Historiques* IV.13, ed. Albert Failler, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), 2:367.24; for its etymology, see Chapter 9.

family, Armenians or Syrians who had long been Hellenized.⁴³ It is evident that the nickname mocked the “ethnic” and non-Constantinopolitan roots of Germanos III’s family, though Constantinopolitans were wrong in identifying him as “Laz” and “Persian.” In most cases, foreign sobriquets did reflect the foreign origin or even imaginary origin of its holder.

Among notable examples of the correlation between origin and name I refer once again to the case of the Turkish soldier Θεόδωρος Σαφᾶς, whose second name unmistakably pointed to Theodore’s “Persian” roots. Another paradigmatic and illustrative example is represented by Μαρία Κομνηνῆ Παλαιολογίνα, Michael VIII Palaiologos’ illegitimate daughter by a certain Διπλοβατατζίνα, who was sent ca. 1265 to Iran to become the wife of an Ilkhānid Khan. Maria, having married the khan Abaqa (1265–82), preserved her Christian faith at the Mongol court. On Abaqa’s death in 1282, she returned to Byzantium and became a nun under the name Μελάνη (Fig. 4). On her return she received from her compatriots, who were seemingly deeply impressed by her fate, honorary titles such as “Lady of the Mongols” (δέσποινα τῶν Μουγουλίων), “Mistress of the Mongols” (κυρά τῶν Μουγουλίων), and “Empress of the Orient” (βασίλισ τῆς Ἑώας). Maria purchased and extended the monastery of the Virgin Panagiotissa in Constantinople, which from then on was called, after her, ἡ τῶν Μουγουλίων μονή.⁴⁴

The honorary titles of Maria Palaiologina had become an informal sobriquet clearly indicating her past as a foreign empress and, therefore, her having spent many years abroad. Maria brought with her to Byzantium her daughter

43 The most probable etymology of the family name Γαβρᾶς is the Aramaic GBR (→ gabr “infidel,” the denomination of Christian *akritai* in Muslim service); see: Bryer, Anthony A.M. “A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades, c. 979–c. 1653,” *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12 (1970), esp. pp. 166, 169–71, 174–81 and nos 1, 3, 6–13; Bryer, Anthony A.M., Fassoulakis, Sterios, and Nicol, Donald M. “A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades. An Additional Note,” *Byzantinoslavica* 36 (1975), pp. 38–45, and esp. pp. 39–40; Bartikian, Hratch. “О византийской аристократической семье Гаврас,” *Историко-филологический журнал АН Армянской ССР* 118/3 (1987), pp. 190–200; 119/4 (1987), pp. 181–93; 120/1 (1988), pp. 163–78.

44 Pachymeres III. 3 (1:235); *PLP*, no. 21395; Runciman, Steven. “The Ladies of the Mongols,” in *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Αμάντου* (Athens, 1960), pp. 48–53; Teteriatnikov, Natalia. “The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 43 (1995), pp. 163–84; Herrin, Judith. *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium* (Princeton, 2013), p. 314; On the monastery, see: Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantin*, pt. 1: *Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat œcuménique*, 3: *Les églises et monastères* (Paris, 1969), pp. 213–14 (no. 86).



FIGURE 4 *A representation of Melania (Lady of the Mongols) in the Chora monastery, Constantinople (photo: Natalia Teteriatnikov).*

Theodora by Abaqa who was called in Byzantine sources by her Mongol name Ἀραχαντλούν (“having fortunate crown of the head”). The genesis of this compound Greek and Oriental name is absolutely clear: the baptismal Christian name was accompanied by the Mongol-Turkic name Ἀραχαντλούν which was either a Mongol nickname or more probably the name given at birth. Judging by the context, in the Byzantine environment Ἀραχαντλούν was not an honorary title but rather an integral part of the name, an identifier of its owner.⁴⁵ Here the foreign sobriquet unambiguously reflects Theodora’s foreign origin: she was Mongol on her father’s side and a first-generation immigrant.

In subsequent analysis, the owner of an Oriental name will be regarded as a “Byzantine Turk,” if there is no explicit refutation of it in relevant sources. Of course, one cannot exclude that some Oriental names in the database in fact belonged to Greeks, Slavs, Latins, or something else. However, the majority of cases registered in my anthroponymic database reflect with certainty a direct correlation between the origin of names and the ethnic affiliation of their owners. The ratio of non-Orientals who may have been included ineligibly in my database on the grounds of their Oriental sobriquets equals the ratio of those Orientals who acquired purely Greek names and whose foreign origin became invisible.

Ancient Greek culture widely used ethnic names and, in classical times, there was usually a direct link between the ethnic origin and the origin of the name.⁴⁶ There is no evidence of any radical change in this sense in Byzantine times.

8 “Scythian” and “Persian” Names

Byzantines distinguished among Turkic nations two largest taxa: “Scythians” (Dunabian and northern Black Sea Turks and the Mongols⁴⁷) and “Persians” (Anatolian and Iranian Turks). The differences between these two taxa of Scythians and Persians, no doubt, have distinct historical and cultural meaning for modern scholars. The northern Black Sea Turks and Mongols were little

45 *PLP*, no. 1229. *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, ed. Herbert Hunger, Otto Kresten, et al., 3 vols (Vienna, 1981–2001), 3:68.56 (no. 184): “ἡ εὐγενεστάτη δηλαδὴ κυρά Θεοδώρα, ἡ ἐπονομαζομένη Ἀραχαντλούν.”

46 Fraser, Peter M. “Ethnics as Personal Names,” in: *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, pp. 149–57.

47 Sometimes Byzantines included into the Scythian taxon some other non-Turkic peoples who inhabited the northern Black Sea region, such as the Alans.

Islamized or professed pagan cults, and being nomads were alien to urban culture. Anatolians, in contrast, were mostly Muslims, often came from cities, and shared the traditions of Anatolian urban mentality. Following this pattern, I pinpoint two groups among the owners of Oriental names, if their origin was not specified in sources: the Qipchaq Turks and Tatars, that is, "Scythians," and Anatolian immigrants, that is, "Persians." The main criterion for my division is the locative characteristics of the name's owner (or of his ancestors) and not the linguistic features of name. The proposed division into "Scythians" and "Persians," being absolutely transparent to the Byzantines themselves and acceptable to us, has nothing to do with modern linguistic systematization. Due to the extremely complex and not yet completely clarified ethnic map of Crimea, the southern Russian steppes, and Anatolia in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, in which Oğuz, Qipchaq, and Mongol, as well as autochthonous elements were interspersed, cultural and locative Byzantine systematization paradoxically is more applicable for the study of the regions where language watersheds are impossible.⁴⁸

The differentiation between "Scythian" and "Persian" settlers is not usually a problem for the data gleaned from Byzantine narrative sources. Byzantine authors, as a rule, were sensitive to this basic distinction and noted it. The problem, however, arises when handling anthroponymics and microtoponymics in documentary sources. Compilers of the acts were not concerned with the "ethnic" origin of a person mentioned in an official document. If the person was a Roman citizen, that is, subject to Roman law, the law was not interested in his or his ancestors' ethnicity. In the case of documentary sources, when defining the provenance of the bearer of an Oriental name, one may rely only on etymology of the name itself. With some reservations, I consider purely Turkic names as likely belonging to "Scythians," while Arabic and Persian names are regarded as belonging to "Persians."

48 For an ethnic map of the northern Black Sea and Lower Danube regions, see: Golden, Peter. *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden, 1992), pp. 270–82; Idem. "Codex Cumanicus," in *Central Asian Monuments*, ed. Hasan B. Paksoy (Istanbul, 1992), pp. 33–63. Some impression about the still understudied ethnic map of Muslim Anatolia in the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries may be derived from: Sümer, Faruk. *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler). Tarihleri, Boy teşkilatı, Destanları* (Istanbul, 1992); Idem. "Anadolu'da Moğollar," *Selçuklu araştırmaları dergisi* 1 (1969), pp. 1–147.

The “Persians” and the “Scythians”

1 Historical Background

In the seventh to the ninth centuries, with some exceptions, there were three major groups of newcomers from the Muslim Orient to Byzantium: Muslim prisoners of war and hostages, merchants and diplomats, and “political” refugees. In the first centuries of the Caliphate’s existence, when military confrontation between Muslims and the Byzantine empire reached its apogee, the most numerous group of Muslims in the empire’s territory most likely comprised Muslim prisoners of war. In the second half of the tenth century, Ibn Hawqal referred to Byzantine prisons for Muslim captives in the *themata* of the Thracesians, Opsikion, and Bucellarians. Some prisoners were kept in Constantinople. Most Muslim captives returned home (being ransomed or as part of prisoner swaps). Some of them, however, were Christianized and settled by the Byzantines in abandoned lands or were enslaved. Both settlers and slaves, being scattered throughout the provinces of the empire, dispersed into the local population, and were quickly assimilated, particularly through marriage. Since the end of the ninth century, Muslim merchants were frequent visitors in Byzantine trade centers. Judging by the Arabic geographical tradition, Muslim merchants knew the Byzantine system of international trade including markets and trade routes. Muslim merchants were abundant in Constantinople, possibly the only city in the empire where a permanent Muslim trading colony existed. From time to time, groups of immigrants who were forced out of Muslim territory found asylum in Byzantium. Some belonged to diverse Christian communities and sects. More rarely the Byzantine border was crossed by non-Christian and Muslim refugees who were allowed to remain in the empire provided they adopt Christianity. An example of the latter category are the Iranian Khurramites who fled to Byzantium during the reign of Theophilos (829–42), “the Moors” who most likely came from North Africa and were settled in southwest Anatolia (tenth c.), and 12,000 Arab horsemen with their families who fled from Nisibis in 941. Byzantine authorities, as a rule, divided the immigrants into small groups and sent them to different provinces of the empire to speed up their assimilation with the local population. Usually, the immigrants, scattered in the vast expanses of the empire, lost their ethnic and religious identity by the second generation. A separate phenomenon of the east Byzantine periphery is represented by limitrophe Akritic zones where

the population movement in both directions across the frontier was rather intensive. The defection of warriors of the Arab *thughūr* to the enemy side was frequent, and these renegades resettled in the Byzantine border regions. Their number most likely increased during the Byzantine reconquest of Syria in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The assimilating factor of baptism, according to the epics *Digenes Akrites*, played as important a role for these Arab defectors as in other cases. Judging by Byzantine seals, in the middle and upper layers of the Byzantine state hierarchy in the tenth through the eleventh centuries, a significant number of individuals from the Orient bore Arabic names.¹ However, it is difficult to establish whether these immigrants from the east were Muslim renegades or Arabicized Syrian Christians who also used Arabic names. In any case, the Muslim immigrants either soon lost their initial religious identity (as in the case of refugees and defectors) or represented marginal Muslim groups of foreign subjects (as in the case of merchants and prisoners of war) outside the Byzantine social organization and juridical system.²

- 1 Laurent, Vitalien. *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, 2 vols in 5 pts (Paris, 1963–81), 2: nos 106, 208, 253, 380, 407, 558, 591, 808, 904, 916, 922, 923, 1040, 1163, 1204, etc. Some up-to-date information from Byzantine sigillography, see in: Cheynet, Jean-Claude. "L'apport arabe à l'aristocratie byzantine des x^e–xi^e siècles," in Idem. *La société byzantine. L'apport des sceaux* (Paris, 2008), pp. 627–46.
- 2 There is still no general study of the Arab immigrants in Byzantium, although some particular aspects of the problem have been discussed in many studies: Canard, Marius. "Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964), pp. 33–56; Idem. *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient. Variorum* (London, 1973), nos 1, 15; Charanis, Peter. *Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire. Variorum* (London, 1972); Rydén, Lennart. "The Portrait of the Arab Samōnas in Byzantine Literature," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984), pp. 101–09; Reinert, Stephen W. "The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th–15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations," in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC, 1998), pp. 125–50; Ditten, Hans. *Ethnische Ferschiebungen zwischen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasien von Ende des 6. bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1993); Oikonomides, Nicolas. "L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux 10^e–11^e siècles et le taktikon de l'Escorial," in *Actes du XIV^e congrès international des études byzantines*, 1 (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 285–302; Balivet, Michel. *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc: histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque* (Istanbul, 1994), ch. 1, pp. 12–14 and nn. 10–12; Dagron, Gilbert. "Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance (ix^e–xii^e siècle)," *Travaux et mémoires* 12 (1994), pp. 219–40. For Khurramites, see: Cheynet, Jean-Claude. "Théophile, Théophobe et les Perses," in Lampakis, Stelios (ed.), *Η Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6ος–12ος αι.)*, pp. 39–50; Idem. "L'apport arabe," pp. 627–46; Letsios, Dimitrios. "Theophilos and his 'Khurramite' Policy: Some Reconsiderations," *Graeco-Arabica* 9–10 (2004), pp. 249–71; Bibikov, Mikhail V. "К вопросу об иноземцах в византийской государственной элите," in

This general picture changed during the Turkic conquests in the second half of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Due to specific features of the Turkic invasions, traditional categories of Muslim prisoners of war, merchants, travelers, and frontier soldiers ceased to be a predominant type. The majority of newcomers now constituted Turkic mercenaries who were actively settled in imperial lands and were naturalized by the authorities. Turkic mercenaries of “Scythian” origin appeared in Byzantine service in great numbers as early as the middle of the eleventh century and during the subsequent decades formed a significant part of the Byzantine military machine. Later in the same century, “Scythians” were supplemented by “Persian” mercenaries. Turkic mercenaries normally served under the command of Turkic leaders who had adopted Christianity, proved their loyalty to the authorities, and thus entered the Byzantine military elite. The founders of many Byzantine noble families of Turkic origin began their careers as military commanders. It is possible that many of the Turks in the service of Byzantium were not initially solely military leaders of various ranks, but also Turkic tribal chiefs. As Charles Brand has shown, Turks could also be found among the middle ranks of the Byzantine army. There are no exact figures for the number of Turks in the Byzantine army; however, as Brand notes, it must have been high enough to create an impression among the Crusaders that the Byzantines were in alliance with the Turks: “Hostility to Byzantium and suspicion of the emperors rose in the twelfth century, and the use of Turks contributed thereto.” Kazhdan estimates the number of Turks in the Byzantine noble class as approximately 1 percent of 2,500 persons in his list of Byzantine aristocracy (while, for instance, Armenians constituted not less than 15 percent).³

Idem. *Очерки средневековой истории экономики и права* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 173–87. On Muslim population in reconquered by the Byzantines Syria, see also: Bosworth, Clifford E. “The City of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine Frontiers in Early and Middle ‘Abbāsid Times,” *Oriens* 33 (1992), pp. 268–86.

- 3 Kazhdan, Alexander P. and Ronchey, Silvia. *L'aristocrazia bizantina dal principio dell'XI alla fine del XII secolo* (Palermo, 1999), p. 347 (families of the Anatolian and Balkan Turks), p. 349 (Arabic, Anatolian, and Balkan families), p. 352 (increasing role of the Turkic commanders under Manuel I); Kazhdan, Alexander P. *Армяне в составе господствующего класса Византии в XI–XII вв.* (Yerevan, 1975), pp. 146–47, 167–68; Brand, Charles. “The Turkish Element in Byzantium, 11th–12th centuries,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), pp. 1–25; Zachariadou, Elizabeth and Kazhdan, Alexander. “Turks in Byzantine Service,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, pp. 2129–30; Necipoğlu, Nevra. “The Coexistence of Turks and Greeks in Medieval Anatolia (Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries),” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 5 (1999–2000), pp. 58–76; Badenas, Pedro. “L'integration des Turcs dans

However, studies discussing Turkic immigrants in Byzantine society focus almost exclusively on noble Turks who became members of the Byzantine court and military elite. Turks of lower and middle classes have never become the subject of studies, although Byzantines themselves explicitly indicated the presence inside the empire of numerous Turks of lower social standing.⁴ The first steps to analyze the Pecheneg settlements in the Byzantine Balkans were done many decades ago by Akdeş Kurat Nimet (a Russian Tatar historian who emigrated to Turkey),⁵ but there has been no systematic continuation in subsequent scholarship. It is obvious that Turkic commoners outnumbered their noble compatriots. During the twelfth century, the influx of mercenaries, captives, and slaves from the Danube regions and Anatolia seems to have constantly increased, although as yet no study has been made to verify this impression, which is based on numerous sources. The issue of the Turkish population in Byzantium in the eleventh through the twelfth centuries deserves to be examined but is beyond the scope of the present study.

The sources for the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries allow a more balanced picture of the Turkic influx, which embraces all strata of the Byzantine population from slaves to aristocrats.⁶ The Turkic presence in the Byzantine empire during the Laskarid and Palaiologan period has been attracting scholarly interest for a long time. There can no longer be any doubt about the existence of Turkish settlers in Late Byzantium.⁷ However, until now the Turks in the Byzantine context have been generally regarded as mercenary soldiers who stayed temporarily in the territory of the empire; the subsequent fate of the Turks who, in one way or another, settled in Byzantium has scarcely

la société byzantine (XI^e–XII^e siècles). Échecs d'un processus de coexistence," in Lampakis, *Η Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6ος –12ος αι.)*, pp. 179–88.

4 Kazhdan and Ronchey, *L'aristocrazia*, p. 87.

5 See maps in: Kurat, Akdeş Nimet. *Peçenek tarihi* (Istanbul, 1937).

6 For some considerations in this regard, see: Zachariadou and Kazhdan, "Turks in Byzantine Service"; Zhavoronkov, Petr I. "Тюрки в Византии (XIII–середина XIV в.). Часть первая: тюркская аристократия," *Византийский временник* 65 (2006), pp. 163–77. See also a study that is outdated in many respects: Atabinen, Rechid Saffet. "Les Turcs à Constantinople du v^e au xv^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 67 (1953), pp. 338–64.

7 Charanis, Peter. "The Formation of the Greek People," in *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, p. 97; Idem. "The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3/2 (1961), pp. 148ff.; Vryonis, Speros. "Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower," in *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans: Reprinted Studies* [Βυζαντινά και Μεταβυζαντινά, 2] (Malibu, 1981), no. 3, pp. 125–40; Asdracha, Catherine. *La région des Rhodopes aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles: étude de géographie historique* (Athens, 1976), pp. 75–84.

been analyzed. Until now we have had no comprehensive and generalizing study on the place of the Turks in the ethnic composition of Late Byzantium, whether they constituted compact ethnic groups, where they lived, or what their religious and cultural affiliations were.

This absence is quite understandable since demographic and ethnic analysis faces almost insurmountable difficulties of methodology. It is obvious that the ethnic structure of the west Byzantine regions was extremely complex: at least four large ethnic groups – that is, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, and Albanians – lived side by side there. The presence of west European, Turkic, Armenian, Vlach, Gypsy, and Jewish settlers makes the ethnic map of Byzantine territories even more complex and confusing. Moreover, the turbulent political history of the Byzantine empire and neighboring countries, frequent and drastic shifts of political borders, and rapid conquests and retreats put in motion large groups of people who were repeatedly rearranging ethnic maps. For these reasons, surviving sources are often insufficient for a credible reconstruction of ethnic changes in particular areas of the Byzantine empire. So far we can produce only a general and, disappointingly, static picture of the region's ethnic composition. Only a synchronic description can be given in most cases since a detailed diachronic analysis of ethnic processes proves unfeasible because of the insufficiency of surviving sources.

As noted in Chapter 1, the divide between “Scythian” and “Persian” origins of Oriental foreigners was essential in the Byzantine mentality. Following that basic division, I outline the major stages of the settlement of Turkic immigrants in the west Byzantine lands, including western Anatolia and the Balkans.

2 The “Scythians”

Most Asian immigrants to Byzantium from Dasht-i Qipchaq areas (Transdanubian and the southern Russian steppes, Crimea) were originally Cumans as is indicated by numerous names with the stem *Κουμάν* or *Κομάν* “Cuman”:⁸ *Κόμανος* (*PLP*, nos 12004–08, 12010–12, 93832, 93833), *Κουμάνη*,⁹

8 For the derivatives of *Κουμάν*/*Κομάν*, see: Moravcsik, Gyula. *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1983), 2:167–68; and *LBG*, p. 851 (“*Κομανικός*” with rather incomplete references to the sources mentioning the word).

9 Mošin, Vladimir. “Акти из светогорских архива,” *Споменик Српске Краљевске Академје* 91 (1939), p. 206.30.

Κοῦμανη,¹⁰ Κομάνα (*PLP*, nos 11997–98), Κομανίτζης (*PLP*, nos 11999–12002), Κοῦμιγανιν¹¹ and fem. Κομάνκα (*PLP*, nos 93830–31) in the Balkans, and Κόμανοι¹² in Laskarid Anatolia. The names Ἀλτούμης,¹³ Γιάκσσα,¹⁴ Χαρατζᾶς (*PLP*, no. 30614), Καζάνης,¹⁵ Καζάνος (*PLP*, nos 92227–28), Καζανόπουλος (*PLP*, no. 10117), and Κουτλᾶς (*PLP*, no. 13643) most likely belonged to "Scythians." Given the fact that the Cumans in the northern Black Sea in the thirteenth through the fourteenth centuries were less Islamized than the Anatolians, they as a rule had purely Turkic names and sobriquets. Curiously, in the names Κομανίτζης and Κομάνκα one may recognize the Slavonic masculine suffix ~уцъ (ιτζή)¹⁶ and the Slavonic feminine suffix ~κα of diminutive meaning, which indicate Slavic-Turkic ethnic and linguistic mutual influences in the Balkans.¹⁷

Qipchaq names represent one of the earliest layers of the Turkic population in the Balkans. The Qipchaqs penetrated there from the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries.¹⁸ The Cuman activity in the Balkans in the thirteenth through the fourteenth centuries, their political relations with Byzantium, and,

10 Mošin, "Ακτι," p. 207.139.

11 Mošin, "Ακτι," p. 210.333.

12 Miklosich, Franz and Müller, Joseph. *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1825–95), 4:165–67 (nos XCΙ, XCII).

13 Jordanov, Ivan. *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, 3 vols (Sofia, 2003–09), 3:no. 1812: a seal of John Altoumes (thirteenth c.). Judging by the representation of St. George on the seal, Altoumes was a soldier.

14 *PLP*, no. 4155. However, the name was sometimes also found among Anatolian Turks: Kantakouzenos, John. *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri iv*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols (Bonn, 1828–32), 2:70.

15 In Nicaean Anatolia: Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:8 (no. 11, the year 1235); in the Balkans: *PLP*, nos 10115, 93676.

16 Andriotes, Nicolas P. *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής* (Thessalonike, 1967), p. 134.

17 See, for instance, an old study: Miklosich, Franz. "Die Bildung der Slavischen Personen- und Ortsnamen," *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Vienna, 1860–74), p. 230.

18 Charanis, Peter. "The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire," pp. 148ff.; Kazhdan and Ronchey, *Laristocrazia*, p. 349; Diaconu, Petre. *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Bucharest, 1978); Savvides, Alexios. "Οἱ Κομάνοι (κουμάνοι) καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιο (11ος–13ος αἰ. Μ.Χ.)," *Βυζαντινά* 13 (1985), pp. 939–56; Bibikov, Mikhail V. *Византийские источники по истории древней Руси и Кавказа* (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 169, 218–19, 266–69; Rassovsky, Dmitrij A. "Половцы," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 7 (1935), pp. 247–62; 8 (1936), pp. 161–82; 9 (1937), pp. 71–85; 10 (1938), pp. 155–78; 11 (1940), pp. 95–126; Kazhdan, Alexander P. *Социальный состав господствующего класса Византии XI–XII вв.* (Moscow, 1974), p. 215.

especially, their role in the Byzantine army as mercenaries have been extensively studied.¹⁹ It will be sufficient here to mention only the most spectacular instances of Cuman settlements in the Byzantine lands.

In the first half of the thirteenth century, at least two waves of Qipchaq mass migration covered the Balkan peninsula. In 1237, a large Qipchaq group was forced to leave for Bulgaria and then Thrace from Dasht-i Qipchaq by the pressure of the Mongols. In 1241, another group of Qipchaqs, numbering at least 10,000, coming from Hungary, moved to Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia.²⁰ Around 1241/42, through negotiations and gifts John III Vatatzes brought a part of the Balkan Qipchaqs to his side and incorporated them in the Byzantine army. Some of the Cumans were transferred from the Balkans to Anatolia on the Byzantine and Seljuk border, while others were given lands in Thrace and Macedonia. We do not know exactly where in Thrace and Macedonia John III Vatatzes granted them land; however, some information can be obtained from microtoponymics, which will be discussed in detail below. Cuman troops in the Byzantine army (Σκυθικόν) operating in the Balkans were often mentioned in sources over the next few decades. In particular, it was “Scythians” who reconquered Constantinople in July 1261 under the command of Alexios Strategopoulos.²¹ We know that Anatolian Cumans were settled by the Meander and in Phrygia (apparently, east of Philadelphia),²² and, as shown by the acts of the monastery of Lembiotissa, near Smyrna.²³

19 Vászár, István. *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge, 2005), chs 3–4, 7–8. See also: Ahrweiler, Hélène. “L’histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081–1317),” *Travaux et mémoires* 1 (1965), p. 26; Bartusis, Mark. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), Part 1: “The Army as Instrument of Policy”; Fine, John V.A. *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, 1994), chs 1–3.

20 Akropolites, George. *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. August Heisenberg, Peter Wirth, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1978), 1:53–54, 65.15–20; Pachymeres, George. *Georges Pachymères, Relations Historiques* 1.3, ed. Albert Failler, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), 1:27.23; Vászár, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 64–68; Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes*, p. 81; Angold, Michael. *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea: 1204–1461* (Oxford, 1975), p. 105; Bartusis, Mark. “On the Problem of Smallholding Soldiers in Late Byzantium,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), p. 12; Idem. *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 26–27; Savvides, “Οι Κομάνοι,” pp. 949–53. Cf.: Korobeinikov, Dimitri. *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 2014), p. 76.

21 Akropolites, 1:183.19.

22 Gregoras, Nikephoros. *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia* 11.5, ed. Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker, 3 vols (Bonn, 1829–55), 1:37.

23 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:165–67.

Around 1302 a number of "northern Tourkopouloi" from the Golden Horde territory, following the Alans, passed into the service of the emperor. Apparently, they were Cuman or mixed Cuman-Mongol groups. Their number is unknown. Upon arrival at Byzantine territory, they were baptized (ἐξ ὑπογούου Χριστιανοίς). In 1305, they rebelled against the emperor, and their subsequent fate remains unclear.²⁴ Another direct reference to quite a large group of Qipchaqs in the Byzantine territory (about 2,000 warriors) dates to the 1320s. Around 1320, these Cumans moved from Serbia; however, they soon tried to summon former compatriots from the Golden Horde for a raid on Thrace. Between 1322 and 1327, Andronikos III Palaiologos ordered them to redeploy to Lemnos, Thasos, and Lesbos.²⁵ Obviously, available sources did not record all cases of Cuman immigrations. According to monastic documents of Athos, the Qipchaq inflow did not stop until the middle of the fourteenth century (see Chapter 4).²⁶

The names Μουγούλης (*PLP*, nos 19416, 19419), Παπαμουγούλης (*PLP*, no. 21798), and τῶν Ταταροπούλων²⁷ (all from Constantinople and its neighborhood) indicate the presence in the Balkans of Turkic and Mongol natives of the Golden Horde who were classified by the Byzantines as "Scythians." These Tatars and Mongols could have been mercenaries, those bought as slaves in the Golden Horde, defectors, or prisoners of war. In the last quarter of the thirteenth century and during the first half of the fourteenth, Thrace was regularly attacked and looted by Golden Horde troops.²⁸ In Chandax of Crete, Τατάρα was referred to as a servant and Ταταρομούτζουνη as a prostitute (*PLP*, nos 27537–38); both were in all probability "Scythian" slaves from the Golden Horde brought to Crete by merchants.

24 Pachymeres, XII.32 (4:603–05); XIII.4 (4:627–29).

25 Kantakouzenos, 1:35.19–22, 259.3–18; Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes*, p. 82.

26 Cf. with the interpretation of Cuman names in the acts of Athos in: Spinei, Victor. *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 333–40.

27 *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, ed. Herbert Hunger, Otto Kresten, et al., 3 vols (Vienna, 1981–2001), 3:68.47 (no. 184, October 1351): "χωρίον τὸ λεγόμενον τῶν Ταταροπούλων" is an identified place in Thrace, possibly, in the region of the Mauropotamon river (Nestos/Mesta), which belonged to the Constantinopolitan monastery τῶν Μουγουλίων. For "Mauropotamon" as equivalent for the Nestos River, see: Soustal, Peter. *Thrakien (Thrace, Rhodope und Haimimontos)* [Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 6] (Vienna, 1991), p. 360.

28 Bosch, Ursula V. *Andronikos III Palaiologos: Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Geschichte in den Jahren 1321–1341* (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 64–65.

Although Pechenegs were not Qipchaqs but Oğuzs, and Alans were Iranian nomads, following the Byzantine nomenclature I conventionally attribute them as “Scythians.” Μιχαήλ Πατζινάκης (1234–39), who was referred to as a resident of Smyrna’s neighborhood, perhaps belonged to or was a descendant of those surviving Pecheneg groups who partly fused with the Cumans and partly moved to the Hungarian steppes. The Pechenegs were mentioned between 1208 and 1211 in the Hungarian army taking part in the suppression of an uprising in Vidin at the request of the Bulgarian king Boril; some Pecheneg groups still roamed in Hungary in the thirteenth century.²⁹

The man who bore the name Ἀλανός (before 1341, from the ethnic name “Alan”; *PLP*, no. 546) is probably one of those 10,000 or 16,000 Alans who moved into the empire from the Golden Horde ca. 1301–02. These Alans professed Christianity and were enthusiastically received by the emperor and agreed to fight on the side of the Byzantines.³⁰ Before 1305, some sources mentioned Γεωργιῶς (Gircon) and Κυρσίτης as their leaders (*PLP*, nos 4137, 14077). In the first half of the fourteenth century, many Alans served in the Bulgarian army under the command of their leaders Ἰτίλης and Τεμήρης (*PLP*, nos 8322, 27564).

3 The “Persians”

In all probability most Persian and Arabic names belonged to the immigrants from Muslim Anatolia: Ἀηλγαζής,³¹ Ἀλιάζης (*PLP*, no. 654), Ἀλίσέριος,³² Γαζής (*PLP*, nos 3444, 3450, 3452, 93299), Ἀμελγαζᾶς (*PLP*, no. 91157), Μαχλαμάς,³³

29 On Pechenegs, see: Diaconu, Petre. *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube aux IX^e–XI^e siècles* (Bucharest, 1970); Pritsak, Omeljan. *The Pečenegs: A Case of Social and Economic Transformation* (Lisse, 1976); Golden, Peter. “Pečenegs,” in *EI*², 3:289–90; Stephenson, Paul. *Byzantium’s Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge, 2000), passim; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 58–60. On Pechenegs in Hungary, see: Pálóczi, Horvath A. *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary* (Budapest, 1989). For a general survey and localization of archeological findings in Hungary relating to Pechenegs, see: Hatházi, Gábor and Szende, Katalin. “Ethnic Groups and Cultures in Medieval Hungary,” in *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millennium*, ed. Zsolt Visy and Mihály Nagy (Budapest, 2003), pp. 388–97.

30 Pachymeres, x.16 (4:336); Laiou, Angeliki E. *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), pp. 89–90.

31 Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals*, 3:no. 1810.

32 Chomatenos, Demetrios. *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Günter Prinzing (Berlin, 2002), p. 402; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:63.

33 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:91 (no. xxxiv).

Μαχμούτης (*PLP*, no. 17539), Μουσταφάς (*PLP*, no. 94212), Μυσούρης (*PLP*, no. 19898), Σακκάς (*PLP*, no. 24717), Σαλαχατηνός (*PLP*, no. 24747), Χατζίλλα (*PLP*, no. 30729). Obviously, Ἀγαρηνός³⁴ also belonged to an immigrant from Anatolia since Anatolian Muslims were called Hagarenes by the Byzantines. It is worth noting that Ἀγαρηνός as a sobriquet was surprisingly uncommon in the Byzantine world, probably because of its negative connotations to the Byzantines.

The names Κούρτης (*PLP*, no. 93896), Τοῦρκος (*PLP*, nos 29186, 29190–91), Τουρκίτζη (*PLP*, no. 29169), and Τουρκοϊωάννης (*PLP*, no. 29175) may well indicate both "Scythians" and "Persians." Popular names Τουρκόπουλος and Τουρκόπλος (*PLP*, nos 29176–84) might have had at least three meanings: they could have designated Turkic troops in the Byzantine army (see below), Turkic prisoners of war, or the descendants of the former groups. Most often, but not exclusively, Τουρκόπουλος referred to Anatolian Turks.³⁵

A group of names apparently belonged to immigrants from Arab lands: Δαμασκηνός (that is, of Damascus; *PLP*, nos 5044–45), Βαβυλωνίτης (that is, a native of Baghdad; *PLP*, no. 91416), Ἀπελμενέ,³⁶ Βερβέρης (Kephallenia, landholder), Βαρβαρηνός (Serres, *paroikos*), Βαρβαρηνοί (Chalkidike, a soldier company),³⁷ and Κοστα Γαμαλῶ.³⁸ Possibly all or at least some of the numerous Σαρακηνοί belong to the same group.³⁹ All these names, it seems, belonged to immigrants from the Arab world, most likely from North Africa (in particular, the Berbers) who served as light cavalry in the Byzantine army.⁴⁰ Βαρβαρηνοί were collective holders of *pronoia* between ca. 1327 and the end of the 1340s in Kalamaria, in Rousaiou, Leontaria, Patrikon, Hagios Mamas, and probably also Barbarikion (see Fig. 9 in Chapter 4).⁴¹ In a similar way, in 1262, small localities

34 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:76–77 (no. xxiv).

35 Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 61–62.

36 *PLP*, nos 151–58, 91262; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:210 (no. CXXIII).

37 *PLP*, nos 2625, 2166, 2165.

38 *PLP*, nos 2625, 2166, 2165. Mošin, "Акти," p. 210.299–300.

39 *PLP*, nos 24860–66; see also: *PLP*, nos 24855–59: Σαρακηνόπουλος. For the Arabo-Byzantine sobriquet Σαρακηνόπουλος in the tenth century, see also: Cheynet, "L'apport arabe," pp. 630–31.

40 Oikonomides, Nicolas. "À propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats," *Travaux et mémoires* 8 (1981), pp. 360–64; Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 201–02, see also Index.

41 Oikonomides, "À propos des armées," p. 361; Lefort, Jacques. *Villages de Macédoine: notices historiques et topographiques sur la Macédoine orientale au Moyen Âge. 1: La Chalcidique occidentale* (Paris, 1982), pp. 92, 116, 139, 146.

in Aulon (Kephallenia) – χωράφιον τὸ καλούμενον τῶν Βερβεριάδων and χωράφιον τοῦ Βέρβερι – probably also refer to Berbers of North Africa.⁴²

The approximate numerical distribution of ethnic names gives the following proportions (anthroponymical data relating to Cyprus, Crimea, and Pontos are excluded from the calculation): the “Persians” number approximately 60 percent, Cumans, Mongols, and other “Scythians” around 20 percent, and natives of Arab lands around 10 percent.

The predominance of “Persian” names indicates the growing influx of Anatolian Turks in the Balkans. As we have not yet explored the ethnic migration of Anatolian Turks to the Balkans, the following sections will consider clarification of this issue.

4 The Byzantine “Persians” in 1204–1262

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Turkic nomadic migration in Anatolia resulted in rapid nomadization and Turkification of vast areas, especially around the edges of the Central Anatolian plateau. Throughout the twelfth century, the Komnenoi succeeded in halting further advance of Turkic nomads and even in regaining some territories conquered by the Turks. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the role of the nomadic element in Anatolia gradually decreased. Some of the nomads turned to settled life, while others had suffered fatal losses in their fight against sedentary Byzantines, Slavs, Armenians, and Georgians, as well as against the Muslims in sedentary Anatolian zones. In the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, both settled and nomadic Anatolian Turks continuously penetrated Byzantine possessions, although we have few sources that could give an impression of the scale of these resettlements. At the least, we know that in the very beginnings of the Nicaean empire the Seljuk mercenary soldiers played a crucial role in the consolidation of Theodore I Laskaris’ (1205–22) power.⁴³

42 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 5:48, 50; Soustal, Peter and Koder, Johannes. *Nikopolis und Kephallenia* [Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 3] (Vienna, 1981), p. 118.

43 Vryonis, Speros. “Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), pp. 43–71; Idem. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 169–94, 244–85.

After his return to power in Konya in *Rajab* 601 H (22.02–23.03.1205),⁴⁴ the Seljuk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw I concluded a military alliance with Laskaris in the spring of the same year. This alliance is understandable since before this time Kaykhusraw I had spent many years in Constantinople, and both Kaykhusraw and Laskaris belonged to the high aristocratic retinue of the ruling Angeloi; thus personal links between the two men probably facilitated the formation of the alliance. The Seljuk army helped Laskaris considerably in his fight for power in northwest Anatolia in 1205–06.⁴⁵

It is possible that some of the Seljuk mercenaries of the first half of the thirteenth century finally settled in Byzantine lands. Available documentary sources, to some extent, reveal the influx of "Persians" into the Byzantine provinces. A few in the Smyrna region might have been Christianized "Persian" immigrants. Γεώργιος Ἀγαρηνός, a former owner of an olive grove in Mantaia near Smyrna in the years around March 1225 or 1240, and his cousin Γεώργιος Μαυροϊωάννης ("Black John") could have been of "Persian" blood.⁴⁶ In 1234–39, seemingly a "Persian" by name, Κωνσταντῖνος Χωσαίνης was a resident (ἔποικος) of the village Pauchome south to Sphournou near Smyrna.⁴⁷ Finally, Μιχαήλ Μαχλαμᾶς was mentioned as a witness in Smyrna in June 1237.⁴⁸ In 1235, a certain Καζάνης was referred to, similarly, as the former owner of a grove in Mantaia.⁴⁹ Few Anatolian immigrants can be found at that time in the Balkans. A former Vardariote soldier Γεώργιος Πισσᾶς was mentioned between 1225 and 1250; most likely, he was "Persian," because the Vardariote guard at the imperial palace was made of "Persian" immigrants.⁵⁰ One more soldier and land-

44 Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn. *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. Carolus Johannes Tornberg, 14 vols (Leiden, 1851–76), 12:131; *Histoire des Seldjoukides d'Asie Mineure par un anonyme*, ed. F.N. Uzluk (Ankara, 1952), p. 41; *Tarix-e al-e Saljuq dar Anatoli Compiled by Unknown Author*, ed. Nādīra Jalālī (Tehran, 1999), p. 84.

45 Choniates, Niketas. *Historia*, ed. Jan Louis van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1975), 1:626; Choniates, Niketas. *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. Jan Louis van Dieten (Berlin, 1972), p. 136; Zhavoronkov, Petr I. "У истоков образования Никейской империи," *Византийский временник* 38 (1977), p. 33; Idem. "Дополнения к третьему тому 'Регест' Ф. Дзельгера периода Никейской империи," *Византийский временник* 41 (1980), pp. 183–84; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, pp. 135–56.

46 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:76–77 (no. xxiv).

47 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:34–35 (no. vii/iii).

48 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:91 (no. xxxiv).

49 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:8 (no. ii).

50 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios. *Ανάλεκτα Ιεροσολυμιτικής σταχυολογίας*, 5 vols (St. Petersburg, 1891–98), 1:466; Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, p. 370.

holder, Θεόδωρος Σαφᾶς, was referred to in ca. 1219–20 in Berroia.⁵¹ Zachariadou suggests that a courtier (τατᾶς τῆς αὐλῆς), Καλαμπάκης by name, mentioned by Akropolites before 1261, could have been of Turkic Anatolian descent and derives his name from Turkic *kalem* ← Arabic قلم “reed pen.”⁵² However, it seems the name Καλαμπάκης, which was rather widespread in both Anatolia and the Balkans in the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries,⁵³ is to be pronounced as *Kalabakis* and most likely derived from Mount Kalabak in Albania.

The information concerning the “Persian” residents in this period is too scant to produce any general conclusion about their number and professional affiliation. However, one may note that two of the above-mentioned persons were directly identified as soldiers, and all of the six seem to belong to the stratum of middling proprietors.

5 The “Persian” Resettlement of 1262–1263

By the fourth decade of the thirteenth century, a new tide of Turkic migration to Anatolia was brought about by the Mongol conquests. Numerous Turkmen and other Turkic tribes ousted by the Mongols from eastern Turkestan, Central Asia, and Iran inundated Asia Minor once again.⁵⁴ The concentration of nomads, who swept through Anatolia from the east to the west, reached its high point along the Seljuk-Nicaean border, probably by the 1250s–60s when migrating Turks were stopped at the end of the Anatolian “corridor” by the Byzantines. First, Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82) tried to enroll those nomads to create a sort of buffer along the Byzantine eastern borders in case of a Mongol onslaught.⁵⁵ This was later realized to be impracticable. Having failed in propitiating nomadic barbarians, Michael VIII Palaiologos thought to use the Mongol military machine as an instrument of suppression of nomads and shifted the focus to strengthening the frontier fortifications.⁵⁶

51 Chomatenos, p. 235.13–15 (no. 67).

52 Akropolites, 1:139; Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “The Emirate of Karasi and that of the Ottomans: Two Rival States,” in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, ed. Zachariadou (Rethymnon, 1993), p. 228.

53 *The Prosopography of the Byzantine World*, <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/>, s.v. Andronikos 2011 (twelfth c.); *PLP*, nos 10252–54, 93686, 93687.

54 Lindner, Rudi P. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, IN, 1983), pp. 12–16.

55 Pachymeres, 1:185.25–187.10.

56 Pachymeres, 1:441.25ff. For more details, see: Arnakis, George G. “Byzantium’s Anatolian Provinces during the Reign of Michael Palaeologus,” in: *Actes du XII^e congrès international*

The first significant wave of Turkish resettlement from Anatolia to the Balkans, which is well documented, was associated with the mass migration of both sedentary and nomadic subjects of the Seljuk sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II (b. 1237–d. 1279/80). The sultan fled to the court of Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1262 and stayed in the Byzantine empire until 1264/65. The vicissitudes in the life of the exiled Seljuk sultan Kaykāwus II (ruled 1245–62) in Byzantium and his subsequent flight to Crimea are widely known from all the general histories of Byzantium and the Seljuk sultanate. Briefly, the story of Kaykāwus II is as follows. Beginning in the late 1240s, two co-rulers and brothers, 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus and Rukn al-Dīn Qılıç Arslan, contested the supreme power of the sultanate. The Mongols of Iran, who had subjugated Anatolia as early as 1243, resolutely supported Rukn al-Dīn. As a result of a series of conflicts, 'Izz al-Dīn left the sultanate and fled to Byzantium, stayed there until 1264/65. At first, his relations with the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos were friendly; however, later for some reason tensions appeared between the sultan and the emperor. Kaykāwus hatched a plot to depose Michael Palaiologos. The sultan appealed for help to the Bulgarians and the Mongols of the Golden Horde. Finally, in winter 1264/65, Bulgarians and Tatars jointly attacked the empire, and Kaykāwus II, who had stayed in Ainos in Thrace (modern Enez), joined the Tatars and fled to the Golden Horde. This is generally the known story of the sultan's exile in Byzantium.

The case of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II demonstrates the two most common paradigms of Byzantine attitudes toward the Turks: first, relations with those Turks who were outside Byzantium and, second, relations with the Turks as Byzantine mercenaries inside the empire. However, the chronology of the life of Kaykāwus II in Byzantium still remains doubtful in some regards, and many details of the story are still obscure.

Kaykāwus' adventures profoundly impressed both Greek and Oriental authors. Greek, Persian, Arab, Syriac, and Ottoman historians retold the story for many decades after the event. In the primary sources, one can distinguish at least four independent accounts of Kaykāwus' adventures. The Greek side is represented by the connected versions of George Pachymeres (ca. 1308) and Nikephoros Gregoras (ca. 1359), who was dependent on the former. The Oriental

d'études Byzantines, 2 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 37–44; Lippard, Bruce G. "The Mongols and Byzantium, 1243–1341," Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University (1984), pp. 17–18, 197–98; Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 54–57, 64; Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "Византия и государство Ильханов в XIII–начале XIV в.: система внешней политики империи," in *Византия между Востоком и Западом. Опыт исторической характеристики*, ed. Gennadij G. Litavrin (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 445–48, 464.

tradition is more complex. The Persian chronicles of Ibn Bibī (ca. 1281)⁵⁷ and Aqsarāyī (1323)⁵⁸ gave two independent, albeit intersecting, versions. Yazıcızâde ‘Alī’s Turkish paraphrase of Ibn Bibī’s story (1423) entitled *Tawārīkh-i Âl-i Saljūq* mainly follows its source, adding important new details; however, the validity of some of his additions may be questioned.⁵⁹ The Mamluk historian Muḥī al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Zāhir (1223–93), who was a contemporary of the events, provides unique information on the diplomatic activity of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus before his emigration to Byzantium.⁶⁰ The Mamluk high official Baybars

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- 57 Ibn Bibī (AS). *El-Evamirü'l-Ala'yye fi'l-umuri'l-Ala'yye*, ed. A.S. Erzi (Ankara, 1956) – it is a facsimile edition of the unique manuscript (Ibn Bibī. *El-Evamirü'l-Ala'yye fi'l-umuri'l-Ala'yye*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya, no. 2985). An abridgement of the work can be found in: *Histoire des Seldjucides d'Asie Mineure d'après l'abrégé du Seldjoucnameh d'Ibn-Bibi*, ed. M.H. Houtsma (Leiden, 1902). For an incomplete German translation, see: Duda, Herbert W. *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi* (Copenhagen, 1959). On manuscripts and editions of Ibn Bibī, see: Shukurov, Rustam. “Ibn Bibī,” in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. R.G. Dunphy (Leiden and Boston, 2010), pp. 830–31.
- 58 Aqsarāyī, Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd. *Kerimuddin Mahmud Aksaraylı, Müsameret ül-ahbâr. Moğollar zamanında Türkiye selçukluları tarihi*, ed. Osman Turan (Ankara, 1944).
- 59 We still do not have a fully reliable critical edition of Yazıcızâde ‘Alī’s *Tawārīkh*, the source containing essential information on the history of Anatolia and the Balkans. For the subjects under discussion I have used three versions of Yazıcızâde ‘Alī’s *Tawārīkh*: (1) a Berlin manuscript: Yazıcızâde ‘Alī. *Jazıgıyoğlu Ali, Oğuzname*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Orient. Quart. 1823 (hereafter Yazıcızâde ‘Alī (Berlin)); (2) a recent critical edition of A. Bakır who transcribed the original Arabic text into Modern Turkish script and whose readings are not unquestionable: Yazıcızâde ‘Alī. *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Selçuk [Oğuznâme-Selçuklu Târîhi]*, ed. Abdullah Bakır (Istanbul, 2009) (hereafter Yazıcızâde ‘Alī (Bakır)); and (3) extensive quotations from one of the Istanbul manuscripts (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan Bölümü R. 1390) transcribed into Modern Turkish script: Decei, Aurel. “Le problème de la colonisation des Turcs seldjucides dans la Dobrogée au XIII^e siècle,” *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi. Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi. Tarih Bölümü* 6 (1968), pp. 87–90. Decei’s study also contains a comprehensive analysis of the later Ottoman tradition based upon Yazıcızâde ‘Alī’s account.
- 60 See: Muḥī al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Zāhir. *Al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976). In the 1260s, Muḥī al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Zāhir was a secretary in the chancellery of the Egyptian sultan ‘Abd al-Zāhir Baybars (1260–77) and prepared drafts of sultan’s official correspondence. It is possible that he himself drafted the letters going from the Mamluk court to ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus. Thus, he is the only contemporary high-status eyewitness to Kaykāwus’ affairs with direct access to first-hand information, unlike other Oriental and Greek authors. For Muḥī al-Dīn’s biography and writings, see: Khowaiter, Abdul-Aziz. *Baibars the First: His Endeavours and Achievements* (London, 1978), pp. 144–66.

al-Manṣūrī (d. 1325) was a younger contemporary of the events and gave in his writings an independent version of the story.⁶¹ Finally, some minor details can be found in the Syriac *History* of Bar Hebraeus (Abū al-Faraj) (before 1286) and the Persian anonymous *Ta'rikh-i Āl-i Saljūq* (ca. 1300).⁶²

A few key episodes may allow a reevaluation of the importance of the story. First, the chronology of Kaykāwus' arrival in Byzantium; secondly, the circle of Kaykāwus' courtiers and subjects; finally, the fate of Kaykāwus' men after his flight from Byzantium.

There is still no consensus in scholarly literature about when Kaykāwus went to Byzantium and where in Byzantium he arrived. Most scholars date the sultan's arrival to the time *before* the conquest of Constantinople by the Greeks on 25 July 1261, while others simply avoid giving an exact date implying that Kaykāwus arrived in Byzantium sometime in 1261.⁶³ The problem lies in the

- 61 See: Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār. *Zubdat al-fikra fī ta'rikh al-Hijra: History of the Early Mamluk Period*, ed. Donald S. Richards (Beirut and Berlin, 1998). Baybars al-Manṣūrī, a high-ranked military commander and secretary of the Mamluk court, made use of Muḥī al-Dīn's accounts but also added important new information using the archives of the Mamluk state chancellery and information coming from the Mamluk diplomats and informers. The information of Muḥī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir and Baybars al-Manṣūrī was extensively utilized by later Mamluk historiographers such as Maqrīzī (1364–1442), 'Aynī (1360–1453), and many others; see relevant chapters, for instance, in: Tiesenhausen, Vladimir G. *Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды, 1: Извлечения из арабских сочинений* (St. Petersburg, 1884).
- 62 Abū al-Faraj, Gregorius. *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj, the Son of Aaron*, ed. E.A.W. Budge, 2 vols (London, 1932); *Tarix-e al-e Seljuk*, p. 99.
- 63 See, for instance, the most detailed and important studies: Mutaḥḥiev, Peter. "Die angebliche Einwanderung von Seldschuk-Türken in die Dobrudscha im XIII. Jahrhundert," *Списание на Българската Академия на Науките и Изкуствата* 66 (1943): *Клонъ историко-филологиченъ* 32, p. 10; Wittek, Paul. "Yazijioghlu 'Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrudja," *Bulletin of the British School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952), p. 254; Geanakoplos, Deno John. *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West (1258–1282): A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge, MA, 1959), p. 81; Failler, Albert. "Chronologie et composition dans l'Histoire de Georges Pachymère, I," *Revue des études byzantines* 38 (1980), pp. 53–55; Cahen, Claude. *La Turquie pré-ottomane* (Istanbul, 1988), p. 249; Idem. "Kaykā'ūs II, 'Izz al-Dīn," in *ET*², 4:813b–814a; *PLP*, no. 328; Bees, Nikos. *Die Inschriftenaufzeichnung des Codex Sinaiticus Graecus, 508 (976) und die Maria Spiläotissa Klosterkirche bei Sille (Lykaonien), mit Exkursen zur Geschichte der Seldschuken-Türken* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 44, 46; Zhavoronkov, "Тюрки в Византии," p. 168; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 72–77. See also more recent general studies: *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, 1: *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*, ed. K. Fleet (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 63, 72; *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500–1492*, ed. J. Shepard (Cambridge, 2008), p. 722. In my earlier works, I followed the traditional date 1261 as well.

discrepancy between the evidence in the Byzantine and the Oriental sources and a lack of an exact date in the available sources. However, a careful comparison of sources allows us to come to a more precise date.

The most plausible date of Kaykāwus' arrival in Byzantium may be derived from Oriental sources, which have been hitherto underutilized. Sometime before his journey to Byzantium, 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus fled from Konya to Antalya under pressure from the forces of his brother Rukn al-Dīn and the Mongol army led by 'Alijāq. According to the anonymous *Ta'rikh-i Āl-i Saljūq*, sultan Rukn al-Dīn conquered Konya on 12 August 1261 (14 Ramaḍān 659),⁶⁴ just two days after Kaykāwus left the city for Antalya, as Ibn Bībī maintains.⁶⁵ This chronology is supported by the well-informed Syriac historian Bar Hebraeus who reports that the civil war in the Seljuk Sultanate and the flight of Kaykāwus from Konya happened "at the end of the summer" of 1261.⁶⁶

Kaykāwus, after his escape from Konya, spent a rather long time in Antalya where he waited for the outcome of his troops' counteroffensive under the command of 'Alī Bahādur and pleaded for support from his allies abroad. 'Alī Bahādur gathered a large army at Sivrihisar and tried to besiege the enemy in Konya. In the meantime, the sultan sent envoys to Michael VIII Palaiologos to receive the emperor's consent to host him.⁶⁷ Finally, 'Alī Bahādur was routed by Rukn al-Dīn and the Mongols at Sivrihisar and fled to *uc* areas. After the final defeat of his troops the sultan headed to Byzantium.⁶⁸ However, the question arises as to how long the sultan stayed in Antalya. A clear answer to this question can be found only in Mamluk sources of the time.

During his stay in Antalya the sultan communicated particularly with the Egyptian court hoping to get military aid from the Mamluks. Osman Turan in his seminal book *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye* refers to the important testimonies of the Mamluk historian Muḥī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Ẓāhir which are the most chronologically reliable of surviving sources.⁶⁹ Muḥī al-Dīn's evidence allows us to define precise dates for 'Izz al-Dīn's stay in Antalya. Muḥī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Ẓāhir refers to diplomatic contacts between the Mamluk court and 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus. The earliest reference belongs to the Muslim year 660

64 *Tarix-e al-e Seljuk*, p. 99.

65 Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 636; Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, p. 283.

66 Abū al-Faraj, *Chronography*, 1:442.

67 The possibility of 'Izz al-Dīn taking refuge in Byzantium had been already negotiated between his envoys and Michael VIII Palaiologos as early as the spring of 1259 in Nymphaion: Pachymeres, II.10 (1:149.15–21).

68 Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 636–37; Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, pp. 283, 342 n. 371.

69 Turan, Osman. *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye. Siyâsi Tarih Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gazi'ye (1071–1318)* (Istanbul, 1971), pp. 496–97.

(25 November 1261–14 November 1262) without an indication of the month: two envoys arrived from 'Izz al-Dīn at the Mamluk court with his letter in which "he displayed great humility to him [the Mamluk sultan Baybars] and [said] that he had lost power over half of his country." 'Izz al-Dīn asked for support and, by way of reciprocity, offered to grant *iqṭā'* in his lands to the Mamluk emirs chosen by Baybars. Baybars "ordered troops to be prepared to help the ruler of Rūm" and appointed one of his emirs to be sent to Rūm with 300 cavalymen.⁷⁰ As subsequent passages show, this occurred between November 1261 and April 1262. In Jumādā II 660 (22 April–20 May 1262), an Egyptian ambassador was sent by sea to 'Izz al-Dīn in Antalya to inform him that Baybars had "responded to his request and answered his call for help."⁷¹ Next month, in Rajab (21 May–19 June 1262), 'Izz al-Dīn informed the Mamluk court that "his enemies, having heard about his alliance with the sultan [Baybars], were in fear of the power [of the sultan] and fled, and that he went to Konya and was besieging it in order to seize his brother's partisans inside it."⁷² Obviously, in the message of

70 Muḥī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir, p. 125:

وكذلك الامير شرف الدين الجاكي، والشريف عماد الدين الهاشمي وصلا من عند صاحب الروم عز الدين كيكالوس بن كيخسرو، وصحبتهما الامير ناصر الدين نصر الله بن كوج رسلان، امير حاجب، والصدر صدر الدين الاخلاطي، رسلان منه، ومعهما كتابه الى السلطان يتنزل فيه تنزلاً عظيماً، وانه نزل للسلطان عن نصف بلاده؛ وسيّر دروجاً فيها علاماً بما يقطع من البلاد لمن يختاره السلطان، ويؤمره، ويكتب له من جهته منشراً قرين منشور صاحب الروم. فلما وصل الرسل اكرمهم السلطان، وسكن جاشهم، وشرع في تجهيز جيش نجدة لصاحب الروم، وامر بكتب المناشير، وعين الامير ناصر الدين اغلش، السلاح دار الصالحى، لتقدمة العسكر وعين له ثلثمائة فارس، واقطعه في الروم.

However, Muḥī al-Dīn wrongly placed this passage after his account of later events in Sha'bān 660 (20 June–18 July 1262). This led to a misunderstanding in later Mamluk historiography which used Muḥī al-Dīn's text as the main source for the biography of the sultan Baybars. Maqrīzī and 'Aynī reproduce this passage under Sha'bān 660; see: Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn. *Kitāb al-sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā, 8 vols (Beirut, 1997), 1:542; 'Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad. *Iqd al-jumān fi ta'rikh ahl al-zamān*, 1: 648–664 H/1250–1265 AD, ed. Muḥammad M. Amin (Cairo, 1987), p. 334.

71 Muḥī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir, p. 127: صحيفة رسل الرسول الدين، الرسل الآخر، صحيفة رسل السلطان عز الدين، واعلامه بان اسلطان قد اجاب داعيه، ولتي مناديه، ووقع الاهتمام في كتب المناشير، وتجريد الامراء من حلب و الشام.

72 Muḥī al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir, p. 128: وفي هذا التاريخ وصل كتاب صاحب الروم، يذكر فيه ان العدو لما بلغهم اتفاقية مع السلطان خافوا من هيئته، فولوا هارين، وانه سير الى قونية يحاصرها لياخذ من بها من اصحاب اخيه.

May–June 1262, ‘Izz al-Dīn was referring to the attack of ‘Alī Bahādur against Konya which ended with his severe defeat at Sivrihisar. As Ibn Bībī put it, “having despaired of a good outcome” ‘Izz al-Dīn soon left for Byzantium. As to the planned Mamluk military aid, al-Manṣūrī remarked that while the military expedition was under preparation news came of ‘Izz al-Dīn’s flight from the sultanate, and so there was no longer any need for it.⁷³

Based on these testimonies one may suggest that Kaykāwus arrived in Byzantium as late as the summer of 1262 and not earlier than June 1262.⁷⁴ In addition to narrative data, Seljuk numismatics provides confirmation for this date. Coins under the name of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus were still being minted in 660 (November 1261–November 1262) and his last mint of 1262 probably originated from Antalya.⁷⁵ Thus, 1262 as the date of ‘Izz al-Dīn’s arrival in Byzantium fits the information found in Oriental narrative and numismatic sources.

In fact, the proposed chronology does not contradict our main Greek authority, George Pachymeres, who gives no direct indication of the exact date of the event but places it (11.24) *before* his account of the conquest of Constantinople by the Byzantine troops of Alexios Strategopoulos and his “Scythians” in July 1261 (11.26).⁷⁶ Pachymeres was approximately 19 at the time and wrote of the events many decades later. Pachymeres did not observe a strictly chronological order in his narration, often jumping to the past or the future and returning again. Chronologically, the whole story of the sultan’s arrival should be read *after* Michael Palaiologos’ return to the city (15 August 1261). An *ex silentio* argument is probably not out of place here: neither George Akropolites nor Theodore Skoutariotes say anything about the arrival of the sultan. Akropolites and Skoutariotes⁷⁷ were the most reliable historians of the early reign of Michael VIII and demonstrated a profound interest in the

73 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, p. 75: *و لما وقع الاهتمام بذلك جاءت الاخبار بانهمزاه*.

74 The year 1262 as the date of ‘Izz al-Dīn’s arrival in Byzantium has been accepted in: Leiser, Gary. “Şarı Şaltūḡ Dede,” *EI*², 9:61.

75 See, for instance: Erkiletlioğlu, Halit and Güler, Oğuz. *Türkiye Selçuklu Sultanları ve Sikkeleri* (Kayseri, 1996), p. 184 no. 422; Album, Stephen. *A Checklist of Islamic Coins: Second Edition* (Santa Rosa, 1998), p. 63 no. A1231; Hennequin, Gilles. *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes. Asie pré-Mongole* (Paris, 1985), p. 769 n. 1.

76 It appears that Gregoras, in his account of the same events, follows uncritically the relative chronology of Pachymeres: Gregoras IV.2 (1:82.4–83.2). For more about inconsistencies in Gregoras’ narration concerning the family of ‘Izz al-Dīn in Byzantium, see: Shukurov, Rustam. “Семейство ‘Изз ал-Дина Кай-Кавуса II в Византии,” *Византийский временник* 67 [92] (2008), pp. 111–13.

77 See the concluding chapters of Akropolites, 1:188–89, and Skoutariotes, Theodore. *Ἀνωρύμου Σύνοψις Χρονική*, in Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7:554–56.

relations between Byzantium and the Seljuk sultanate. Both narrations end with Michael VIII's solemn return to Constantinople in 15 August 1261. One can imagine that they did not mention Kaykāwus' arrival because it occurred approximately a year later.

Finally, in all probability, ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus went directly to Constantinople and not to any Anatolian harbor of the empire. Oriental authors are unanimous in stating this.⁷⁸ Scholars who argue that the sultan came to an Anatolian harbor base themselves on incorrect dating of the event and assume that at the time of the sultan's arrival Michael VIII and his court were still in the Anatolian provinces of the empire. Byzantine authors, however, never stated explicitly that the sultan arrived in a place other than Constantinople. If we accept the proposed date for the event (summer 1262), the suggestion that Constantinople was in fact the destination point of the sultan would not contradict any available data.

6 Kaykāwus' Family in Byzantium

In his exile in Byzantium ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus was accompanied by his immediate relatives, including his mother, wife, four sons (Masʿūd, Kayūmarth, Constantine Melik, and one unnamed), a daughter, his sister (who was apparently unmarried), and, finally, his two maternal uncles Kīr Khāya and Kīr Kadīd/Kattidios (see Table 1). These are the only ones directly mentioned in the primary sources, though it does not seem likely that at least the sultan's eldest son (Masʿūd) and uncles would not have brought along members of their families. At first, Michael VIII Palaiologos sent the sultan's family (probably women and minor children) to Nicaea in order to keep ʿIzz al-Dīn under control.⁷⁹ However, by the time of the sultan's flight from Ainos in 1264/65, most of his family were in Constantinople.⁸⁰ The subsequent history of the sultan's family in Byzantium has been delineated in a number of studies.⁸¹

78 Ibn Bibī (AS), pp. 637–38; Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, pp. 283–84; Aqsarāyī, p. 70; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, p. 93; Abū al-Faraj, *Chronography*, 1:442; ʿAynī, p. 321.

79 Pachymeres II.24 (1:185.12–17).

80 Pachymeres III.25 (1:303.15–19).

81 Wittek, "Yazijioghlu 'Ali"; Idem. "La descendance chrétienne de la dynastie Seldjouk en Macédoine," *Echos d'Orient* 176 (1952), pp. 409–12; Laurent, Vitalien. "Une famille turque au service de Byzance. Les Mélikès," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 49 (1956), pp. 349–68; Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Οι χριστιανοί απόγονοι του Ιζζεδίν Καϊκασούς Β' στη Βέροια," *Μακεδονικά* 6 (1964–65), pp. 62–74; Shukurov, Rustam. "The Oriental Margins of the Byzantine World: A Prosopographical Perspective," in *Identities and Allegiances in*

TABLE 1 *Kaykāwus II's family in Byzantium*

No.	Name	Title	Floruit	PLP No.
1	Προδουλία-Bardūliya, Kaykāwus' mother		b. before 1220– d. after 1264	–
2	Kīr Khāya, brother of no. 1		d. 1265	–
3	Kīr Kadīd / Kyr Kattidios, brother of no. 1	<i>sharāb-sālār</i> at the Seljuk court	d. after 1264	–
4	Unnamed, Kaykāwus' sister		b. after 1237– d. after 1264	–
5	Unnamed, Kaykāwus' wife		d. after 1264	–
6	Mas'ūd, Kaykāwus' son		d. ca. 1310	17233
7	Kayūmarth, Kaykāwus' son		d. after 1290	–
8	Κωνσταντῖνος Μελέχ, Kaykāwus' son	<i>sebastokrator</i> or <i>caesar</i> (?), governor of Berroia (?), governor of Pegai in Mysia	d. after 1306	17762
9	Unnamed (Sabbas Soultan?), Kaykāwus' son	<i>hieromonachos</i> ?	d. 21.12.1320	26294
10	Unnamed, Kaykāwus' daughter		d. after 1264	–

No. 1, Προδουλία-Bardūliya: In the Persian spelling, the name of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II's mother was Bardūliya/Pardūliya (بردوليه), which originally, no doubt, was a Greek name.⁸² Bar Hebraeus in his Arabic chronicle said that the mother of the sultan was Rūmī and "a daughter of a priest."⁸³ In Arabic and Persian usage of the time and the region, Rūmī had a specific ethnoconfessional

the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), pp. 180–90; Idem. "Семейство," pp. 89–116.

82 Ibn Bibī (AS), pp. 472–73; *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Houtsma, p. 213; Yazıcızâde 'Alī (Berlin), fol. 285; Duda, *Die Seltshukengeschichte*, p. 204.

83 Abū al-Faraj, Gregorius. *Ta'rikh mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (Beirut, 1890), p. 447.

sense understood as an indication of her Greek Orthodox identity. Her origin from the family of a Greek priest is confirmed by Simon de Saint-Quentin.⁸⁴ William of Rubruck defines her as a Greek concubine.⁸⁵ The Christian identity of Bardūliya was also reported by the Byzantines. Pachymeres describes her as "an extremely good Christian" (χριστιανῇ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οὔσῃ).⁸⁶ Nikephoros Gregoras maintained that the sultan 'Izz al-Din was "a son of Christian ancestors" (χριστιανῶν τε ὑπῆρχε γονέων υἱός), implying by "γονέων" not "parents" but general "ancestors."⁸⁷

Undoubtedly, Bardūliya/Pardūliya was a Persian spelling of a Greek name, which probably is to be interpreted as Προδουλία, in the sense of "one conferring oneself [to God]" (from πρόδουλος "serving as a slave" and προδουλόω "to enslave").⁸⁸ It probably paralleled popular Greek names with the second element -δουλία like Χριστοδουλία (PLP, no. 31002), Θεοδουλία (PLP, no. 7215), and the male name Κυριακόδουλος (PLP, no. 13961), a female version of which could certainly have existed. It may also be noted that the transformation of adjectives and verbs into personal names was quite a normal practice.⁸⁹

An alternative Greek name for Bardūliya could also have been Παρδολέαινα, the feminine for Παρδολέων, which was popular in Anatolia in the thirteenth century and is found in the acts of the monastery of Lembiotissa in the region of Smyrna.⁹⁰ However, the former option (Προδουλία) is more plausible because there is a phonetic discrepancy between Bardūliya and Παρδολέαινα, and it seems that Παρδολέων was a sobriquet, not a first name.

Although Προδουλία was a priest's daughter, it is quite clear that, in Seljuk society, her family enjoyed a rather high status. Ibn Bibī calls her *mukhaddara* Bardūliya (مخدرة بردوليه), i.e., "Lady Prodoulia." The honorary denomination *mukhaddara* derives from Arabic خدر *khaddara* "to keep [a girl, a woman] locked in"; hence, the substantivized participle مخدرة *mukhaddarat* meant a woman who lived locked up obeying the rules of piety and, as 'Alī-Akbar

84 Simon de Saint-Quentin. *Histoire des Tartares* XXXII.26, ed. Jean Richard (Paris, 1965), p. 82: "hunc genuerat ipse de filia cujusdam sacerdotis Greci."

85 I am citing an old edition of Rubruck's voyage: Bergeron, Pierre. *Voyages en Asie*, 2 vols (Paris, 1735), 1: ch. XLIII, col. 149.

86 Pachymeres II.24 (1:183.23).

87 Gregoras IV.4 (1:94.13–14).

88 The meaning "to place smth. at smb.'s disposal or possession" for προδουλόω can be found, for instance, in the vita of St. Theklas: "προδουλωσαμένης αὐτοῦς τῷ ὕπνῳ." See *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thècle*, ed. and transl. Gilbert Dagron (Brussels, 1978), p. 382.29–30.

89 Pape, Wilhelm. *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, ed. G. Benseler, 2 vols (Braunschweig, 1911), 1:XVI.

90 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:133, 229; see also: PLP, nos 21918–20.

Dehkhudā explains, “has never worked and not served anybody.”⁹¹ The word, in medieval Persian literature, was attached to noble brides and in particular to women from royal families.⁹²

Ibn Bibī’s usage has its continuation in the Turkic semi-legendary tradition recorded by the Ottoman historian Yazıcızâde ‘Alī. Yazıcızâde ‘Alī argued that Prodoulia was a sister of Michael VIII Palaiologos.⁹³ Yazıcızâde ‘Alī was undoubtedly wrong here;⁹⁴ however, the legendary genealogy of Prodoulia probably echoed the nobility of her lineage.

This woman had no easy fate. Shortly before 1237 she became the wife of the Seljuk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II and soon afterwards gave birth to his first-born son, the future sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II. During that marriage she gave birth to at least one more child, a daughter, whose name we do not know. In 1243, it was probably Prodoulia who along with her Orthodox mother-in-law Māh-Parī and her daughter that were handed over by Cilician Armenians to the Mongols.⁹⁵ After her husband’s death, in late 1245 or early 1246, the real power in the sultanate was seized by the vizier Şāhib Shams al-Dīn of

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- 91 Dehkhodā, Aliakbar. *Loghatnâme. CD-version* (Tehran, 2000), s.v. مُحَمَّدَرَة; Shukurov, Muhammad et al. (eds), *Farhangi Zaboni Tojiki*, 2 vols (Moscow, 1969), 1:780.
- 92 Cf.: Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, pp. 186–87, giving an improbable reading of the name of Kaykāwus II’s mother as “the secluded [woman] (*mukhaddarat*) of Burdūl” and hence “the she-Burdulian.” The female name Bardūliya/Pardūliya has nothing to do with the place-name Burdūl for at least two reasons. First, Ibn Bibī, the only historian who mentioned this name, never referred to Burdūl and throughout his text for the same place used exclusively Burğlu (برغلو), an alternative and more ancient name: Ibn Bibī (AS), pp. 22, 92, 472, 549, 615, 623, 729. Second, the Persian and Turkish languages did not and do not have such anthroponymic or title making constructions as “*mukhaddarat* of some place” (that is, *mukhaddarat* Baghdādiya, *mukhaddarat* Bukhāriya, and the like); this model hardly existed.
- 93 Wittek, “Yazijioghlu ‘Alī,” pp. 648, 655; Wittek, Paul. “Les Gagaouzes = Les gens de Kaykaus,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17 (1951–52), p. 15.
- 94 Papadopoulos, Averkios Th. *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259–1453* (Munich, 1938), pp. 73–74 (no. 109).
- 95 Ibn Bibī (AS), pp. 528, 536; 607–608; *Histoire des Seldjoudes d’Asie Mineure*, ed. Houtsma, pp. 241, 245, 277; Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, pp. 234, 264; Kirakos of Gandzak. *История Армении*, transl. L.A. Khanlarian (Moscow, 1976), p. 178; Galstian, Ashot. *Армянские источники о монголах. Извлечения из рукописей XIII–XIV вв.* (Moscow, 1962), p. 47; Cahen, *La Turquie*, p. 230. For more details, see now: Shukurov, Rustam. “Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes,” in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yidiz (London, 2012), p. 117 and nn. 7–8.

Isfahan.⁹⁶ His marriage to Prodoulia incurred his contemporaries' disgust and condemnation.⁹⁷ According to Bar Hebraeus, in this marriage Prodoulia gave birth to another son whose fate is unknown.⁹⁸ In 1249, Shams al-Dīn Isfahānī was arrested and executed by his political adversaries.⁹⁹

It seems that after the death of Sāhib Isfahānī Prodoulia did not marry again. In 1262, she went to Byzantium with her son the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn. Reporting on her arrival in Byzantine territory, Pachymeres calls her "old" (γηραιὰ μητρὶ).¹⁰⁰ If the birth of 'Izz al-Dīn took place about 1237, in 1262 she was about fifty. Prodoulia lived in Constantinople apparently with other women and children of sultan's family, in one of the imperial palaces.¹⁰¹ In 1264/65, during the flight of 'Izz al-Dīn from Ainos in southwestern Thrace, she and other relatives were arrested in Constantinople.¹⁰² The subsequent fate of Prodoulia can be gleaned from the late semi-legendary tradition transmitted by Ibn Bībī and Yazıcızâde 'Alî.

There are two versions concerning her fate. According to one of them, shortly after the escape of her son she committed suicide: having heard a false rumor of her son's death she threw herself from a tower.¹⁰³ The second version assumes that she was transferred from Constantinople to Berroia where she remained until her death.¹⁰⁴ The latter version seems more plausible, since other family members of the sultan left in Byzantium were sent by Michael VIII to Berroia.¹⁰⁵

We do not know the date of her death, but most likely she lived in Berroia for some time after 1264, long enough to confer her name on one of the towers in the city walls. Yazıcızâde 'Alî relates that the tower was called Ana Qapusı "The Gates of the Mother." Wittek, however, suggested that Ana Qapusı was a

96 Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 571–87; *Histoire des Seldjoudes d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Houtsma, pp. 262–63.

97 Simon de Saint-Quentin XXXII.26 (p. 83); Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 565. Duda's rendition of Ibn Bībī's passage is questionable; see: Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, p. 248 and n. i; Abū al-Faraj, *Chronography*, 1:412; Abu al-Faraj, *Ta'rikh*, pp. 447–48.

98 Abū al-Faraj, *Chronography*, 1:412.

99 Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 587; *Histoire des Seldjoudes d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Houtsma, p. 267; Abū al-Faraj, *Chronography*, 1:413.

100 Pachymeres II.24 (1:183.23).

101 Wittek, "Yazijioghlu 'Alî," p. 648; Wittek, "Les Gagaouzes," p. 15.

102 Pachymeres III.25 (1:313.14); Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 639; Wittek, "Yazijioghlu 'Alî," p. 648; Wittek, "Les Gagaouzes," p. 15.

103 Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 639; *Histoire des Seldjoudes d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Houtsma, p. 298; Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, p. 285.

104 Wittek, "Yazijioghlu 'Alî," p. 648, 655–56; Wittek, "Les Gagaouzes," p. 15.

105 Laurent, "Une famille turque," pp. 349–68; Zachariadou, "Οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι," pp. 62–74.

distorted Turkish spelling of the original Greek name of the gates Ἀνάκαμψις in the sense of “annual payments.”¹⁰⁶ This suggestion seems rather artificial, since ἀνάκαμψις was a rare technical fiscal term.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, one could suggest that Prodoulia was granted the tower as a sort of *pronoia*, and received payments from those using the gates, a customs duty paid by visiting traders.

Nos 2–3, Kīr Khāya and Kyr Kattidios: Prodoulia had two brothers, the uncles of the sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus, who played a prominent role in the history of the Seljuk sultanate and Byzantium and whose biographies are still insufficiently studied.¹⁰⁸ In Persian and Arab sources, both brothers were usually designated as اخوال *akhwāl* “maternal uncles.” Oriental sources refer to their Greek names in distorted Persian or Turkic spelling. Kīr Khāya was probably the elder brother (کرخایه / کیرخایه *kīr khāya* in Persian, کرخیا *kīr khayā* in Arabic), and the younger one was Kīr Kadīd (کیرکدیت / کیرکدید *kīr kadīd* / *kīr kadīt*).¹⁰⁹ Oriental sources emphasized the Christian faith of both brothers. Aqsarāyī describes Kīr Khāya as Rūmī, Roman (*kīr khāya-i rūmī*), referring to his Greek Orthodox identity.¹¹⁰ Ibn Bībī reports that two uncles were “of Greek Orthodox faith” (*rūmī-kēsh*), while elsewhere he adds that Kīr Kadīd “professes the faith of Jesus” (*dīn-i Īsā ‘alayhi al-salām dāsht*).¹¹¹ The Arab historian Rukn al-Dīn Baybars said that the two uncles “were of Christian faith” (*wa humā ‘alā dīn al-naṣrāniya*).¹¹²

The interpretation of the first element *kīr/kir* in the names of both brothers is the Persian and Arabic spelling of Greek χῦρ/χῦρος/χῦριος. It is not so easy to interpret the name of the senior uncle Khāya/Khayā. It is likely that vowels dominate the original Greek name or nickname and it contains either χ or γ. It may be that the Greek source of Khāya/Khayā was one of the following names unusual for an Iranian, Arabic, or Turkic ear: Χειονώ (*PLP*, nos 30824–25), Χειότης (*PLP*, no. 30845), Χειώτης (*PLP*, no. 30841), or Χιώτης (*PLP*,

106 Wittek, “Yazijioghlu ‘Ali,” p. 656.

107 Wilson, Nigel G. and Darrouzès, Jean. “Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion,” *Revue des études byzantines* 26 (1968), p. 23 n. 22. See also *LBG*, p. 80 (ἀνάκαμψις).

108 See: Turan, Osman. “Les souverains seldjoukides et leurs sujets non-musulmans,” *Studia Islamica* 1 (1953), pp. 82–83; Апанович, Ольга С. “К вопросу о должности кундастабла у Сельджукидов Рума в XIII в.: кундастабл руми и Михаил Палеолог,” *Византийский временник* 66 [91] (2007), pp. 171–92.

109 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, pp. 73, 93; ‘Aynī, pp. 321, 387.

110 Aqsarāyī, pp. 40, 82.

111 Ibn Bībī (AS), pp. 609, 638.

112 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, p. 73.

nos 30841–46). The name Khāya had another semantic aspect. In Persian *khāya* (خایه) as applied to a person denotes "eunuch, castrate."¹¹³ There is no doubt that Persian authors and Persian- and Turkic-speaking Anatolians kept in mind the latter connotation. Probably Khāya was a distortion of the original Greek name through assimilating it to the Persian *khāya* "castrate." It is possible also that this nickname carried a pejorative meaning.

Regarding the Greek source for the name of the second brother Kadīd/Kadīt, it was very likely derived from the Greek name Καττίδιος, found in church calendars. The memory of the stoned martyrs Καττίδιος and Καττιδιανός was celebrated on 5 August.¹¹⁴ The name Καττίδιος is found in the Souda lexicon.¹¹⁵ Linguistically the correspondence between the Persian Kadīd/Kadīt and Greek Καττίδιος is appropriate.¹¹⁶

The drastic increase of the influence of the sultan's uncles apparently occurred after 1254.¹¹⁷ Seljuk authors accuse the Greek uncles of exercising a corrupting influence on the young sultan, who was at that time 17 years old. They continued to profess Christianity (like their sister Prodoulia) and intervened in the politics and administration of the sultanate. Their relations with the Muslim elite were far from harmonious due to their Christian affiliation. Ibn Bibī accuses the uncles of sowing discord between their nephew 'Izz al-Dīn and his co-ruler and brother Rukn al-Dīn Qılıç Arslan, thus instigating the civil war in the sultanate that erupted.¹¹⁸

However, the sole government of 'Izz al-Dīn, which was supported and directed by his Greek uncles, ended with a Mongol invasion of Anatolia. As a result of the defeat inflicted by the Mongol general Bayju, the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn escaped for the first time in 1256–57 to the Nicaean empire of Theodore II Laskaris with whom he stayed for some time.¹¹⁹ The political weight of the Greek uncles of the sultan did not rest on the authority of their nephew alone.

¹¹³ Dehkhodā, s.v. خایه.

¹¹⁴ *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano. Propylaeum ad AASS Novembris*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye (Brussels, 1902), col. 869.37–39.

¹¹⁵ Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 1:637.

¹¹⁶ An alternative option, which is linguistically acceptable, can be found in *PLP*: the name Ἐκαττίδης (no. 5983) recorded in the acts of Lavra in 1316: *Actes de Lavra*, ed. Paul Lemerle, André Guillou, Nicolas Svoronos, Denise Papachryssanthou, and Sima Ćirković, 4 vols (Paris, 1970–82), 2:305. However, this Ἐκαττίδης was hardly identical to Kyr Kadīd because the former was only a stratiotes and therefore of low social status.

¹¹⁷ See for more details: Shukurov, "Семейство," pp. 89–116.

¹¹⁸ Ibn Bibī (AS), pp. 608–610, 615; *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Houtsma, pp. 279, 282; Duda, *Die Selttschukengeschichte*, pp. 265, 268; Aqsarāyī, pp. 40, 82.

¹¹⁹ Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 625; Akropolites, 1:143.25–144.19.

After the flight of their nephew to Byzantium in 1256–57 they remained quite comfortably in Muslim Anatolia on the side of his brother Rukn al-Dīn.¹²⁰

The sultan's uncles accompanied their nephew in his second flight to Byzantium in 1262. They resurface in the sources in 1264 in connection with the sultan's conspiracy against Michael VIII Palaiologos. We learn about the role of Kyr Kattidios, the younger brother, from the chronicle of Ibn Bibī who said that Kyr Kattidios accidentally heard about the conspiracy at the sultan's court and betrayed the conspirators immediately by informing the emperor.¹²¹ Apparently, the ethnic and religious identity of Kyr Kattidios prevailed over family ties and his political allegiance as a Seljuk courtier. At that time Kyr Kattidios possessed the court title *sharāb-sālār*, i.e., of a “wine-bearer.”

According to Baybars Manṣūrī, both brothers took the side of the emperor and informed him about the conspiracy. Baybars was apparently wrong here, as Kyr Khāya was not in Constantinople at that time.¹²² George Pachymeres mentions a certain sultan's uncle in connection with the conspiracy of Kaykāwus II. According to Pachymeres, one of the sultan's uncles was a mediator between Kaykāwus II and his Bulgarian and Golden Horde allies. It was due to him that Bulgarian and Mongol help reached Kaykāwus II in time. Pachymeres calls the mediator “one of the relatives [of the sultan], very famous in the northern coast of the Black Sea.”¹²³ In two other places Pachymeres explicitly refers to him as an uncle of the sultan (θείος).¹²⁴ Pachymeres surely had in mind another uncle, namely Kīr Khāya/Kyr Khāya. Failler's assumption that Pachymeres' uncle was identical to Sarī Saltīq is certainly groundless.¹²⁵

From Pachymeres' account one may conclude that Kyr Khāya went north with the Turks who came with 'Izz al-Dīn in 1262 and who were sent to the northern Danubian border into Dobrudja by Michael VIII. Kyr Khāya seems to have been one of the leaders of those Turks, because Pachymeres reports that he was “very famous” in these regions. Pachymeres also details some of the activities of Kyr Khāya during the conspiracy of his nephew. He went to the Bulgarian king Constantine Tich and persuaded him to participate in the expedition against Byzantium. He acted through the wife of Constantine, Eirene Laskarina, daughter of Theodore II Laskaris, who dreamed of revenge

120 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 623.

121 Ibid., pp. 638–39.

122 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, p. 93.

123 Pachymeres III.25 (1:301.17–18): “τῶν τινι συγγενῶν, ἐπιδόξῳ γε ὄντι κατὰ τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον μέρη τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου.”

124 Pachymeres III.25 (1:303.7–19); cf.: Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, p. 74.

125 Pachymeres, 1:301 n. 6.

for her younger brother John. Kyr Khāya also involved the Mongols of the Golden Horde by sending envoys to Nogai, the nephew of the Khan of the Golden Horde Berke (1257–67).¹²⁶ However, two independent versions of the events by the Persian historians Ibn Bībī and Aqsarāyī maintain that the sultan appealed to the khan Berke himself, but not to Nogai.¹²⁷ Aqsarāyī reports that the mediator between the Golden Horde and 'Izz al-Dīn was the latter's paternal aunt (i.e., the sister of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II), who was married to Khan Berke.¹²⁸ Perhaps Kyr Khāya persuaded the Mongol Khan or Nogai with her help. In the ensuing raid by the Bulgarians and Tatars in Thrace, the Turks of Dobrudja apparently participated.¹²⁹ Kyr Khāya himself could have been among them. Soon after the release of 'Izz al-Dīn from his Byzantine captivity and his settling in Solkhat in Crimea, we again find Kyr Khāya in Anatolia. In 1265, he was executed by the sultan Rukn al-Dīn IV.¹³⁰

The Greek uncles of the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn played a prominent role in both Byzantine and Seljuk politics, eventually separating: Kyr Kattidios betrayed his nephew and took the side of the Byzantines, while Kyr Khāya seems to have remained faithful to him until the end. We know nothing about the subsequent fate of Kyr Kattidios but one can surmise that he continued to stay in Byzantium after 1264.¹³¹

126 Pachymeres III.25 (1:303.20–25).

127 Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 639; Aqsarāyī, pp. 75–76. It is noteworthy that an echo of the mediation mission of Kyr Khāya is found in the history of Yazıcızāde 'Alī who, apparently, tried to edit and supplement Ibn Bībī's relevant passage but as a result created a rather obscure text. The Ottoman historian wrote that "God Almighty inspires the brother of the Sultan ['Izz al-Dīn] to send news to the Khan of the Qipchaq steppes Berke-Khan and to ask him: 'rescue [my] brother.' [Berke in response] sent an army" (Yazıcızāde 'Alī (Berlin), fol. 368r). No doubt, Yazıcızāde 'Alī had at his disposal some information, albeit vague, about some "brother," a mediator, who organized the attack of the Mongols against Byzantium. In the light of the role of Kyr Khāya, there can be little doubt that Yazıcızāde 'Alī's "brother" was one of the Greek uncles, rather than the brother of the sultan.

128 Aqsarāyī, p. 75.

129 See: Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 77–79.

130 Aqsarāyī, p. 82. His dead body was left to be torn to pieces by dogs, which was a highly humiliating punishment. Aqsarāyī explains that this was due to the personal hatred of the sultan Rukn al-Dīn: in 1254, Rukn al-Dīn had been imprisoned in the castle of Burğlu by his brother and Kyr Khāya was the jailer who severely humiliated him. However, there could be a more immediate reason for such a demonstratively brutal execution. 'Izz al-Dīn dreamed of returning to his homeland and Kyr Khāya might well have been sent to Anatolia by him.

131 For further details on the family of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykawūs II in Byzantium, see: Shukurov, "Семейство," pp. 89–116.

No. 4, Unnamed, Kaykāwus' sister: We know about Kaykāwus' sister, who followed him to Byzantium, from the reports of George Pachymeres and Ibn Bibī. Ibn Bibī relates that she remained in Byzantium after her brother's flight to the Golden Horde, having been detained with her mother and two of Kaykāwus' sons by the emperor.¹³² Pachymeres refers to her three times,¹³³ but gives no additional details other than mentioning her being placed under arrest in Constantinople after her brother's flight from Ainos.¹³⁴ In all probability she was the daughter of Prodoulia and the sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II. Most likely she was born later than Kaykāwus II. About her further life in Byzantium nothing is known.

No. 5, Unnamed, Kaykāwus' wife: George Pachymeres in two instances refers to the sultan's wives and once to a particular wife.¹³⁵ Nikephoros Gregoras believed that the sultan arrived to Constantinople with one wife.¹³⁶ In his account of the first emigration of Kaykāwus II to Byzantium in 1256–57 Ibn Bibī maintains that the sultan fled from Konya to Antalya with “the Harem ladies,” who might well have included all his female relatives and wives,¹³⁷ while later from Antalya to Laodikeia and further to the Byzantine territory he moved along with “his households, retainers, and children.”¹³⁸ Consequently, in his first journey to Byzantium he was probably accompanied by his harem. In the account on his repeated exile in 1262, Ibn Bibī relates about the family of Kaykāwus quite generally: “he journeyed to Istanbul with his children and family, his mother and sons.”¹³⁹ Most likely, in 1262, Kaykāwus brought with him one wife as in Constantinople he observed Christian customs, which prescribed monogamy. There is a disagreement in the sources in regard to Kaykāwus' wife. Kirakos of Gandzak reports for 1249 that Kaykāwus II had become the son-in-law of “Laskaris” (that is, John III Vatatzes) and with the latter's help seized the throne.¹⁴⁰ Claude Cahen and Petr Zhavoronkov admit the possibility of the

132 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 639; *Histoire des Seldjoudes d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Houtsma, p. 298.

133 Pachymeres II.24 (1:83.24), III.25 (1:303.16–17, 313.14).

134 Pachymeres III.25 (1:313.14).

135 Pachymeres II.24 (1:83.24), III.25 (1:303.16–17, 313.14).

136 Gregoras IV.6 (1:101).

137 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 623; *Histoire des Seldjoudes d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Houtsma, p. 287.

138 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 625; *Histoire des Seldjoudes d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Houtsma, p. 289.

139 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 637.

140 Kirakos of Gandzak, p. 196. For a useful discussion of this passage, see: Apanovich, “К вопросу.”

marriage between Kaykāwus II and one of John III's daughters.¹⁴¹ However, the story of Kaykāwus marriage is rather dubious as it has no confirmation in other sources, especially in Byzantine and Syriac ones.¹⁴² On the other hand, according to later Ottoman tradition and as noted above, after Kaykāwus' flight from Ainos not the mother but the sultan's wife threw herself from the tower in the Berroia, a Christian, Anna by name. And it is on this behalf that the city gates in Berroia got its name "The Gates of Anna," that is, "Ana Qapusi."¹⁴³ This story seems unreliable, although taking into account these two indications of the Greek and Christian identity of Kaykāwus II's wife, one cannot exclude her possible Byzantine or Rūmī origin.

She, as well as Prodoulia and the sultan's sister, were put under arrest in 1264/65 and remained in Byzantium.

No. 6, Mas'ūd, Kaykāwus' son: Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd was, probably, the eldest son of Kaykāwus II. In 1262, he fled to Constantinople along with his father. He could have been baptized upon his birth in Anatolia. In Constantinople he observed Christian customs and, like his father and brothers, was permitted by the patriarch Arsenios to participate in Christian rituals.¹⁴⁴ In 1264/65, he was one of the sultan's two sons who accompanied Kaykāwus to the Golden Horde. The dying 'Izz al-Dīn II proclaimed him as his heir. In summer 1280, Mas'ūd went to Anatolia in order to gain the sultanate's throne. In Paphlagonia he engaged in a war with the local rulers. The war was unsuccessful and he asked for help from Andronikos II. Between 1290 and 1293 Mas'ūd arrived in Constantinople along with his wife and daughter. However, Mas'ūd failed to meet the emperor who at that time was in Nymphaion. The sultan reached Adramyttion, but some unknown circumstances forced him back to his realm. The personal meeting between the emperor and the sultan did not take place, though the relations between them were positive. It is possible that Mas'ūd gave back to Byzantium Pontic Herakleia, which he recently had conquered

141 Cahen, *La Turquie*, p. 239; Zhavoronkov, Petr I. "Никейская империя и Восток," *Византийский временник* 39 (1978), pp. 94–95.

142 Other sources mention nothing about the existence of any of John III's daughters: Polemis, Demetrios I. *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), pp. 107–09 (no. 72).

143 Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von. *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, transl. J.-J. Hellert, 1: 1300–1400, (Paris, 1835), pp. 46–47 (referring to the Ottoman historian Lütfi); repeated in: Bees, *Die Inschriftenaufzeichnung des Codex Sinaiticus Graecus, 508 (976) und die Maria Spiläotissa Klosterkirche bei Sille (Lykaonien), mit Exkursen zur Geschichte der Seldschuken-Türken* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 45–46.

144 For more details, see: Shukurov, "Harem Christianity."

from Turks.¹⁴⁵ Departing from Byzantium, Mas'ūd left his wife and daughter there. Later, on Mas'ūd's request, his wife was sent to him by Andronikos II,¹⁴⁶ while his daughter remained in Byzantium as a hostage receiving an allowance for everyday needs from the emperor.¹⁴⁷ She observed "the Roman customs" or, in other words, was Christian and Hellenophone.¹⁴⁸ The regimes of Andronikos II and Mas'ūd II maintained good relations although sources are silent about any direct Byzantine help to the sultan. During Mas'ūd's rule some Byzantine Turks, such as Βασίλειος Γαγούπης, served at the royal court (see Chapter 5.8). Anatolian Christians enjoyed the freedom to confess their faith throughout the sultanate. Both Mas'ūd II and Andronikos II were mentioned side by side and praised in the writings of the local Christians.¹⁴⁹

No. 7, *Kayūmarth, Kaykāwus' son*: Ibn Bibī mentions the *malik* Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth among sultan's sons with their father in Ainos.¹⁵⁰ Elsewhere the same author calls him Kaykāwus II's middle son (*pisar-i miyānīn*), hence he was younger than Mas'ūd.¹⁵¹ Apparently, he followed a Christian way of life like his relatives. He left Byzantium along with his father and elder brother in 1264/65. In 1280, when Mas'ūd II proclaimed himself the sultan, Kayūmarth landed in Paphlagonia and approached Kastamonu. However, soon he was seized by the *nā'ib* of Kastamonu and handed over to his elder brother.¹⁵²

No. 8, *The Sebastokrator or caesar (?) Κωνσταντῖνος Μελήχ*: What is known about Constantine Melek (Melik) is mostly from a few lines of Pachymeres. Melek Constantine, "one more son of the sultan" (ὁ Μελήχ Κωνσταντῖνος, τῶν τοῦ σουλτάνου υἱῶν ἄτερος), was left by his father in Byzantium and, "having

145 Pachymeres X.25. (4:359–361); XIII.15 (4:651.12); XIII.22 (4:673.28). For the date of Andronikos II's staying in Nymphaion, see: Failler, Albert. "Chronologie et composition dans l'*Histoire* de Georges Pachymère, III," *Revue des études byzantines* 48 (1990), p. 17.

146 Pachymeres XIII.22 (4:673.33–34).

147 Pachymeres XIII.22 (4:673.34–675.1): "ὥς ὀμηρον."

148 Pachymeres XIII.22 (4:671.19–20): "τοῦ κορίου, τίνος μὲν Μελήχ θυγάτριον ἦν, ὅπως δὲ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἤθεσι προσέκυρσε διαιτᾶσθαι."

149 Métivier, Sophie. "Byzantium in Question in 13th-Century Seljuk Anatolia," in *Liquid and Multiple: Individuals and Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*, ed. Guillaume Saint-Guillain and Dionysios Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), pp. 239, 241–42; Shukurov, "Harem Christianity," p. 129 and n. 70.

150 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 639; Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, p. 343 n. 375.

151 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 740; *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure*, ed. Houtsma, p. 336.

152 Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "The Revolt in Kastamonu, ca. 1291–1293," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004), pp. 102–03.

been baptized, zealously adhered to the Roman customs" (βαπτισθεῖς ἐκθύμως προσετέτῃκει τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἥθεσιν). Isaac Melik, the leader of the Turkic mercenaries from Anatolia, who betrayed the Catalans, offered Andronikos II to proclaim Constantine Melek the Seljuk sultan. The emperor, however, did no more than to appoint Constantine the governor of Pegai ca. 1305/06. He was sent to Pegai together with his niece, the daughter of Mas'ūd II. The emperor wanted her to be married to the mercenary Isaac Melik.¹⁵³

Constantine Melik may have been engaged in the Byzantine administrative system long before 1305/06. According to Yazıcızâde 'Alî, in the 1280s the sultan Mas'ūd II enquired about his brothers living in Byzantium: "He also sent envoys to the *basileus* Palaiologos, asking about the sultan's brothers and the Turks of the Roman land. The Basileus informed that 'one of your brothers is with myself, while another brother is in Kara-Verde and he is entrusted with the governance [*beğleği*] of that district.'" ¹⁵⁴ Most likely, this means that Constantine Melek was the governor of Berroia. Having made a successful career in the Byzantine administrative system, his candidacy for the Seljuk sultan and his appointment as the governor of Pegai were not incidental.

Nothing is known about the fate of Constantine Melek after 1306. Paul Wittek's assumption that he fled to the Serbs in 1308 is not convincing and has not been accepted in the subsequent historiography.¹⁵⁵ Constantine Melek, being a prominent administrator and courtier, was the progenitor of a noble Byzantine family, of which more will be said.

No. 9, Unnamed, Kaykâwus II's son (hieromonachos Sabbas Soultan?): Yazıcızâde related information about another of Kaykâwus' sons. In the continuation of the passage concerning two of the sultan's brothers, the Ottoman historian maintains that "the sultan Mas'ūd's brother, who stayed with the emperor [*tekûr*], wanted to flee together with some Turks. The *basileus* learned [about it] and seized him and took him into custody. The then patriarch [*patri-yâr*h], who was the caliph of the infidels, requested from the *basileus* and took the sultan's brother [with him], baptized him [*vaftis edüp* ← βαπτίζω] and made

¹⁵³ Pachymeres XIII.22 (4:675.2–14).

¹⁵⁴ Yazıcızâde 'Alî (Berlin), fol. 409v: فاسلیوس بلالوغوسه دخی ایلچی گوندر ب سلطانوک قرداشلری و روم ایلندکی اتراک طایفسندن استفسار قلدلر فاسلیوس شوبله خبر گوندردی که بر قرداشوک فاتومه در و بر قرداشوک قره ویریده و اول طرفوک بکلکی اکا مفوضدر.

¹⁵⁵ Wittek, "Yazjioghlu 'Alî," p. 665.

him a monk. He attended upon the patriarch in Aya Sofya for some time.”¹⁵⁶ Yazıcızâde continues that Sarı Saltıq, legendary saint of the Turks of Dobrudja, took the sultan’s brother from the patriarch and converted him to Islam. The sultan’s son under the name Baraq later became a great saint in Sultaniyya in Iran.¹⁵⁷

It is difficult to distinguish between real events and legendary imagination in this story. However, one may safely suggest that there was one more of Kaykâwus’ sons who became a monk and, apparently, stayed with the patriarch. In the Byzantine historical context such a fate for a noble prisoner or hostage was common. According to Yazıcızâde’s story there is a surprising and even perplexing coincidence. The sultan’s son left Constantinople and went to the north, to Dobrudja. At approximately the same period, in Crimea, a notice from the *Sougdaian Synaxarium* referred to a certain *hieromonachos* Σάββας Σολτάν who died on 21 December 1320.¹⁵⁸ The difference between spellings Σολτάν and Σουλτάν is insignificant: these are variants of the same word “sultan.” Apparently, the name Σο(υ)λτάν(ος) “Sultan” was a worldly sobriquet or familial name of Sabbas. Could Sabbas have been another son of Kaykâwus? First, the name Soultanos was used exclusively by members of the Seljuk sultan’s family; consequently one may think that Sabbas was a relative of the sultan. Secondly, this is the only instance of the usage of Σουλτάνος as a familial name outside the Balkans. Third, it was Sougdaia and Solkhat where the sultan Kaykâwus II dwelled after 1265.¹⁵⁹ If Sabbas Soultan was the son of Kaykâwus II his appearance in Sougdaia would be understandable. The date of Sabbas’

156 Yazıcızâde ‘Ali (Berlin), fol. 409v–410r:

سلطان مسعودوك تكور قاتنداغي قرداشى بير قاچ تركرله قاچاغه عزم اتمش فاسليوس
طويدى انى دوتب حبس اتدى اول زمانوك پتريارخى كه كافرلوك خليفسى اولور
سلطانوك قردشى فاسليوسدن ديبلىب الدى ووفتيس ايدوب كشيى صورته قويدى بر
مدت ايا صوفيده پتريارخ خدمتده اولدى.

157 For more details, see: Wittek, “Yazijioghlu ‘Ali,” p. 650.

158 Nystazopoulou, Maria. *Η εν τη Ταυρική χερσονήσῳ πόλις Σουγδαία από του ΙΓ’ μέχρι του ΙΕ’ αιώνος* (Athens, 1965), p. 131, no. 146: + τη αὐτ(η) ἡμέρα ἐτεληωθ(η) ὁ δουλ(ος) του θ(εο)ῦ σάββας(ς) ἱερο(μόνα)χ(ος) (καί) λεγομ(ενος) σολτάν. See also: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:284; *PLP*, no. 26294.

159 Bulgakova suggests that the Christianized Turks, who are mentioned in the *Sougdaian Synaxarium*, came to Sougdaia with the sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn II Kaykâwus: Bulgakova, Victoria. “Islamisch-christlicher Kulturkontakt im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum. Sugdaia unter Herrschaft der Seldschuken,” in *Mittelalter im Labor: Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 261–74; Bulgakova, Victoria. “Конфликтная зона Черное море: загадка вооруженного инцидента 1278

death is also remarkable: if Sabbas was a son of Kaykāwus II, at the moment of death he would have been about 60 to 65.

Kaykāwus' son, who became a monk and whose name was Sabbas, may have existed. Probably he went from Constantinople to Crimea and died in Sougdaia. Yazıcızâde's story could have been based on real events, but the Ottoman historian Islamicized the plot through introducing Sarı Saltıq.

No. 10, Unnamed, Kaykāwus' daughter: Only Pachymeres mentioned the sultan's daughter, relating her arrest along with other of the sultan's relatives after 1264/65.¹⁶⁰ Possibly she remained in Byzantium, but we have no information about her further life.

Oriental sources in general mention seven sons of Kaykāwus II: Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd, Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth, Rukn al-Dīn Qılcı Arslan, Siyāwush, Farāmarz, and two other sons who remained in Byzantium. In all probability Rukn al-Dīn Qılcı Arslan, Siyāwush, and Farāmarz were born after 1264/65 in Crimea, because according to Ibn Bībī there were only four sons with Kaykāwus in Byzantium. Of them Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd and Rukn al-Dīn Kayūmarth fled to Crimea together with their father. Yazıcızâde 'Alī in the fifteenth century tried to uncover the two other sons remaining in Byzantium. He failed to find their names but supplemented Ibn Bībī's story with quite plausible information that one of them was Berroia's governor and the other became a monk and later left Constantinople for the north. Due to Pachymeres, the former can be reliably identified as Constantine Melik. The other, with too many chronological and factual coincidences to be incidental, could have been *hieromonachos* Sabbas Soultan.¹⁶¹

года из маргинальных заметок Сутдейского синаксаря," in *Причерноморье в средние века*, ed. Sergej Karpov, 8 (St. Petersburg, 2011), pp. 50–63.

160 Pachymeres III.25 (1:313.13).

161 Albert Failler tried to add to the above-discussed list of Kaykāwus' relatives two other persons. First, Failler suggests that not long before Kaykāwus II's arrival in Constantinople his brother Melik came to Byzantium from Anatolia (Pachymeres, 1:148–149). Failler's assumption is based on a doubtful reading of Pachymeres' passage (Pachymeres, 1:149.15–21). However, the passage relates information not about a hypothetical brother of the sultan, called "Melik," as Failler thinks, but about Kaykāwus himself, if one translates in Pachymeres' text the verb προσχωρέω not as "to defect" as Failler does, but as self-evidently and more logically "to approach, come up to." Second, Failler tried to prove the existence of another son of Kaykāwus by the name of Masur/Manşūr (Failler, Albert. "Les émirs turcs à la conquête de l'Anatolie au début du 14^e siècle," *Revue des études byzantines* 52 (1994), pp. 92–95). This suggestion has been called into question by Irène Beldiceanu and Dimitry Korobeinikov (Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène. "Pachymère et les sources orientales,"

7 Kaykāwus' People

Besides family members, there were numerous courtiers of the sultan who followed him into exile. A close, even familial relation of the sultan's family, Makarios, the metropolitan of Pisidia since 1250, came with 'Izz al-Dīn from the Seljuk Sultanate as a guide (προαγωγούμενος), in the words of Pachymeres, for the sultan and his family.¹⁶²

Some members of the Seljuk elite who followed the sultan are known by name. These are 'Alī Bahādur with his attendants, the *amīr-ākhur* (the chief of the horses) Muẓaffar al-Dīn Uğurlu with his retainers (خواص),¹⁶³ Ḥusām al-Dīn Tashtī, Ḥājī Bābā,¹⁶⁴ Nūr al-Dīn Erzincani,¹⁶⁵ and, lastly, emirs Malik and Sālik (Μελίκ και Σαλίκ).¹⁶⁶

Ḥājī Bābā and Nūr al-Dīn Erzincani are not known from other sources. Judging by his name, Ḥājī Bābā might have belonged to the spiritual elite of the sultanate and possibly to Sufi circles. Ḥusām al-Dīn Tashtī is probably identical to *sharāb-sālār* (the cupbearer) Ḥusām al-Dīn Aq Taş, who is mentioned by Ibn Bibī and in a Seljuk official document.¹⁶⁷ The *amīr-ākhur* Uğurlu and, especially, 'Alī Bahādur are well known from Oriental sources. They were famous commanders who fought in Anatolia, attempting to withstand the Mongols

Turcica 32 (2000), p. 427; Korobeinikov, "The Revolt in Kastamonu," p. 103). Kaykāwus II had no son called Manşūr.

162 Pachymeres II.24 (1185.3); on the metropolitan Makarios, see: *PLP*, no. 16271.

163 On 'Alī Bahādur and Muẓaffar al-Dīn Uğurlu, see: Ibn Bibī (AS), pp. 614, 627, 637–39; Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, pp. 268, 276, 283–86; Aqsarāyī, pp. 42, 70, 74, 75; Baybars al-Manşūrī, p. 93; Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, p. 480, 486–88, 495–96, 499, 521.

164 These two names are mentioned in: Aqsarāyī, p. 70. Earlier, Aqsarāyī refers to them as sultan's companions during his first exile in Byzantium in 1256–57 (Aqsarāyī, p. 42).

165 Baybars al-Manşūrī, pp. 93–94 (see also Chapter 6.3 below).

166 *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. John Schmitt (London, 1904), lines 4553–54, 5171, 5181, 5206–55, 5315, 5672, 5676, 5661–5738; *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea compilado por comandamiento de Don Fray Johan Ferrandez de Heredia, maestro del Hospital de S. Johan de Jerusalem (Chronique de Morée au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles publiée et traduite pour la première fois pour la Société de l'Orient latin)*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio (Geneva, 1885), pp. 75 §335, 77 §344, 79–82 §§359–72; 80 §360; Bon, Antoine. *La Morée Franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)*, 2 vols (Paris, 1969), 1:131–35, 337; *PLP*, no. 17785.

167 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 623; Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, pp. 273, 341; Turan, Osman. *Türkiye selçukluları hakkında resmî vesikalar. Metin, tercüme ve araştırmalar* (Ankara, 1958), p. 87 (Persian text); Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, pp. 480, 484. Cf.: Cahen, *La Turquie*, p. 249 (according to Cahen, the sobriquet Tashtī might have indicated that its owner held also the court title of *tashtdār*, the keeper of the royal washing basin).

and their Anatolian allies. The two military officers (emirs) Malik and Sālik are referred to in *The Chronicle of Morea* as commanders in the Turkish division of the Byzantine army that invaded Morea in 1263. There is no reason to believe that Malik and Sālik belonged to the Seljuk ruling dynasty and were relatives of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus as some scholars believed;¹⁶⁸ in all probability, they were middle-ranking emirs in charge of a part of the Turkish contingent. The following year (1263) Malik and Sālik with their Turks defected to the Achaian prince Guillaume de Villehardouin, because the Byzantines ceased paying them their salary. The prince married Malik to a noble lady, the widow of a certain Aimon de Simico. Later, some of Malik's Turks settled in Morea in Vounarvi and Renta, while Malik went home to "Vlachia."

It is very likely that the sultan's Constable the Greek (*kundaṣṭabil-i rūmī*) took refuge in Constantinople. He was a Greek Christian and had a brother holding the title *amīr-maydān*. The constable (*kundaṣṭabil*) appeared in the Seljuk sources in 1256. In 1258, the constable was granted the title of *beglerbek* and after that time his influence upon the sultan became exceptionally strong. The titles of constable and *beglerbek* were among the highest military ranks at the Seljuk court; the *amīr-maydān* was responsible for organizing the game of polo (*chawgān*) at the royal court.¹⁶⁹ The constable's role in the political life of the sultanate was appraised negatively by Muslim historians of the time. Soon after mid-August of 1261, the constable was sent by the sultan to Michael VIII Palaiologos in order to obtain the emperor's consent for 'Izz al-Dīn's move to Byzantium. The careers of the Christian constable and his brother at 'Izz al-Dīn's court have been comprehensively studied by Olga Apanovich, who, however, hesitates to identify the *kundaṣṭabil* with any known personage of the time.¹⁷⁰

A parallel reading of Pachymeres and Oriental authors leaves little doubt about the identity of the Christian constable and his brother as the brothers Βασιλικοί. The brothers Basilikoi (one of them was Basil by name) originated from Rhodes and, starting as "theater actors" at the Seljuk court and becoming close to the sultan, gained supreme positions and gathered enormous riches. Shortly before the sultan's arrival in Constantinople, both brothers appeared in Byzantium and were accepted by Michael Palaiologos due to the friendship he had established with them during his exile in the Seljuk sultanate a few

168 Zhavoronkov, "Тюрки в Византии," p. 171.

169 Cahen, *La Turquie*, p. 189.

170 Apanovich, "К вопросу," pp. 171–92; Ibn Bibī (AS), pp. 623, 637; Aqsarāyī, pp. 49–50, 65–66. As Apanovich has shown, the identification of the Seljuk constable with Michael VIII Palaiologos prevailing in scholarly literature is fundamentally wrong.

years earlier. Basil Basilikos was granted the court title of παρακοιμώμενος τοῦ κοιτῶνος, and his brother that of μέγας ἐταρειάρχης; one of them, in addition, held the title and office of πρωτοῖερακάριος.¹⁷¹ Probably it was Basil Basilikos, as the more prominent of the two brothers, who held the positions of constable and *beglerbek*. Pachymeres' account and the evidence of Oriental authors coincide in all key points: *kundaştabil* had a brother, as did the Basilikoi; *kundaştabil* and his brother were Christian Greeks, as were the Basilikoi; *kundaştabil* held an extremely prominent position at the Seljuk court and the Basilikoi's position at the Seljuk court was high; *kundaştabil* arrived in Byzantium before the sultan, as did the Basilikoi. If Basil Basilikos was the former sultan's constable and *beglerbek* while his brother the *amīr-maydān*, it explains why the two immigrants enjoyed such an outstanding reception in Constantinople and were so quickly and easily incorporated into the aristocratic elite of the empire. If so, the arrival of the Basilikoi to Byzantium took place soon after mid-August 1261.

One court functionary is mentioned by his official title only: an unnamed *amīr-majlis* whose duty was to organize receptions and audiences.¹⁷² Finally, in Constantinople the sultan was surrounded by his closest retainers (οἰκεῖοι)¹⁷³ and "menacing bodyguards" (φοβερούς σωματοφύλακας)¹⁷⁴ who came with him from the sultanate, although we have no indications of the numbers of these οἰκεῖοι or of the bodyguard detachment.

We know also about one individual of possibly lower social standing identified by the name of Sarı Saltıq (Şārū Şaltūq), a semi-legendary Sufi saint who in subsequent centuries became a famous figure in the Ottoman tradition, overshadowing sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus.¹⁷⁵ Sarı Saltıq was, possibly, associated with Turkic nomads rather than Anatolian townsfolk, bringing us to the Turkish nomadic groups who followed sultan 'Izz al-Dīn in his exile.

Kaykāwus' Nomadic Supporters. The narrations of Pachymeres, Ibn Bībī, and Yazıcızâde 'Alī suggest that the sultan was also followed by a significant number of Anatolian nomads who did not recognize the power of the

171 Pachymeres II.24 (1:181–83), VI.12 (2:575), VI.24 (2:615.12); Philes, Manuel. *Manuelis Philae carmina*, ed. Emmanuel Miller, 2 vols (Paris, 1855–57), 1:87–88; *PLP*, nos 2458, 2452.

172 Baybars al-Manşūrī, p. 93.

173 Pachymeres III.25 (1:303.18).

174 Pachymeres II.24 (1:185.8).

175 On Sarı Saltıq and relevant bibliography, see: Leiser, "Şarı Şaltūk Dede"; Ocak, Ahmet Y. *Sarı Saltıq. Popüler İslâm'ın Balkanlar'daki Destanı Öncüsü (XIII. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara, 2002). For additional information on the links between Sarı Saltıq and Crimea, see: DeWeese, Devin. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, PA, 1994), pp. 251–56.

Mongols in Anatolia and their protégé, the sultan Rukn al-Dīn. The testimonies of Pachymeres and Ibn Bibī are plausible but rather vague, while that of Yazıcızâde 'Alī is more explicit and detailed although somewhat tinted with epic overtones. One can deduce from Pachymeres' account that a considerable number of Anatolian nomadic Turks (σκηνίτας) moved to Byzantine territory and recognized the authority of the emperor. Relations between the nomadic newcomers and the local population were far from harmonious. Nomads plundered the locals and the latter paid them back in kind. Nonetheless, Michael Palaiologos "tried hard to win to his side border-dwelling Persians" hoping to use them as a barrier in case of Mongol attack.¹⁷⁶

The data provided by Oriental sources confirm this in many ways, and add further details. After the flight of 'Izz al-Dīn from the sultanate, a war of many months between the government forces and the nomadic Turks erupted in borderland regions (*uc*) throughout the country's western, northern, and southern frontiers.¹⁷⁷ In the 1230s–60s, many nomadic Turks came to Anatolia from Turkestan, Central Asia, and Iran as refugees from the Mongol conquests. They probably considered 'Izz al-Dīn a symbol of resistance against the hated Mongols and viewed the sultan's defeat as their own. During Turkmen revolts in the western borderland regions, the Byzantines were occasionally involved in the clashes. A certain Pisar-i Khurmā revolted in the Danishmandiya region in the southwest Pontos exciting disorder in the province of Kastamonu where "on his advice the Roman army launched an attack."¹⁷⁸ The Seljuk general 'Alī Bahādur together with *amūr-ākhur* Uğurlu tried to besiege Rukn al-Dīn in Konya but was routed at the caravanserai Altunba.¹⁷⁹ 'Alī Bahādur fled to the *uc* area and for some time fought in the regions of Çankırı (کنکری, Byz. Gangra) and Ankara, located not far from the northeastern Byzantine border,

176 Pachymeres II.24 (1187.6–7): "τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὰ ὀχυρώματα Πέρσας καὶ λίαν ὑπεποιεῖτο, ὡς θριγγοῖς ἐλπίζων χρᾶσθαι." My translation differs from that of Failler. See also commentaries on this passage: Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Histoire et légendes des premiers Ottomans," *Turcica* 26 (1995), p. 84.

177 Aqsarāyī, pp. 71–74. For the Turkish revolts in the upper Meander valley, see also: Baybars al-Manṣūrī, p. 76.14–22; Lippard, "The Mongols and Byzantium," pp. 24–25.

178 Aqsarāyī, p. 74: لشکر روم بتدیر او هجوم کردند

I have corrected Turan's reading, which is grammatically impossible and should be rechecked in the original manuscripts. This is unique evidence for the Byzantine involvement in the Seljuk internal strife in the region of Kastamonu at that time. The name of the Turkmen rebel Pisar-i Khurmā ("Son of Date-Plum") is very plausibly originally Central Asian.

179 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 637; Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, p. 342 n. 373.

where he was defeated again by government forces.¹⁸⁰ These events occurred between autumn 1261 and autumn 1262. Ibn Bībī continues ‘Alī Bahādur’s story, reporting that he “found refuge in *uc* but failed to gain a foothold there and, being all the time in fear of the rudeness of Turkic gangs there, went to Istanbul together with a group of his retainers to serve the sultan.”¹⁸¹

The most detailed account of the migration of nomadic Turks to Byzantium can be found in a few controversial passages from Yazıcızâde ‘Alī’s narration. Michael Palaiologos authorized a fairly large-scale emigration of nomadic Turks, partisans of ‘Izz al-Dīn, from Anatolia to the European part of the Byzantine empire. It is plausible that the main bulk of the Turkish nomads was settled by the Byzantine authorities in southern Dobrudja. According to Yazıcızâde ‘Alī, the spiritual leader of the Turks of Dobrudja was Sarı Saltıq. The warriors of these nomadic groups participated in some victorious wars on the side of the emperor, in particular during the reconquest of Dobrudja in the name of Michael VIII Palaiologos.¹⁸² The later Ottoman historian Lokmân adds that the nomadic resettlement in Dobrudja happened in 662 H. (4 November 1263–23 October 1264), a date that fits information available from other sources.¹⁸³ The relevant passages from Yazıcızâde ‘Alī and later Ottoman tradition have been comprehensively discussed by specialists in Oriental, Byzantine, Romanian, and Bulgarian studies. Despite energetic attempts to question the reliability of

180 Aqsarāyī, p. 74. For Turkic revolts in the beginning of the 1260s, see: Cahen, Claude. “Notes pour l’histoire des Turcomanes d’Asie Mineure au xiii^e siècle,” *Journal asiatique* 239 (1951), pp. 336–37; Idem. “Quelques textes négligés concernant les Turcomans de Roum au moment de l’invasion mongole,” *Byzantion* 14 (1939), p. 136; Lippard, “The Mongols and Byzantium,” pp. 24–25.

181 Ibn Bībī (AS), p. 638: *و در اوج پناه جست و آنجا مستقری نداشت و همه از جهالت طوایف و تراک خایف می بود با شرمه از حواشی خویش باستنبول روی بخدمت سلطان نهاد*. Cf.: Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, p. 284.

182 Yazıcızâde ‘Alī (Berlin), fol. 367b; Decei, “Le problème,” pp. 87–90; Yazıcızâde ‘Alī (Bakır), pp. 772–74; Wittek, “Yazijioghlu ‘Alī,” pp. 648–49. I follow mostly Bakır’s reading, which, however, is not unquestionable. Cf. with Duda’s less convincing reading and German translation: Duda, Herbert W. “Zeitgenössische islamische Quellen und das Oğuznâme des Jazyğyoğlu ‘Alī zur angeblichen türkischen Besiedlung der Dobrudscha im 13. Jhd. n. Chr.,” *Списание на Българската Академия на Науките и Изкуствата* 66 (1943): *Клонъ историко-филологиченъ* 32, pp. 143–44, and esp. p. 144 n. 1, with original Ottoman text transcribed.

183 Lokman b. Seyyid Huseyn. *Seid Locmani ex libro Turcico qui Oghuzname inscribitur excerpta*, ed. Wilhelm Lagus (Helsingfors, 1854), p. 3 (Latin translation, p. 2).

the Ottoman tradition, it is now considered to be generally trustworthy.¹⁸⁴ One further addition can be made: it is possible that the leading administrative role among the Dobrudjan Turks belonged to the sultan's maternal uncle Kyr Khāya and not to the mystic saint Sarı Saltıq.¹⁸⁵

Kaykāwus' Turks, being incorporated into the Byzantine army, took part in the wars of the empire. Ibn Bibī makes 'Ali Bahādur the hero of these wars. He asserts that every time an enemy appeared, the emperor asked 'Ali Bahādur for help because of the latter's courage. As 'Ali Bahādur fought with and defeated the emperor's adversaries his position in the Byzantine service grew in importance and honor.¹⁸⁶ The Greek references to Turkish detachments in the Byzantine army within a generation of the sultan's arrival (1262–80s) are very scant and never mention 'Ali Bahādur. For that time, Pachymeres refers to Kaykāwus' warriors in the Byzantine army solely as Πέρσαι and τὸ Περσικόν. He maintains that, τὸ Περσικόν detachment participated in the Byzantine campaign in Morea in 1263.¹⁸⁷ According to *The Chronicle of Morea*, those Turks were partly under the command of the aforementioned Malik and Sālik. *The Chronicle of Morea* indicates Dobrudja as the homeland of these Turks. Around 1265, Malik asked his lord Guillaume de Villehardouin to let him go to his "patrimonies" (εἰς τὰ ἰγονικά); receiving the prince's assent he went to "Vlachia" (ἐδιάβη τῆς Βλαχίας). Given the imprecise and polysemantic meaning of Βλαχία and Βλάχοι at the time, it could have been an indication of Dobrudja, or Βλαχία could have been any other location in the Balkans (such as Macedonia or Thrace) which had been granted to the Turks by the Byzantine authorities. In

184 See, for instance, the most significant studies with further bibliographical references: Balasceŭ, George. *Împăratul Mihail VIII Paleologul și statul oguzilor pe țărmul Mării Negre*, ed. George Brătianu (Jassy, 1940), who introduced the idea of the resettlement of Kaykāwus' nomads in Dobrudja; Mutaŭčiev, "Die angebliche Einwanderung" (excellent survey of Byzantine and Bulgarian material and helpful critical discussion of previous studies); Wittek, "Yazijioghlu 'Ali'" (brilliant defense of Yazıcızāde 'Ali's reliability); Decei, "Le problème" (comprehensive discussion of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman tradition); Idem, "Dobruca," in *Islām Ansiklopedisi. Islām Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biografya Lugati*, 13 vols (Ankara, 1978–88), 3:632; Inalcik, Halil, "Dobrudja," in *EI*², 2:610; Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies," pp. 131, 134; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 77–79.

185 Shukurov, "The Oriental Margins," pp. 188–89.

186 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 638. Cf.: Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, p. 284.

187 Pachymeres III.16 (1:273.3).

any case, Malik's ἰγονικά was located in Europe, but not in Anatolia, which confirms that his soldiers came from Kaykāwus' Turks.¹⁸⁸

In 1271, Πέρσαι took part in the siege of Neai Patrai in Thessaly under the command of Ῥιμψᾶς.¹⁸⁹ Rhimpsas was a baptized Turk who had been in Byzantine service since the late 1250s. It was common Byzantine practice to place non-Greeks under the command of officials of the same origin.

In the fourteenth century, the descendants of Kaykāwus' Turks were normally known as Τουρκόπουλοι and the denomination τὸ Περσικόν was becoming less common. This is clear from Pachymeres' account of the battle of Apros in July 1305. He refers to them as a detachment that "[had been labeled] formerly τὸ Περσικόν and was also called Τουρκόπουλοι."¹⁹⁰ Consequently, initially the detachments of Kaykāwus' Turks were technically called Πέρσαι and τὸ Περσικόν; it was their descendants who acquired the synonymic denomination of Τουρκόπουλοι.

188 *The Chronicle of Morea*, 5729–32. In the Greek version of the Chronicle, the description of the origin of Byzantine Turkish troops is rather confusing. On the first reference they are described as: "Ἐνταῦτα ἦλθεν στήν Τουρκίαν κ' ἐρρόγεψε τοὺς Τούρκους. || χιλίους ἐρρόγεψε ἐλεχτοὺς κι ἄλλους πεντεκοσίους, || καὶ ἦλθαν <κι ἀνατολικοὶ καὶ ἄλλες δύο χιλιάδες>. Translation: "Thereupon, he [that is, Michael VIII Palaiologos] went to Τουρκία and hired the Turks; he hired 1,000 select troops and 500 others, and around another 2,000 Anatolians went with them" (*The Chronicle of Morea*, 4553–55). First, the problem is that Τουρκία at that time terminologically might well have meant the Golden Horde; however, sometimes Τουρκία in a nonterminological usage could also have signified Anatolia (see online *TLG*). It is unclear whether a Mongol or Cuman detachment is implied here or just two different groups of Anatolian Turks. I suggest that it is more likely that Tourkia denotes here Anatolia. Second, if Tourkia is identical to Anatolia, probably the Chronicle intends to draw up a distinction between the 1,500 mercenaries hired in Anatolia/Tourkia, and the 2,000 Anatolian Turks living in the Balkans, that is, Kaykāwus' Turks. Obviously, Malik belonged to the latter group of the Balkan Turks since he regarded as his home some location in the Balkans.

It is likely that the numbers given by the Aragonese version of the Chronicle are more reliable: 3,000 for the total number of the Turks and 1,500 for those defected with Malik (*Libro de los fechos*, pp. 75 §335, 80 §360).

189 Pachymeres IV.31 (2:425.18).

190 Pachymeres XII.23 (4:573.6): "τὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Περσικόν, οὗς καὶ Τουρκοπούλους ὠνόμαζον." Cf. with Failler's French translation of the passage, which seems less precise. For the same events Gregoras speaks of thousands of Tourkopouloi "who followed the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn when he defected to the Romans": Gregoras VII.4 (1:29.11–12). However, it is evident that it could have been only the next generation after the initial Turkish immigrants, and that Gregoras again inaccurately reproduced Pachymeres' statement. Gregoras uses the same anachronism when he calls the "Persian" detachments Τουρκόπουλοι in his account of the Thessalonian war in 1271: Gregoras IV.9 (1:111).

There is no solid evidence about the total number of Turks who moved from Anatolia to the Balkans. The only reference to the size of a Turkish detachment is found in *The Chronicle of Morea*. In 1263, 3,000–3,500 Turks took part in the Byzantine campaign against Morea, while the aforementioned Malik and Sâlik were in charge of 1,500 Turks.¹⁹¹ The men of Malik and Sâlik seem to have come to Morea without their families, since later the Achaean prince "gave them wives and they begot children."¹⁹² Only Yazıcızâde 'Alî gives estimates of the total numbers: "in the land of Dobrudja, there were two or three Muslim cities and thirty to forty camps [bölük] of nomadic Turkic families."¹⁹³ In another passage he implies that, in Byzantium, the sultan could count on "ten or twelve thousand" of his supporters, probably soldiers among the sultan's attendants and compatriots in Byzantium.¹⁹⁴ If, in reality, 10,000–12,000 of Kaykâwus' Turks were able to bear arms it might imply a minimum total of 35,000–42,000 immigrant Turks, including men, women, and children (with a minimal ratio of 1 adult man $\times$ 3.5 people).¹⁹⁵ The other numerical indication of Yazıcızâde 'Alî mentioning about 30 or 40 "camps of Turkish families" seems to match these figures, given that every "camp" consisted of about 100 families.¹⁹⁶ If so, the 1,500 Turks who defected to William de Villehardouin

191 *Libro de los fechos*, p. 80 §360; In the Greek version, the references to the strength of the Turkish troops are as follows: *The Chronicle of Morea*, 4553–54 (1,500 or 2,000 men), 5095 (1,000 men).

192 *The Chronicle of Morea*, 5737.

193 Yazıcızâde 'Alî (Berlin), fol. 367b lines 8–9: *اوچ پاره مسلمان شهری اوتوز و قرق بولوك اوبالری ترك واردی*. See also: Decei, "Le problème," p. 88; Yazıcızâde 'Alî (Bakır), p. 772; Wittek, "Yazijioghlu 'Alî," p. 648.

194 Yazıcızâde 'Alî (Berlin), fol. 367b line 13: *اون اون ايكي بيك ار واروز*. See also: Yazıcızâde 'Alî (Bakır), p. 772–73; Decei has omitted this passage.

195 For calculation patterns for the evaluation of medieval populations, see: Ponomarev, Andrei L. "Территория и население генуэзской Кафы по данным бухгалтерской книги – массарии казначейства за 1381–1382 гг.," in *Причерноморье в средние века*, ed. Sergej Karpov, 4 (St. Petersburg, 2000), pp. 386–95. For a similar ratio ($\times 3.5$ and $\times 4$) for eighteenth-century nomadic and semi-nomadic societies, see in: Di Cosmo, Nicola. "Ancient City-States of the Tarim Basin," in *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures: an Investigation*, ed. M.H. Hansen (Copenhagen, 2000), p. 397–98.

196 However, it is hardly possible to define the numerical value of "bölük" as it was used by Yazıcızâde 'Alî. "Bülük/bulük/bölük" could have been, in particular, a unit consisting of an indefinite group of families who made the seasonal migrations together and jointly used particular grazing grounds (see: Towfiq, F. "Ašāyer," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online version: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/asayer-tribes>). See also the entry *بلوك* as an administrative district in late medieval Iran in: Dehkhodâ, s.v.

were a relatively large force constituting at least 15 percent of the total number of Turkish immigrant soldiers.

The Testimony of Byzantine Prosopography. Byzantine prosopography is another instrument that may help identify 'Izz al-Dīn's Turks in Byzantine service. In Greek sources, apart from the members of the sultan's family, the metropolitan Makarios, and general references to retainers and bodyguards, no other individual is referred to as coming to Byzantium with 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus. There were a number of individuals of Oriental descent who came with him or followed soon afterwards with 'Alī Bahādur and the groups of nomadic settlers. To identify possible candidates one has to bear in mind, however, that the influx of Anatolian Turks in Byzantium as mercenaries and slaves did not cease in the course of the second half of the thirteenth century. Having no direct indications in the sources puts certain limitations. We can only speculate about any given individual belonging to Kaykāwus' Turks. The two major criteria for selection are chronological (1260s to the late 1280s, the generation of initial Anatolian settlers) and linguistic (the origin of a name in the Turkish Anatolian milieu). For the period under discussion one may refer to the following persons and families presumably bearing Anatolian Turkish names:

1. A certain soldier Γαζής, who died before September 1286 and was a former owner of lands in Lozikion (Macedonia, south of Lake Bolbe), might well have been one of Kaykāwus' warriors.¹⁹⁷ This Thessalonian soldier is referred to as belonging to the thematic cavalry troop of Thessalonike (ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Θησσαλονικαίου ἀλλαγίου).¹⁹⁸ For more information about him and his possible descendants, see Chapter 5.2.
2. A certain Φαρχατίνης, probably an officer in the "Persian detachments" who died before 1283–89, could also have belonged to Kaykāwus' people. For details about him and his two sons, see Chapter 6.5.
3. The unknown father of Βασίλειος Γιαγούπης, who was referred to in the famous inscription in the Church of St. George of Belisırma between 1282 and 1304, may well have been one of Kaykāwus' Turks. I have discussed in greater details the inscription and its historical context elsewhere.¹⁹⁹

197 *Actes de Zographou*, ed. Wassilij Regel, Eduard Kurtz, and Boris Korablev, in *Византийский временник, Приложение к 13 тому* (St. Petersburg, 1907), no. X.15–19, 27 (pp. 27–28); *PLP*, no. 3444.

198 On *megala allagia*, see: Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 192–96.

199 Shukurov, Rustam. "Иагупы: тюркская фамилия на византийской службе," in *Византийские очерки* (St. Petersburg, 2006), pp. 210–17, with further bibliographical references. See also Chapter 5.8.

Βασίλειος Γιαγούπης most likely was a second-generation Turk fully assimilated with the Byzantines. His name was shaped according to the standard Byzantine paradigm.

4. The *protohierakarios* Ἀβράμπαξ (Ibrāhīm-bek or Ibrāhīm-pāshā), judging by the barely Hellenized appearance of his name, might well have belonged to the first generation of Kaykāwus' Turks. Some time in the 1280s or 1290s, the *protohierakarios* Ἀβράμπαξ was a guide and simultaneously a watchman escorting the Seljuk sultan Mas'ūd II (Μελήκ of Pachymeres) from Constantinople to Adramyttion to meet Andronikos II. This is the only reference to Ἀβράμπαξ in the sources.²⁰⁰
5. A certain Ἀραβαντηνός Μασγιδᾶς was a landholder in Kotzakion, Strymon, in 1273, and, possibly, an ancestor of the aristocratic family of Masgidades which flourished in the fourteenth and probably the first half of the fifteenth century.²⁰¹ Judging by the date, he might have been one of Kaykāwus' men.
6. One may also suggest that the groups of the Vardariotai Turks, who presumably lived in northwestern Macedonia and served as palace guards at the Byzantine court, were reinforced by Kaykāwus' Turks in the 1260s. As Pseudo-Kodinos maintains, they were "Persians" and their acclamations were pronounced in "Persian" during Christmas celebrations at the Byzantine court.²⁰²
7. Finally, numerous Byzantine aristocrats in the late thirteenth-fifteenth centuries who bore the patronymic Σουλτάνος were likely descendants of one of the relatives of Kaykāwus accompanying him in his exile. Although the genealogy of the Σουλτάνοι has been discussed more than once it still deserves further study.²⁰³ In more details, the genealogy of the Soultanoi will be discussed in Chapter 5.4–5.

We have no direct indications in the sources for these candidates, and the influx of Turks into Byzantine society in the thirteenth century was enormous, so without unambiguous evidence one cannot be sure about the background of Anatolian Turkish newcomers.

200 Pachymeres X.25 (4:361.10–11); *PLP*, no. 61; Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Observations on Some Turcica of Pachymeres," *Revue des études byzantines* 36 (1978), p. 267.

201 On the family of the Masgidades, see Chapter 5, Section 7.

202 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Jean Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), p. 210.7–8. For the "Persian" identity of the Vardariotai, see below Chapter 4, Section 6.

203 Zachariadou, "Οι χριστιανοί απόγονοι," pp. 62–74; Zhavoronkov, "Тюрки в Византии," pp. 171–74; Shukurov, "Семейство," pp. 113–16.

Zhavoronkov described a few more persons who arrived in Byzantium with 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus.²⁰⁴ However, not all of his attributions are convincing. First, I exclude all the persons from Zhavoronkov's list who do not meet the chronological limits of the first generation (1260s-80s). Second, the *sebastos* Μιχαήλ Ἀπελμενέ (1268) could hardly be included in Kaykāwus' list,²⁰⁵ as Μιχαήλ Ἀπελμενέ was likely a relative (descendant?) of Πόθος Ἀπελμενέ, who after 1235 was a landlord in Mantaia near Smyrna and the founder of a noble family.²⁰⁶ There are also linguistic reasons for doubt. Ἀπελμενέ most probably derived from the Arabic Abū al-Ma'ānī or from the less probable Arabic Abū al-Ma'ālī. Both options sound stylistically too Arabic to be the name of an Anatolian Turk. Such names were not in use in Seljuk Anatolia, but prevailed in Egypt, the Maghreb, and Syria.²⁰⁷ Probably, Ἀπελμενέ should be grouped with Βερβέρης, Βαρβαρηνός, and Βαρβαρηνοί who seem to have belonged to immigrants from North Africa. Third, there are insufficient grounds to associate the residents of western Anatolia bearing Oriental names with Kaykāwus' men. These are Ἰωάννης Προυσούχ (Smyrna, 1272–83), Γεώργιος Χαλούφης (Ephesus, 1273), Κουτλάς (Smyrna, 1280), Μανουήλ Σαρακηνός (Smyrna, 1280), and Ξένος Σακκᾶς (Smyrna, 1272).²⁰⁸ One cannot completely exclude a connection of these individuals, or at least some of them, with Kaykāwus, taking into account Pachymeres' statement that Michael Palaiologos settled some Turkish nomads in the borderline areas. It seems more likely that they were initially defectors, prisoners of war, or slaves who came to the Byzantine Anatolian provinces for different reasons and from different directions.

The emergence in the second half of the thirteenth century, or a little later, of new Macedonian place-names could have been in association with Kaykāwus' Turks. These are Γαζής (near Rousaiou in Kalamaria), Μελίκι (east of Berroia), Τουρκοχώριον (5 km north-northwest of Berroia), and another Τουρκοχώριον (near Gabriane in Kalamaria).²⁰⁹ It was normal practice to grant Turkish newcomers *pronoia* and arable land. Probably, these place-names

204 Zhavoronkov, "Тюрки в Византии," pp. 173–76.

205 *PLP*, no. 1158, and his possible descendants: *PLP*, nos 1151–57, 91262.

206 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:210 (no. CXXIII); Dölger, Franz. "Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 27 (1927), p. 307.

207 See, for instance: Maqrīzī, 8: Indexes.

208 *PLP*, nos 23844, 30532, 13643, 24866, 24717.

209 See below Chapter 4, Section 1.

indicate the localities of a concentration of Turkish military *pronoïars* and farmers that lasted for decades.²¹⁰

I estimate the number of Turkic immigrants of 1262–63, approximately, to be at least about 40,000, the majority of whom settled in Dobrudja, although at that period there were many also in Macedonia.

8 "Persian" Immigrations until the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century

The further settling of the Anatolian Turks in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, especially during the civil war in the first half of the fourteenth century, is poorly documented. In contrast to a detailed and vivid picture of the Turkic resettlement in Byzantium in the 1260s, for the subsequent decades we have only bits of information. At that period, as in the 1260s, the main source of the Turkic influx remained mercenary troops, who were sometimes supplemented by the arrival en masse of Turkic slaves.

The only well-documented episode concerns the events of the 1290s and the activity of the famous military commander Alexios Philanthropenos. In 1293, the Turks broke through the Byzantine defense and advanced to the upper Caicus (Bakırçay) and the region of Achyraous. In 1293–95, the *pinkernes* Alexios Philanthropenos won a series of brilliant victories and not only returned Achyraous but also cleared the strategic region of the middle reaches of the Meander.²¹¹ During the victorious wars of Alexios Philanthropenos, many Turks joined the Byzantines as slaves, defectors, and mercenaries. In the letters of Maximos Planoudes he describes with excitement the results of Philanthropenos' victories, giving an impression of how these triumphs were seen in Constantinople.²¹² Planoudes portrays uncountable numbers of

210 See also: Zachariadou, "Οι χριστιανοί απόγονοι," pp. 73–74.

211 Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 79–84; Schreiner, Peter. "Zur Geschichte Philadelphieas im 14. Jahrhundert (1293–1390)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 34 (1968), pp. 377–88 (a somewhat outdated work); Schreiner, Peter. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols (Vienna, 1975–79), 1:194, 2:214–15 (blinding of Philanthropenos ca. 25 December 1295). For the dating and sequence of events, see: Failler, "Chronologie et composition III," pp. 28–37; Ragia, Ephe. "Η αναδιοργάνωση των θεμάτων στη Μικρά Ασία τον δωδέκατο αιώνα και το θέμα Μυλάσσης και Μελανουδίου," *Σύμμεικτα* 17 (2005), pp. 223–38.

212 Planoudes, Maximos. *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae*, ed. Petrus Aloisius M. Leone (Amsterdam, 1991), Epist. nos 60, 71, 77, 81, 86, 91, 96, 105–07, 117, 119, 120. Planoudes' letters have been analyzed in: Beyer, Hans-Veit. "Die Chronologie der Briefe des Maximos Planudes an Alexios Dukas Philanthropenos und dessen Umgebung," *Revue des études*

Turkish prisoners captured and sent to the metropolis by Philanthropenos.²¹³ Moreover, he relates an unprecedented affluence of barbarian slaves in the Constantinopolitan market, while in the Asian provinces of the empire “Persian” slaves were so numerous that their price had fallen below the cost of sheep,²¹⁴ which cost in Constantinople, in the 1270s–90s, approximately $\frac{2}{5}$ – $\frac{7}{8}$ *hyperpyron*. This was an unprecedentedly low price for a slave, because, for instance, in 1281 the prices of slaves in Pera fluctuated between 7 to 31 *hyperpyra*.²¹⁵ The slaves captured by Philanthropenos were also exported from the empire (in particular, to Cyprus)²¹⁶ or exchanged for Byzantine captives;²¹⁷ however, most were settled in Byzantine lands.

Philanthropenos’ exceptional military talent and luck, as well as the great wealth he captured during the war, attracted many Anatolian Turks to his side, with entire clans defecting. Gregoras adds that the Turks were under severe Mongol pressure from the east at that time, thus confirming concurrent information from Oriental sources about the punitive operations of the Ilkhāns against the nomads in western Anatolia. As a result, Philanthropenos established a large Turkic detachment in his army.²¹⁸ During the short period of

byzantines 51 (1993), pp. 111–37. Earlier attempts to study the historical background of Planoudes’ testimonies: Schreiner, “Zur Geschichte Philadelphieas,” pp. 377–83; Laiou, Angeliki E. “Some Observations on Alexios Philanthropenos and Maximos Planudes,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978), pp. 89–99.

213 Planoudes, Epist. no. 77.78 (πλὴν τῶν ζωγρεῖα ληφθέντων); no. 107.10–11 ([σὺ] καταδούλου et sq.); no. 112.8–9 (ὕπηχόους Ῥωμαίους); no. 117.34 (πεντάκις ἑκατὸν βαρβαρικὰς οἰκίας συμπατουμένας καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύταις ἀνδραποδιζομένους).

214 Planoudes, Epist. no. 107.11–12 (τὴν βασιλίδα ταύτην ἐμπίπλα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων); no. 120.181–183 (καὶ νῦν οὕτως ἐστὶν εὖωνον Περσικὸν ἀνδράποδον ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν ὁποίων ἂν εἴποι τις προβάτων).

215 *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, 3 vols (Washington, DC, 2002), 2:840, 848.

216 Planoudes, Epist. no. 120.179–80: “ὥς ἤδη τὴν μεγίστην Κύπρον πάσαν αὐτῶν πλησθῆναι καὶ μηκέτι θέλειν ὠνεῖσθαι . . .” Later, in the 1330–40s, Gregoras noted the influx of the Turkic prisoners of war into Cyprus: Guiland, Rodolphe. *Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris, 1927), p. 124 (no. 122). Cyprus may have been at that time a usual place of selling slaves captured from Anatolia and the Balkans.

217 Köpstein, Helga. *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz. Philologisch-historische Untersuchung* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 65–66; Verlinden, Charles. *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale, 2: Italie, Colonies italiennes du Levant, Levant latin, Empire byzantin* (Ghent, 1977), p. 991.

218 Pachymeres IX.9 (3:239.8–26): “κατ’ ἀγάπην ἅμα γυναιξὶ μετῴκημένοι καὶ τέκνοις”; Gregoras, 1:196.8–14. On punitive operations of the Mongols against nomads in western Anatolia,

Philanthropenos' victorious campaigns, large numbers of Turks were absorbed by Byzantine society. After the suppression of Philanthropenos' rebellion at the end of 1295 imperial forces executed Turks loyal to him in flocks, but Turkic defectors and mercenaries continued to serve in the Byzantine army and to live in imperial lands.

Turkic slaves and mercenaries also joined Byzantine society during the Catalan campaign in Anatolia in 1303–05. At the beginning of the campaign Ramon Muntaner reported capturing slaves, both men and women, and sending them as gifts to Andronikos II, the empress, Michael IX, and Roger de Flor's wife Maria.²¹⁹ The seizure of slaves continued during the course of the campaign, although sources do not mention them being sent to Byzantium.

The noble Anatolian Turk Μαχράμης (Bahrām), resident of Skamandros, belonged to the generation of the 1290s and 1300s. He was a high-ranking servant and οἰκείος of the emperor Andronikos II. In 1304, when the Turks occupied almost entirely Byzantine Anatolia, Μαχράμης/Bahrām took over the defense of Assos, a city on the bay of Adramyttion. Assos, however, was later abandoned and Μαχράμης fled to Mytilene in Lesbos. There he was accused of desertion by Roger de Flor and decapitated.²²⁰ Chronologically, Μαχράμης could have belonged to Philanthropenos' Turks, he had made his military career in the Byzantine army and the imperial court before 1304.

It is possible that, at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a certain noble Anatolian Turk 'Ayn al-Dawla entered the Byzantine service. 'Ayn al-Dawla became the progenitor of the noble Byzantine family that persisted until the 1380s. The members of this noble family will be discussed in Chapter 5.

It is probable that Γεώργιος Παχάτορ (Bahādur), who was referred to by Manuel Philes, was one of the slaves taken between the 1290s and 1305 or later. From Philes' epitaph we know that he was "Persian" and in youth was seized by the Byzantines and grew up in the aristocratic family of the prominent *protobestiarios protosebastos* Andronikos Angelos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos (d. 1328).²²¹ He fell in battle before 1328 while still a young man.

see: Cahen, *La Turquie*, pp. 287–88; Lippard, "The Mongols and Byzantium," pp. 30–31; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 262–64.

219 Muntaner, Ramon. *Cronica Catalana* CCIII, ed. Antoni de Bofarull (Barcelona, 1860), pp. 386–87; Muntaner, Ramon. *Les Almogavres. L'expédition des Catalans en Orient*, ed. Jean-Marie Barberà (Toulouse, 2002), p. 47.

220 Pachymeres XI.26 (4:481–82); Wittek, Paul. *Das Fürstentum Mentesche. Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13–15. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul, 1934), p. 21; *PLP*, no. 17544.

221 Philes, ed. Miller, 2:19.43–46:

Παίδευμα γάρ ἦν ἐκ τριχὸς πρώτης, ξένης,
Ληφθεὶς ἀπ' αὐτῆς εὐτυχῶς τῆς Περσίδος

The campaigns of Philanthropenos and Roger de Flor marked the last instances of a massive influx of cheap slaves from Anatolia into the Byzantine market. The inflow of Anatolian Turks into the Balkans did not cease, however, the predominant type was not slaves but rather mercenaries and free immigrants.

9 The Turkic Immigrants in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century

Turkic allies and mercenaries from Anatolia were employed in the 1320s–40s by the Byzantines mostly in internecine clashes and only episodically to repel external threats posed by the Bulgarians, the Serbs, and such. The first instance found in the sources of the employment of Anatolian Turks in internal strife goes back to 1322 when Andronikos II sent Turkic troops along with the Byzantine army against his grandson Andronikos III.²²² It is unknown who these Turks were, whether they were from the Karasi emirate, from Saruhan, from the Ottoman emirate, or just an independent mercenary company. From this time, Turkic troops constantly participated in the Byzantine civil war, in the clashes between Andronikos II and Andronikos III in 1321–28, in the war between John VI Kantakouzenos and Anna of Savoy's Constantinopolitan party in 1341–47, as well as in the strife between Kantakouzenos and John V Palaiologos in 1352–54. Northwestern Anatolia was considered by the Byzantine contesting parties to be a reservoir of cheap military force. Often the sources qualified them simply as “Persians” without any detail of their origin.

The relationship between John Kantakouzenos and the Aydın emir Umurbek (1334–48) was one of intimate friends. In 1336, in Albania, Aydın allies participated in Byzantine military campaigns for the first time. Andronikos III's campaign against the rebellious Albanians was successful and the winners took possession of rich booty. According to Kantakouzenos, the Greeks did not enslave the Albanians because they were Christians; they were unable, however, to prevent the allied Turks from seizing the Albanians as slaves.

Ὁ βάρβαρος παῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων γένους

Ἡρως ἀνδρὸς εὐκλεοῦς ἀριστέως.

222 Kantakouzenos, 1:151–52. John Kantakouzenos emphasized the negative attitude of Andronikos III (as well as his own) to the very fact of employing Turkic troops against his compatriots (τὴν μὲν κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων τῶν Περσῶν ἐπαγωγὴν ἐθαύμασε τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων). Kantakouzenos' condemnation of Andronikos II, probably, was aimed at acquitting his own political practice: he himself later won the civil war due only to his Turkic allies.

Andronikos III bought some Albanian slaves from the Turks as a humane gesture.²²³ In 1337 or 1338, Umur-bek's fleet possibly passed through the Straits to the Black Sea and, at the request of the Byzantines, attacked the Golden Horde's territory.²²⁴ In winter 1342/43, Umur-bek responded to Kantakouzenos' call for help and, going up the River Maritsa in ships, lifted the Bulgarian siege of Didymoteichon, where Kantakouzenos' wife was. The Turks, however, returned to Smyrna because of the severe cold.²²⁵ A few weeks later, in spring 1343, the Aydın fleet appeared by Thessalonike and the Turks participated in Kantakouzenos' campaign in Thrace, remaining at Kantakouzenos' service until the late spring of 1344.²²⁶ From the spring to summer of 1345 Umur-bek took part in Kantakouzenos' operations against Bulgaria, which ended on 7 July 1345 with the crushing victory of the allies over Momchil by Peritheorion.²²⁷ Later Umur-bek, being engaged in the struggle against Smyrniote crusaders, was unable to participate in the wars of Kantakouzenos but continued to send troops.²²⁸ It was the help of Umur-bek that allowed Kantakouzenos to avoid a crushing defeat in 1341–43. The key role of Umur-bek's troops in the Byzantine civil war was clearly noted by contemporaries, and Kantakouzenos' enemies unsuccessfully tried to bribe Umur-bek to their side.²²⁹

Umur-bek was far from being the only Turkic ally in the civil war. In 1341, Kantakouzenos made an alliance with the emir of Germiyan, aimed against either the emirate of Saruhan or Karasi.²³⁰ Later he used the services of Sulaymān of the Karasi emirate, whom Kantakouzenos' enemies

223 Kantakouzenos, 1:496–97; Kantakouzenos, John. *Geschichte*, ed. Georgios Fatouros and Tilman Krischer, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1982–2011), 2:232 n. 272. Basing upon Gregoras' narrative, one may conclude that the Albanian campaign occurred in 1337 or 1338: Gregoras, 1:544–45.

224 Mélikoff, Irène. *La Geste d'Umur Pacha (Düsturname-i Enveri)* (Paris, 1954), lines 1209–1306. The date and objectives of the campaign have been discussed in: Alexandrescu-Dersca, Marie Mathilde. "L'expédition d'Umur beg d'Aydin aux bouches du Danube (1337 ou 1338)," *Studia et Acta Orientalia* 2 (1959), pp. 3–23. Cf.: Lemerle, Paul. *L'emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur "La geste d'Umur Pacha"* (Paris, 1957), pp. 129–43.

225 Kantakouzenos, 2:344–48; Gregoras, 2:648–52.

226 Kantakouzenos, 2:383–405; Gregoras, 2:671–76, 692–93; Lemerle, *L'emirat d'Aydin*, pp. 144–79.

227 Kantakouzenos, 2:529–34, 550–51; Gregoras, 2:726–29.

228 Kantakouzenos, 2:591–92.

229 Kantakouzenos, 2:384.11–20.

230 Kantakouzenos, 2:82.10–14: "ὁδοῦ δὲ πάρεργον καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰωνίας διερευνησάμενοι ναυστάθμους καὶ ποταμούς, ἐν οἷς οἱ Πέρσαι τὰς σφετέρους αὐτῶν προσορμίζουσι ναῦς, καὶ καταφλέξαντες πυρὶ, (οὕτω γὰρ Ἀλησέρη τῷ Κοτυαεῖου σατράπῃ καὶ ἐμοὶ συντέθεται, ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου παραβηθούντι ἅμα στρατιᾷ πεζῇ τε καὶ ἵππικῇ) ..." Cf.: Zachariadou, Elizabeth.

also tried unsuccessfully to bribe.²³¹ The Saruhan Turks also became allies of Kantakouzenos during Umur-bek's last campaign in Thrace. The most effective supporters of Kantakouzenos, however, were the Turks of the Ottoman emirate who secured him the victory in the last stage of the civil war in 1346–47.

These Turkic allies were widely used by Kantakouzenos' adversaries. In spring 1343, at Apokaukos' disposal were twenty-two Turkish ships under the command of Ἀρμόπακις/Khurmā-bek, which helped him gain a foothold in Zealot Thessalonike.²³² Also in 1343, Turkic troops hired by Constantinople operated against Kantakouzenos in Berroia; however, informed of the approaching Turks of Umur-bek, they retreated.²³³ In 1347, the empress Anna of Savoy hired Saruhan Turks, who devastated the Bulgarian and Byzantine territories, taking booty, and then advanced on Constantinople demanding payment from the empress for their services. Failing to obtain their payment, they ravaged the lands up to Selymbria. Kantakouzenos finally attracted them to his side with the help of the Aydın Turks and sent them back home.²³⁴ The Constantinopolitan party tried to make alliance with the Ottoman emir Orhan, but Kantakouzenos had established friendly relations with the emir; the Turks, apparently, had greater confidence in Kantakouzenos. The period of the civil wars was a disaster considering that both contesting parties irresponsibly brought Turks into the peninsula en masse.

It was not just the Turkic allies of the Greeks who stayed and waged war in Thrace and Macedonia. Beginning in the 1320s, Thrace became the object of predatory campaigns by Turkic groups from Anatolia, which were equally hostile to all contesting parties of the Byzantines. According to Gregoras, since as early as 1321 Macedonia and Thrace were periodically looted by Anatolian Turkic pirates, which prompted Andronikos II to consider raising taxes for the building of a naval fleet, increasing troops in Europe and Bithynia, as well as paying tribute to the Turks.²³⁵ In November 1326, Andronikos III and John Kantakouzenos repelled a Turkic raid on Thrace, about which survives

Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1300–1415) (Venice, 1983), p. 29.

231 Kantakouzenos, 2:476.12–18, 507.15–20.

232 Kantakouzenos, 2:349–83; Gregoras, 2:659; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, 1:351 (no. 49).

233 Kantakouzenos, 2:368–84.

234 Kantakouzenos, 2:591–96; Gregoras, 2:763–64. One mediator between Anna of Savoy and the emir of Saruhan was George Tagaris, who had known the emir after spending a long time in Philadelphia with his father Manuel Tagaris, the ruler of the city (Kantakouzenos, 2:591.9–12; Schreiner, “Zur Geschichte Philadelphias,” p. 395).

235 Gregoras, 1:302, 317, 351.

an obscure report by Kantakouzenos himself.²³⁶ The presence of Anatolian pirates in the Hellespont is attested in 1328.²³⁷ It is difficult to understand which Turks were attacking Thrace at that time. The most likely possibility is the Turks of Karasi; however, it cannot be excluded that they were Saruhan or even Aydın. The last Byzantine footholds in inland Anatolia were also under threat: the Germiyan emir Ya'qūb-bek and the Aydın emir Muḥammad besieged Philadelphia in 1322. The siege continued for a year and seven months, until Alexios Philanthropenos arrived in the city. His prestige among the Turks as an invincible enemy and a generous ally soon concluded a peace treaty, according to which Philadelphia remained in Byzantine hands in exchange for tribute to the Germiyan emir.²³⁸

The Karasi Turks were the most active in the raids on Thrace. In 1335 or 1336, Gregoras laments the poverty of Thrace and Macedonia because of the frequent incursions of the Turks and Bulgarians. In 1337, he refers twice to the raids of the Karasi Turks (οἱ δὲ τὰ περὶ Τροίαν) as constant and in 1339 he describes Turkic incursions on Thrace as a usual event, of which he "does not want to repeat all the time."²³⁹ Talking about the pirate raid of 1340, Gregoras notes that the whole of Thrace up to the Bulgarian border for the Romans turned into "deserted and impassable [land]" (ἐρημὸν τε καὶ ἀτριβῆ), while the Turks day and night were taking the loot to Asia.²⁴⁰ For the beginning of 1341, both Gregoras and Kantakouzenos mention another naval incursion on Thrace, again describing these raids as normal. Kantakouzenos calls plundered Thrace σκυθικὴ ἐρημία, "a Scythian wilderness."²⁴¹ In the Byzantine sources of the time ἐρημία (and Gregoras' adjective ἔρημος) was the equivalent of the Turkic

236 Kantakouzenos, 1:206–07; Kantakouzenos, ed. Fatouros and Krischer, 1:277 n. 288.

237 Gregoras, 1:384.

238 Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelphieas," pp. 389–401. On Byzantine Philadelphia, see also: Ahrweiler, Hélène. "La région de Philadelphie, au xiv^e siècle (1290–1390), dernier bastion de l'hellénisme en Asie Mineure," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 127/1 (1983), pp. 175–97; *Philadelphie et autres études*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler (Paris, 1984), pt. 1 (pp. 9–125).

239 Gregoras, 1:524, 535 (κατὰ τὸ συνεχές), 538 (πάλιν ὁμοίως), 545 (ὁκνῶ διηγεκῶς διηγείσθαι).

240 Gregoras, 1:548.

241 Gregoras, 1:683; Kantakouzenos, 2:181, 186.8. "Σκυθικὴν ἐρημίαν" was a common topos, often used by Byzantine authors of the twelfth–fourteenth centuries in regard to Anatolia and later Thrace, during the disintegration of the Byzantine border as a result of the Turkish invasion; see for some examples: Manasses, Constantine. *Constantini Manassis Breviarium Chronicum*, ed. Odysseus Lampsides (Athens, 1996), pp. 110.2058, 215.3955; Choniates, Michael. *Μικαὴλ Ἀχομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου: Τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. Spyridon Lampros, 2 vols (Athens, 1879–80), 2:216.28, 307.6, 321.18.

uc/اوچ “borderland,” where Akritic models of behavior were operative.²⁴² Thus the central and most populated provinces of the empire in the Balkans turned into a sort of no-man’s land. In the first half of August 1341, Chersonesos Thracica underwent a double attack from Karasi Turks, who were first defeated by Kantakouzenos but returned with reinforcements. When this second army was defeated, the emir of Karasi made peace with Kantakouzenos and retreated.²⁴³ At the end of 1341, another incursion into Thrace by the Turks occurred, who in addition to the usual looting exterminated the remnants of Bulgarian troops retreating from Adrianople.²⁴⁴ In all probability, some of the raids, which are not directly identified by the sources as those of the Karasi Turks, can be attributed to the Saruhan Turks. Kantakouzenos mentions that in 1341 he managed to stop a Saruhan raid after Apokaukos’ fleet unsuccessfully attempted to repel it.²⁴⁵ Incursions by the Turks of Karasi and Saruhan continued. Gregoras and Kantakouzenos, not intending to record all similar attacks systematically, still managed to report on Turkic raids in 1345²⁴⁶ and June–July 1348,²⁴⁷ while in January 1351 Kantakouzenos again characterized Turkic intrusions into Thrace up to the Bulgarian border as regular.²⁴⁸

Another peculiarity of the intricate situation that had developed in the Thracian no-man’s land was that the Turkic pirate companies plundering Byzantine lands could have been former and future allies of Greek political actors. For instance, Kantakouzenos, relating the plundering raid of the Turks in 1348 and his attempts to negotiate with them, noted that these Turks once had been his allies: “since he [Kantakouzenos] was not unknown to them and fought many times together with [them] during the civil war.”²⁴⁹ Further, Kantakouzenos reports about reckless actions of his son-in-law Nikephoros,

242 For more details on semantic proximity between ἐρημία/ἔρημος and uc (along with the proximity between uc and ἄκρα), see: Hopwood, Keith R. “Peoples, Territories, and States: The Formation of the Begliks of Pre-Ottoman Turkey,” in *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirkville, 1993), p. 130. See also: Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Udj,” in *EI*², 10:777.

243 Kantakouzenos, 2:69.22–70.15. The pirates were headed by Γαζής that is either the emir of Karasi Yahşi (d. ca. 1341) or one of his descendants.

244 Kantakouzenos, 2:181.

245 Kantakouzenos, 2:77.

246 Gregoras, 2:747.

247 Kantakouzenos, 3:63–67; Gregoras, 2:835–39. The Turks were headed by the unidentified leaders Καραμαχούμετ (Qara Muḥammad) and Μαρατουμάνος (Mīr-‘Uthmān).

248 Kantakouzenos, 3:162–63.

249 Kantakouzenos, 3:65.10–12: “ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἄγνωστος, πολλάκις συστρατεύσασι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου χρόνον.”

who at the moment of negotiations attacked the Turks. Kantakouzenos saved the crowd around him by ordering them to run to their camp, while he himself stopped the pursuing Greeks and reprimanded Nikephoros; due to Kantakouzenos' intervention, the Turks lost as few as nine men and one commander (στρατηγός).²⁵⁰ This simple story is indicative. Former allies turned adversaries on the battlefield, but this did not mean that the communication channels between them had been interrupted and that in the future they would not have been on the same side again. This episode is reminiscent of the borderland ethos, where friendship and enmity were relative categories.

As noted earlier, often it is impossible to determine the state or even the geographical identity of the raiding Turks. Both Kantakouzenos and Gregoras often call them simply "Persians" without any specification. It is probable that some of these Turks did not have constant affiliation with a particular emirate, but instead represented combined gangs of fighters led by a "strong man," similar to the Catalan companies. This is, most likely, the reason why our sources are unable to define them more precisely.²⁵¹ Gregoras noted about the raids of two Turkic companies on Thrace and eastern Macedonia (1348): "some Persian army of independent men living like brigands who gathered together from different places."²⁵² An example of similar company of "independent robbers" was represented by the Turks of Tzympe (a town near Branchialion/Bolayır) who around 1352 had been settled there by Kantakouzenos as a collective *pronoia* holder. Initially, the number of Turks in Tzympe probably did not exceed 500. In the capacity of collective *pronoia*s, the Turks of Tzympe probably received income in the form of taxes from designated territories and participated in military operations at the request of Kantakouzenos.²⁵³ Some raids on the Byzantine Balkans in the first half of the fourteenth century may have been made by similar independent freebooting companies that came together only for predatory raiding. In Oriental terms, these gangs of soldiers of fortune who lived on the booty taken in their raids were called *ghāzī* (from Arabic غازي "warrior, conqueror, raider, soldier of fortune"). The meaning "warrior

250 Kantakouzenos, 3:65–66.

251 Cf. with the idea of Timofej Florinskij, who considered all Turkic raids of the time that were unidentified by Byzantine authors to be Ottoman: Florinskij, Timofei D. *Южные славяне и Византия во второй четверти XIV в.*, pt 1–2 (St. Petersburg, 1882), 1:42 n. 1.

252 Gregoras, 2:835.24–25: "Περσική τις δύναμις, ἐξ αὐτονόμου καὶ ληστρικῆς ἄλλῃ ἄλλοθεν ἡθροισμένη τροφῆς καὶ διαίτης . . ."

253 Kantakouzenos, 3:242–44. For an analysis of the case of Tzympe and the Turks settled in 1352 there, see: Oikonomides, Nicolas. "From Soldiers of Fortune to Gazi Warriors: The Tzympe Affair," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, ed. C. Heywood and C. Imber (Istanbul, 1994), pp. 239–47.

for the Faith" for *ghāzī* only appeared later. *Ghāzī* soldiers had been known in Central Asia since as early as Samanid times in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Similar bands of *ghāzī* mercenaries are found on the Byzantine-Arab borderlands in the 'Umayyad era. In Anatolia and Syria, in the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries, *ghāzī*-warriors (mostly nomadic Turkmens) acquired greater importance than ever before.²⁵⁴ Going back to the fourteenth century, the Byzantine authorities could rarely have reached an agreement with these Turkic freebooters because they constituted temporary groups who did not identify themselves as any sustainable community.

The incursions of Anatolian Turks, an extreme disaster for both Byzantine authorities and the rural population, commenced in the beginning of the 1320s and continued during the subsequent thirty years until the appearance of the Ottomans in Thrace in 1354. After 1354 and until the 1370s, the activity of the Turkic independent brigand companies gradually decreased. As early as 1965, Irène Beldiceanu suggested that by the middle of the fourteenth century Thrace was under the control of independent Turkic commanders rather than the centralized Ottoman power. Around 1376/77, the Ottoman emir Murad I established his direct leadership over these independent *beys*.²⁵⁵

No less devastating raids were visited on Thrace by the "Scythians" of the Golden Horde, that is, Turks and Mongols, most of whom were probably also independent freebooters. They were often accompanied by Bulgarians, who had maintained close links with the Cumans and later the Turko-Mongols of the Golden Horde for more than a century.²⁵⁶ The "Scythian" raids on Byzantium started as early as 1264/65 when the Golden Horde troops liberated 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II from Ainos. In 1271, "Scythians" in alliance with the Bulgarians plundered Thrace. Owing to the growing chaos in Thrace in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, incursions from the Golden Horde increased. In 1320, twice in 1321, April 1323, and from the end of 1323 throughout the beginning of 1324 their plundering campaigns were aimed at the fertile Thracian valleys.²⁵⁷ In the beginning of 1337, the Scythians, approaching Thrace from the Danube, encountered the Anatolian Turkic freebooters. To the great surprise of

254 Mélikoff, Irène. "Ghāzī," in *ET*², 2:1043–44.

255 Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène. "La conquête d'Andrinople par les Turcs: la pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes," *Travaux et mémoires* 1 (1965), pp. 439–61. For similar interpretations, see: Oikonomides, "From Soldiers of Fortune."

256 More details on the role of the Turko-Mongols in the Balkan politics and their bonds with Bulgaria, see: Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 114–33.

257 Bosch, *Andronikos III Palaiologos*, pp. 64–65; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 122–31.

the Greeks, the "Scythians," descending on the "Persians" like "dogs on a dead body" (ὥσπερ κύνες τεθνηχότι σώματι ... ἐπεισπίπτοντες), slaughtered many of them. The "Scythians" remained in Thrace during the subsequent fifty days and continued plundering. As Gregoras noted, it was an unusually long duration for a brigand incursion.²⁵⁸ Tatar raids continued at least until 1341, when Kantakouzenos rebuilt the important strategic fortress Arkadiopolis, which was located in central Thrace and served to defend the province and ultimately Constantinople from the hostile incursions from the north.²⁵⁹ In the spring of the same year, Demetrios Kydones was sent by the emperor to Uzbek-khan, the ruler of the Golden Horde, with a commission to put an end to the Tatar raids.²⁶⁰

The impotence of the Byzantine authorities to deal with these raids is apparent since the Byzantines received information about impending raids from their informants.²⁶¹ Formerly verdant lands turned into a "Scythian wilderness." The ruin of Thrace and the cessation of imports from the Black Sea because of the Genoese-Mongol war in 1343 led to an acute shortage of grain in Constantinople and the surrounding area; the shortage was filled by supplies from northeastern Anatolia.²⁶²

The early history of Byzantine-Ottoman relations was identical to that of the Turkic allies. The Ottomans were involved in Byzantine civil strife by all political parties. The first peaceful contacts with the Ottomans had occurred at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Bithynia, soon after the defeat of the Greeks by Pelekanon and Philokrene in 1329.²⁶³ In 1333, Andronikos III, having known about the fall of Nicaea and the siege of Nikomedeia by the Ottomans, led his army to aid the city. The Ottoman emir Orhan then sought peace with the emperor. The conditions of the peace treaty were exceptionally profitable for Orhan (more profitable than Kantakouzenos reported). For security guarantees for Nikomedeia and other cities of Mesothynia, the Byzantines had to

258 Gregoras, 1:535–36; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, p. 132.

259 Kantakouzenos, 1:541; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, p. 132.

260 Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, p. 132.

261 Kantakouzenos, 2:65.

262 Gregoras, 2:683.5–16.

263 Kantakouzenos, 1:341–60; Gregoras, 1:433–36; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, 1:78 (no. 8.21); Gregoras, Nikephoros. *Rhömäische Geschichte*, transl. and comment Jan Louis van Dielen, 6 vols (Stuttgart, 1973–2007), 1:306–07; Bosch, *Andronikos III Palaiologos*, pp. 152–56; Foss, Clive. *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises, With the Speeches of Theodore Laskaris "In Praise of the Great City of Nicaea" and Theodore Metochites "Nicene Oration,"* with the collaboration of Jacob Tulchin (Brookline, MA, 1996), p. 84.



FIGURE 5 "Scythian" warriors with obvious Mongoloid features. The Chinese inscriptions on warriors' helmets, probably, indicate their origin from the Golden Horde. Frescoes in the church of St. John Chrysostom in Geraki, thirteenth–fourteenth c. (after Moutsopoulos, Nikolaos. "Σινικό ιδεόγραμμα σε τοιχογραφία του Γερακίου," *Byzantiaka* 18 (1998), p. 28, figures 5–6).

pay 12,000 *hyperpyra* annually; the money was collected from Mesothynia's residents.²⁶⁴

In the late summer of 1337, the Turks of Orhan undertook a sea raid against Thrace, which ended in complete failure. Constantinople had been warned that the Turks of Orhan were going to land in the immediate neighborhood of Constantinople, which had not yet been pillaged and had many desirable goods. Andronikos III had at his disposal virtually no troops but decided to oppose the enemy. The emperor, with three ships, attacked the enemy at sea, captured fourteen ships, and forced a retreat. The *grand domestic* John Kantakouzenos with a group of only 70 horsemen attacked the Turks on land and initiated a great slaughter: up to 1,000 were killed and approximately 300 taken prisoner. No Byzantine soldiers were killed but they lost many warhorses, which were the main target of infantry in cavalry clashes. This victory – even now, but also at the time – seems incredible and obviously inspired by Divine Providence.²⁶⁵ The Ottomans, however, were determined to further expand their territories

264 Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, 1:80, 2:243–44; Kantakouzenos, 1:446–48; Gregoras, 1:458; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, pp. 23, 101–02.

265 Gregoras, 1:539–41; Kantakouzenos, 1:505–08.

at the expense of the Byzantines. In 1338, Orhan seized Nikomedeia, completing the conquest of the key strategic strongholds of the Greeks in Bithynia, as the ancient military road to Constantinople from Anatolia passed through Nikomedeia and was open to the Ottoman Turks.²⁶⁶

It was only after the death of Andronikos III in 1341 that Kantakouzenos managed to conclude a peace agreement with Orhan; the details are unknown.²⁶⁷ The treaty was concluded in winter of 1344/45 through the mediation of the Ottoman emissary eunuch Hājī (*Hacı*, Χατζής). Kantakouzenos, having known about Anna of Savoy's attempts to persuade the Turks to her side, contacted Orhan; Orhan chose to deal with Kantakouzenos.²⁶⁸ Kantakouzenos is short on details, but notes that the Turkic troops arrived immediately and helped to subdue the Black Sea coast up to Sozopolis. From that time onward, Ottoman military aid to Kantakouzenos was constant. With the help of Orhan's soldiers, Kantakouzenos also managed to inflict a decisive defeat on his political opponents. The marriage of the emir Orhan and Theodora, daughter of Kantakouzenos, early in the summer of 1346, sealed the agreement with the Ottoman Turks.²⁶⁹

The military alliance with Orhan resulted in the constant presence of Turkic troops on the European territories of Byzantium. From 1348, the Turks began to pursue more and more independent policy in Thrace, less often with Byzantine interests. Alienation was growing between Kantakouzenos and Orhan, the causes of which can only be guessed (its initiator was probably Kantakouzenos who did not receive the assistance he expected from the Turks). Kantakouzenos' main weapon turned against him. In his wars against John V Palaiologos and Stephen Dušan, John VI Kantakouzenos utilized the Turks in domestic politics even more extensively, an innovation that had truly disastrous consequences.

At the beginning of the war against John V Palaiologos (1352), John VI Kantakouzenos settled about 500 Turkish soldiers and their families in Tzympe (north of Gallipoli) as a collective *pronoïars* in order to have mercenary troops

266 Gregoras, 1:545. The date is given according to van Dieten's commentaries: Gregoras, ed. van Dieten, 2:286 n. 493.

267 Kantakouzenos, 2:66.

268 Kantakouzenos, 2:498.

269 Nicol, Donald M. *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100–1460: A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study* (Washington, DC, 1968), pp. 134–35 (no. 29); Bryer, Anthony A.M. "Greek Historians on the Turks: the Case of the First Byzantine-Ottoman Marriage," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays presented to R.W. Southern*, ed. R. Davis and J. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), pp. 471–93.

at hand. In the course of the civil war, Orhan's son Süleyman crossed from Asia to Chersonesos Thracica proclaiming these lands as "his own colony and his father's land" (ὥς εἰς ἰδίαν ἀποικίαν καὶ πατρίαν γῆν διαβάς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον).²⁷⁰ Kantakouzenos, who had promoted the massive settlement of the Turks in Europe, tried to buy Tzympe from the Turks for 10,000 *hyperpyra*.

In March 1354, after a severe earthquake in southern Thrace, Tzympe's Turks began to occupy the devastated towns, while Süleyman suddenly invaded Thrace and took Gallipoli, a key strategic point in the Straits.²⁷¹ Kantakouzenos tried to negotiate; however, Orhan argued that the occupation of Gallipoli was Süleyman's personal initiative. Nonetheless, Orhan promised to settle the problem with his son for 40,000 *hyperpyra*. The emperor and emir agreed to meet in Nikomedeia to finalize the deal. Kantakouzenos, having arrived in Nikomedeia at the appointed time, waited in vain for Orhan, who did not arrive and reported being ill.²⁷² By 1355, the Ottomans had taken under their control the entire coast of the Propontis up to Constantinople.

The Byzantines clearly realized the scale of this failure of foreign policy. The settling of Ottomans in Thrace, along with their overt shift to independent policy in the Balkans, promised the imminent end of the empire. The news on the seizure of Gallipoli created a panic in Constantinople. According to Demetrios Kydones, people from Constantinople (probably its wealthier part) fled in fear to Italy and even Spain.²⁷³

During the long period of the civil wars until the Ottoman conquest of Gallipoli in 1354, the predominant type of Turkic immigrant in Byzantine lands was soldiers serving in the Byzantine army and settling eventually in Thrace and Macedonia. Among them were some high-status Byzantines of Turkic origin. A certain Ἀμζᾶς (Ḥamza), a confidant of Alexios Apokaukos, in 1344, defected to the side of John Kantakouzenos and reported the impending conspiracy against him. Ἀμζᾶς / Ḥamza was an Anatolian Turk;²⁷⁴ his Muslim Arabic name testifies to his Anatolian origin (ἐκ Περσῶν γὰρ Ἀμζᾶς τὸ γένος ᾗν).

270 Gregoras, 3:203–04.20–21; see also above (lines 15–17): δούλοις διηγεσέσιν ἤδη κεχρησθαι παντάπασι τοῖς ἐκεῖ ταλαιπώροις Ῥωμαίοις, and also further on p. 224.

271 Kantakouzenos, 3:276–78; Gregoras, 3:223–26; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, 2:283.

272 Kantakouzenos, 3:279–81.

273 Kydones, Demetrios. *Oratio alia deliberative de non reddenda Callipoli petente Amurate*, in *PG*, 154:1013.

274 *PLP*, no. 772; Kantakouzenos, 2:488–89.

In April 1346, Michael Abrampakes (Ibrāhīm-bek) became the governor (κεφαλὴ) of Serres on behalf of the Serbian king Stephen Dušan.²⁷⁵ Judging by his name, it is possible that he was the son or grandson of the well-known *prothierakarios* Ἀβράμπαξ who lived in the age of Andronikos II. Stephen Dušan relied on the former Greek administration in lands recently conquered from the Byzantines and hired many Byzantine military and civil officers. Μιχαὴλ Ἀβραμπάκης was probably one of these former Byzantine officers, as testified by the Byzantine anthroponymical pattern of his name and also the Anatolian origin of the sobriquet Ἀβραμπάκης. If not a descendant of *prothierakarios* Ἀβράμπαξ, he might well have been a mercenary or an allied Turk from the civil war, baptized and naturalized in Byzantium.

Perhaps another naturalized Anatolian Turk was Χαράτζας, a Palamite who persecuted Akindynos' friends in Thessalonike in 1345–47/48.²⁷⁶ He was most likely a Byzantine Turk of the first generation, because Akindynos mockingly speaks of his penchant for polytheism (ὁ τῶν θεοτήτων πλῆθος τεθουμακῶς Χαράτζας),²⁷⁷ thus alluding to his "pagan" Muslim origin. Judging by Akindynos' letters, Charatzas was an influential and famous person. Therefore, his identification with the Charatzas who was referred to as the holder of the *primikerios ton exkoubiton* office in 1353–54 seems plausible.²⁷⁸

In the course of military clashes, Byzantines seized Turkic prisoners of war who, traditionally, were made slaves. Some indications survive in the narrative sources on enslavement of the Turks in that period.²⁷⁹ However, unlike the previous decades, the proportion of slaves in comparison to naturalized Turkic warriors became insignificant. For the years 1324–54, Oriental names are found in the documentary sources of the Athos monasteries, the majority of which belonged to persons of humble origin living in Macedonia. These Turkic immigrants will be discussed in Chapter 4.

After 1354, the Ottoman Turks rapidly advanced in the Balkans. By the second half of the 1360s the Ottomans occupied Thrace, and by the early 1380s

275 *PLP*, no. 60; Guillou, André. *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménéce* (Paris, 1955), no. 46 (p. 135,2); Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:54.

276 *PLP*, no. 30614; Akindynos, Gregory. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, Greek text and English translation A. Constantinides Hero (Washington, DC, 1983), no. 40.2, no. 41.49, no. 57.10, 21, 24, no. 58.5–7, no. 74.45.

277 Akindynos, *Letters*, no. 74.44–45.

278 For this identification, see in the commentaries: Akindynos, *Letters*, p. 373. About the Charatzas who was *primikerios ton exkoubiton*, see: *PLP*, no. 30615, and *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, 3:182.75–76 (no. 205).

279 Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei*, pp. 57–61; Verlinden, *L'esclavage*, pp. 992, 998.

Macedonia, except Thessalonike, which fell under their rule only in 1387. The history of the Ottoman conquest of Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Serbian lands has been well studied.²⁸⁰ It is significant that Kantakouzenos' time was the last period in Byzantine history marked by the presence on Byzantine territory of a large group of Byzantine Turks. Byzantium's territorial losses in the second half of the fourteenth century paradoxically led to a sharp reduction in the flow of Turks into Byzantine society. Byzantine service had lost its appeal to Turkic mercenaries and other immigrants due to the lack of sufficient land resources of the state, which meant not only the collapse of the *pronoia* system as payment for military service, but the catastrophic depletion of the Byzantine treasury.²⁸¹ Due to the Ottoman conquests, Turks in the Balkans were becoming the subjects of a highly successful and rapidly growing Ottoman sultanate, and did not require the graces of the Christian rulers. Turks continued to serve under the banner of the Byzantine empire in the ongoing internecine wars between rival members of the Palaiologan house. However, they were not so much naturalized immigrants as foreign allies, subjects of the sultan, who came by his will to the aid of the Byzantine emperor or a candidate for the Byzantine throne. The number of the first-generation Turks in the service of the Byzantines was sharply reduced.

280 Nicol, Donald M. *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge, 1993); Idem. *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and the Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge, 1992); Idem. *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor, and Monk, c. 1295–1383* (Cambridge, 1996); Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*; Bosch, *Andronikos III Palaiologos*; Weiss, Günter. *Joannes Kantakuzenos – Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Monch – in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1969); Matschke, Klaus-Peter. *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar, 1981); Barker, John. *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969); *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot, 1992); Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*; Necipoğlu, Nevra. *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge, 2009).

281 Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies," p. 128. For further evidences of the financial collapse of the Byzantine state, see, for instance: Teteriatnikov, Natalia. "The Mosaics of the Eastern Arch of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople: Program and Liturgy," *Gesta* 52/1 (2013), pp. 65–67, with additional bibliography.

10 The Last Byzantine Turks?

As a result of the battle of Ankara in July of 1402, the Ottomans suffered a crushing defeat by Emir Timur, which caused a brief period of anti-Ottoman restoration in Anatolia and the Balkans. Süleyman Çelebi, the son of the sultan Bayezid I (1389–1402) who had died in Timur's captivity, fearing Timur's expected crossing of the Straits and his invasion of the Balkans, bought the loyalty of his former adversaries (Byzantium, Venice, and Genoa) for unprecedented concessions. A general agreement was concluded, probably in the beginning of 1403, according to which the Byzantine emperor John VII Palaiologos received vast possessions that incorporated Thessalonike and Kalamaria, a part of Macedonia, the Thracian coast from Panidos to Mesembria, the neighborhoods of Constantinople, and the islands of Skiathos, Skyros, and Skopelos.²⁸² In addition, Süleyman handed over to the Byzantines certain Asian territories, which will be discussed below.

Ottoman historians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries give a brief account of an Ottoman campaign against some Greek fortresses on the military road between Nikomedeia and Skoutari (Chrysopolis) during the reign of Mehmed I (1413–21). The military road (and its fortresses) stretched along the coast of the Gulf of Nikomedeia, that is, the region the Byzantines called Mesothynia. The most important Ottoman sources are Aşıkpaşazâde's *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman* (second half of the fifteenth century), İdris-i Bitlîsî's *Hasht Bihisht* (beginning of the sixteenth century), and Sadettin's *Tâcü't-Tevârih* (end of the sixteenth century). According to the Ottoman historians, the sultan Mehmed I, hearing that some places on the sea coast opposite Constantinople had fallen into the hands of the Byzantines, sent an army which easily conquered the Byzantine fortresses.

²⁸² The text of the treaty and its analysis can be found in: Dennis, George T. "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 33 (1967), pp. 72–88; Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman Chronicles," *Der Islam* 60/2 (1983), pp. 268–96. For its consequences for Byzantium, see also: Kastritsis, Dimitris J. *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 50–59; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, pp. 33–35, 39, 98, 100–01; Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara*, pp. 40–141; Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, p. 224; Nicol, *The Last Centuries*, p. 335.

An attempt to revise the date of the general agreement (before 1 January 1403) has been made in: Ponomarev, Andrei L. *Эволюция денежных систем Причерноморья и Балкан в XIII–XV вв.* (Moscow, 2012), p. 609 and n. 121.

Aşıkpaşazâde's Turkish account²⁸³ and Idris-i Bitlîsî's Persian text correspond on key points, but – being based on different primary sources – give different versions of the event. Sadettin, the author of a rhetorically ornamented Turkish chronicle, combines the versions of Aşıkpaşazâde and Bitlîsî and adds some new details.²⁸⁴

Most scholars, both Byzantinists and Ottomanists, have inexplicably paid little attention to the testimony of the Ottoman historians. Among the Byzantinists, only Clive Foss, in his study of Nikomedeia's fortifications, has referred to Aşıkpaşazâde's version.²⁸⁵ Among the Ottomanists, Irène Beldiceanu has employed Aşıkpaşazâde's story in her study of the early Ottoman *defters*.²⁸⁶

The most detailed of the Ottoman accounts of the Turkish campaign in Mesothynia is found in the still unpublished Persian work of İdris-i Bitlîsî, which will form the basis for subsequent discussion. Below is Bitlîsî's account in its Persian original and in translation: it has never been published and has not entered scholarly circulation. The text is based upon two good manuscripts from Paris and St. Petersburg.²⁸⁷ The original spelling of the Persian text has been retained and modern punctuation has not been added.

10.1 Text

Sigla:

A: Bidlîsî, İdrîs. *Hasht Bihist*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément persan 1558, fol. 204v.

B: Bidlîsî, İdrîs. *Идрисъ Бидлицу, Хаум бухуум (Hasht Bihisht)*, St. Petersburg, Department of Manuscripts, St. Petersburg Branch, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, C 387, fol. 212r.

283 Aşıkpaşazade, Derviş Ahmet. *Tevarih-i al-i Osman* (Istanbul, 1332/1914), pp. 93–94; Aşıkpaşazade, Derviş Ahmet. *Aşıkpaşa-zade, Vom Hirtenzelt zu Hohen Pforte. Frühzeit und Aufstieg des Osmanenreiches nach der Chronik "Denkwürdigkeiten und Zeitlaufe des Hauses Osman" von Derwisch Ahmed, genannt Aşik-Paşa-Sohn*, transl. and comment. R.F. Kreutel (Graz, Vienna, and Cologne, 1959), pp. 132–33.

284 Sadettin. *Tacu't-Tevarih*, 2 vols (Istanbul, 1279–89/1862–72), 1:295–96.

285 Foss, Clive. *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia*, 2 vols (Ankara, 1996), 2:44–61.

286 Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène. "La côte orientale de la mer de Marmara, des Dardanelles au Bosphore, du XIV^e au XV^e siècle (population, ressources)," *École pratique des hautes études. Livret-Annuaire* 16 (2000–2001), pp. 78–82.

287 On numerous manuscripts of Bitlîsî's work, see: Storey, Charles A. *Персидская литература. Био-библиографический обзор*, ed. Yurij Bregel, 3 vols (Moscow, 1972), 2:1255–56.

[A 204v] [B 212r]

و مع ذلک بمسامع علیه رسید که در نواحی قسطنطنیه بعضی قصبات و مواقع و قریه که آبا و اجداد جنت معاد و اجناد معسکر جهاد خصوصاً پادشاه جنت مکان اورخان خان²⁸⁸ بتصرف درآورده بوده از عروض قترات امیر تیموری و از ضرر مخالقات برادران سلطان در مسند قیصری ملوک کفار دیگر باره بدر الحرب الحاق کرده اند و بمرور ایام صاحب اسطنبول و غیره آن محلها بتصرف درآورده اند مجدداً لشکر مجاهدان را تجهیز نموده بتسخیر آن بلاد مقرر داریم و همگی²⁸⁹ آن محال که مفتوح گردد بنیت وقف آن بقاع الخیر مقرر انگاریم و بنا برین رای اصابت مآل اموری یک ولد تیمورتاش را بالشکری از دلاوران مجاهد بتسخیر آن فرستاد و برحسب وعده دلخواه من کان لله کان الله له²⁹⁰ چون لشکر اسلام روی بآن صوب نهاد در بدایت شروع در نواحی شهر از نمید که بتصرف سلطان بود قلعه هرکه که در زمان قترت²⁹¹ امیر تیموری حافظان آنجا تابع اسطنبول شده بودند قلعه را خالی انداخته باسطنبول فرار نمودند و چون آن کشور معتبر بی نزاع و خصام بتصرف اهل اسلام درآمد و از آنجا تجاوز نموده بقصبه گگبیزه که یک مرحله راه به اسطنبول است نهضت فرمودند کفار آنجا با اعتماد حصانت حصار آهنگ جنگ و عناد کردند و روی بمقابله و مدافعه آوردند لاجرم عساکر مجاهدان مقدم و دلاوران معارک التحام صرف توجه و همت و اهتمام نمودند و بطریقه یغیا بر قلعه جنگ انداختند و با سهل و جوه قلعه گگبیزه²⁹² را مسخر ساختند و سپاه اسلام بغنائیم ما لا کلام فایز و مغتم گشتند و شهر و توابع را بقوانین دین و آیین عدل مبین منتظم کردند و حاکم و قاضی تعیین²⁹³ نمودند و وظایف مملکت داری مقرر فرمودند و از آنجا متوجه موضع نکیته

288 B: اورخان

289 A: بهمگی

290 B: کان من له الله

291 A: قترت ندارد

292 A: ککیوزنه

293 B: و تعیین

و قلعه پندکله و قرتال شدند و از خوف سیاست مجاهدان همگی باطاعت مبادرت کردند و مستحفظان قلاع شهر بند و حصارها را گذاشته باسطنبول گریختند و امور بیک هم مردم مضبوط فرستاد تمامی حصارها در قبضه اقتدار در آورده بدار الاسلام آمیختند چون تمامی آن قصبات و قلاع با توابع و²⁹⁴ مزارع و مراتع ساحل دریا از شهر از نکید تا نگار معبر اسطنبول مسخر گشت سلطان محمدی حصال بموجبی که در خاطر عالی منوی داشت تمامی آن قصبات و مواضع را بر ابواب البر خود وقف فرمود و دیگر رقبات نافع و مواضع پر منافع بر آن موقوفات افزود و الیوم آن مدرسه عالی در غایت رواج و انفع مدارس شهر برسا است و وظایف مدرس و طلبه آنجا از جمیع مدارس سلاطین²⁹⁵ روم اوfer و ارفع است چنانچه هر روزه یومی مدرس آنجا با سایر فواید از یکصد اچه متجاوز است و عمارت²⁹⁶ و زاویه و دار الضیافه و رباط و بساط اطعام و انفاق بی اندازه بنوعی مبسوط است که ارتفاع سلاطین عالم متمیز است

10.2 Translation

For all that, there reached to the Sublime hearing that in Constantinople's vicinity some settlements, places, and villages (which had been conquered by the [sultan's] ancestors and the forefathers, who now reside in Paradise, and the troops of the Jihad bivouac; in particular, the king and the heavenly resident Orhan-Khan) were joined again to "the Land of War" by the kings of infidels, because of the anarchy that occurred during Emir Timur[']s times] and the damage from the contest between the sultan's brothers for the Caesar's Throne. Over the course of time, the lord of Istanbul and others seized those places. "Once again equipping troops of *mujāhids*,²⁹⁷ we shall entrust to them the conquest of that country and we wish all the land to be conquered and to be turned into *waqf* becoming good land"²⁹⁸ – with these righteous intentions [the sultan] sent to conquer it Temirtaş's son Umur-bek,²⁹⁹ along with

294 و توابع ندارد: A

295 و سلاطین: B

296 در عمارت: A

297 *Mujāhid* – a soldier waging *jihād*, holy war.

298 *Waqf* – here implies inalienable property held for charitable purposes.

299 *Umur-bek* – the son of Temirtaş, the vizier of Bayezid I.

the army of valiant *mujāhids*. According to the promise "Whoever is God's God is his,"³⁰⁰ which pleases the heart, when the army of Islam moved in that direction, at the very beginning, in the vicinity of the city of Iznikmid, which was in the sultan's possession, the guardians of the fortress of Hereke, who had resigned themselves to Istanbul in the time of the emir Timur's anarchy, left the fortress empty and fled to Istanbul. As soon as that spacious region came into the possession of the Islamic people without struggle and hostilities, [the sultan's troops] went out of it and advanced to the town of Güyebize, located one day's journey from Istanbul. The infidels of that place, setting hopes on the strength of [their] fortifications, had in mind war and rebellion and were prepared for opposition and defense. Willingly or not, the *mujāhid* soldiers, the brave spirits and heroes of battlefields, with effort, endeavor, and exertion, mercilessly attacked the fortress, and conquered the fortress of Güyebize with ease. The army of Islam seized uncountable spoils, put in order the city and its vicinities by the laws of the faith and the rules of the true justice, appointed *ḥākim*³⁰¹ and *qāḍī*,³⁰² and assigned [all] necessary for governing the country. From there [the army] approached the place of Nekite and the fortresses of Pendikla and Kartal. From fear of the *mujāhids*' punishment all of them hastened to obey, and the fortresses' guardians left fortifications and castles and fled to Istanbul, while Umur-bek sent courageous men and, taking hold of all the castles, joined [them] to "the Land of Islam." When all those settlements and fortresses – with their surrounding regions, arable lands, and pastures on the sea coast from the city of Iznikmid to the coast of the passage to Istanbul – were conquered, the sultan, owner of the Muḥammadan qualities, in accordance with what he had in his sublime mind, turned into *waqf* all those settlements and places as his gift to God and also increased those *waqfs* by adding other profitable grants and highly gainful lands. Up to now, those excellent *madrasas*³⁰³ have been extremely populous, and the best of all the *madrasas* of the city of Bursa and their professors' and students' allowance has been more abundant and more significant than in all other *madrasas* of the sultans of Rūm: for instance, their professors' everyday allowance, with other incomes, exceeds 100 *akçe*.³⁰⁴ *Imarets*,³⁰⁵ *zâviye*,³⁰⁶ *dârülziyâfe*,³⁰⁷ inns, places of eating

300 This is a *hadīth*.

301 *Ḥākim* – governor of city.

302 *Qāḍī* – sharia judge.

303 *Madrasa* – Muslim school, an analogue of university.

304 *Akçe* – Ottoman silver coin.

305 *Imâret* – charity canteen for the poor.

306 *Zâviye* – Sufi abode.

307 *Dârülziyâfe* – free hospital for the poor.

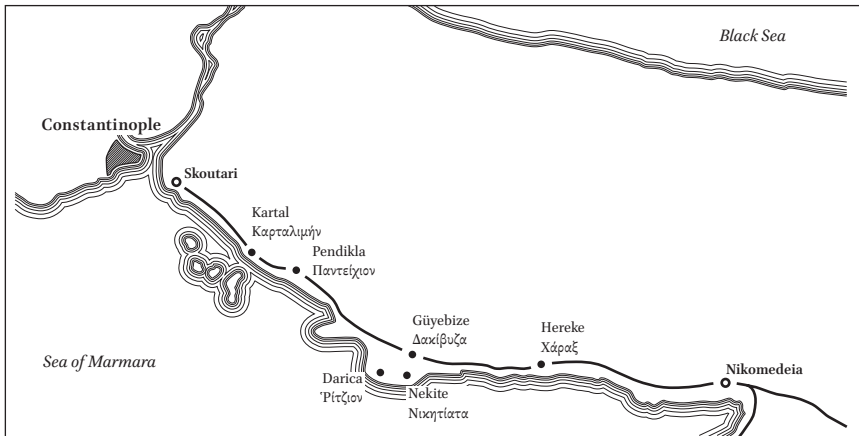


FIGURE 6 Fortresses on the military road between Skoutari and Nikomedeia (cartography: Oyat Shukurov).

and meeting are uncountable and so numerous that the magnificence of the Sultans of the Universe becomes exceptional.

10.3 Commentary

Bitlîsî's account can be supplemented with additional information found in the versions of Aşıkpaşazâde and Sadettin. In the reign of Mehmed I, the Ottoman army, setting out from Nikomedeia (Iznikmid) in the direction of Skoutari on the ancient military road, conquered one after another Hereke (Χάραξ), Güyebize (Δακίβυζα, now Gebze), Nekite (Νικητιάτα/Νικητιάτον, now Eskihisar, south of Gebze), Pendikla (Παντεῖχιον, now Pendik), and Kartal (Καρταλιμὴν).³⁰⁸ Aşıkpaşazâde (and Sadettin) omits Nekite in his list of fortresses and adds Darica (Ῥιτζιον).³⁰⁹ All these fortresses with their environs, which included arable and pasture lands, up to Skoutari were subjugated. All

308 Some castles have been described in detail in: Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles*, p. 50 (Δακίβυζα), pp. 50–58, plan v, and figures 31–55 (Νικητιάτα), pp. 59–61, plan vii, and figures 56–58 (Χάραξ). Beldiceanu-Steinherr identified some place-names in Mesothynia mentioned by Aşıkpaşazade in her study concerning the oldest Ottoman *defters* (1419/20 and 1523): Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “La côte orientale de la mer de Marmara,” pp. 78–82. See also: Ramsay, William M. *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), pp. 183–85; *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, ed. B. Geyer and J. Lefort (Paris, 2003), pp. 83, 87, 102, 215, etc. (see Index).

309 Aşıkpaşazade, ed. Kreutel, p. 133; Sadettin, 1:296. For a description of the castle, see: Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles*, pp. 47, 49–50, and figures 28–30. See also: *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, p. 87.

the fortresses were abandoned by their garrisons, who fled to Constantinople, and were taken without a fight, except Dakibyza, which resisted and was finally stormed; as a punishment for its resistance, it was plundered according to the laws of war. In the region of Dakibyza with the nearby fortresses Ritzion and Niketiata there was probably a kind of Byzantine "fortified area" (see: Fig. 6).

A problem with the evidence of the Ottoman historians consists in the fact that Mesothynia was conquered by the Ottomans as early as during the reign of the emir Orhan (as Bitlîsî correctly noted). In June 1329, Andronikos III and John Kantakouzenos undertook a desperate attempt to lift the blockade of Nicaea, which both strategically and ideologically meant a great deal to the Byzantines at that time, and landed in Mesothynia with an army. The emperor was defeated by the Turks by Pelekanon and Philokrene (west to Nikomedeia near Dakibyza); however, Mesothynia most likely remained under Byzantine control.³¹⁰ The time of Mesothynia's conquest by the Turks is considered to be 1337, that is, after the fall of Nikomedeia, although we have no detailed information about the circumstances of that Ottoman campaign. In any case, approximately after 1337 Mesothynia was certainly under the control of the Ottoman Turks. The key for resolving this problem is provided by Bitlîsî who maintains that Mesothynia was lost to the Ottomans during the anarchy in the sultanate after the battle of Ankara in 1402.³¹¹ There is no doubt that Bitlîsî meant here the Byzantine-Ottoman treaty of the beginning of 1403. Aşıkpaşazâde does not refer to the events of 1402–03 at all, while Sadettin gives a Turkish translation of Bitlîsî's version.

The return of lands in Anatolia to the Byzantines in 1403 has survived in other sources, which, however, cannot be explained without the help of the Ottoman texts. For instance, in the Italian retelling of the treaty of 1403: "in Turchia quei castelli che tegniva lo imperador tuti li ho dati."³¹² This undoubtedly implies the submission of the fortresses in Mesothynia up to Nikomedeia. One finds in Chalkokondyles a vague reference to the submission of some coastal areas in Asia to the Byzantines.³¹³ Doukas also testifies that, in 1413, when Manuel II and Mehmed I renewed the peace treaty, the rights of the Byzantines at the "whole Propontis" were discussed, apparently includ-

310 Kantakouzenos, 1:341–42; Gregoras, 1:433–34; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, 1:78 (no. 8.21); Gregoras, ed. van Dieten, 1:306–07; Bosch, *Andronikos III Palaiologos*, pp. 152–53.

311 Sadettin, 1:295; قسرت تیموری.

312 Dennis, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty," p. 78 (4).

313 Chalkokondyles, Laonikos. *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols (Budapest, 1922–27), 1:163: "τὴν τε Θέρμην τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπέδωκε καὶ Ζητοῦνιν καὶ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Ἀσίας χώραν."

ing its Asian coast.³¹⁴ Vacalopoulos has drawn attention to Chalkokondyles' passage but found it difficult to explain; Necipoğlu has described the Byzantine possessions in Mesothynia as "unidentified places in Anatolia"; Kastritsis speaks in the same vein: "nothing more is known of these castles, which do not appear in any other source."³¹⁵ The accounts of the Ottoman historians put everything in place: Süleyman Çelebi handed over to John VII, in particular, Mesothynia with the fortresses of Charax, Dakibyza, Niketiata, Ritzion, Panteichion, and Kartalimen.

However, one cannot exclude the possibility that the region had been returned to the Byzantines by the emir Timur himself in 1402 and Süleyman Çelebi was just formally confirming this in the treaty. Emir Timur negotiated and concluded treaties with Constantinople, while, according to both Greek and Persian sources, Timur's troops took Nikomedeia and advanced up to Skoutari. The only road suitable to move troops from Nikomedeia to Skoutari leads to the Bosphoros coast, which passes through the fortresses referred to by the Ottoman historians.³¹⁶ Consequently, in 1402, the castles under discussion very likely were under the control of Timur.

The Byzantines' eagerness in 1402–03 to establish control over the castles is absolutely transparent: first, they potentially restored Byzantine power over the Propontis and regained the ability to close it to enemy ships; and, second, they undoubtedly cherished hopes to further their success and shift the fight with the Turks to Anatolia in case of favorable circumstances. However, fate did not give them that chance. During the Ottoman reconquest, the Byzantine garrison actively resisted the Ottomans only in Dakibyza, one of the last battles against Turks in the history of the empire.

As to the time of the Ottoman reconquest of Mesothynia, only Sadettin directly indicates the date as the Hijri year 822 (27 January 1419–16 January 1420).³¹⁷ Bitlîsî generally confirms this dating, placing the events in the time of Mehmed I's stay in Bursa in 1419 after his suppression of Mustafa Börklüce's rebellion. The Ottoman *tapu ve tahrir defter* for Mesothynia, which includes

314 Doukas. *Ducas, Istoría turco-bizantina (1341–1462)*, 20.1, ed. Vasile Grecu, (Bucharest, 1958), p. 133: "δουὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ Εὐζέινου Πόντου κάστρα καὶ τὰ πρὸς Θετταλίαν χωρία καὶ κάστρα καὶ τὰ τῆς Προποντίδος ἅπαντα . . ."

315 Vacalopoulos (Bakalopoulos), Apostolos. "Les limites de l'empire byzantin depuis la fin du XIV^e siècle jusqu'à sa chute (1453)," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55 (1962), p. 60; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, p. 33; Kastritsis, "The Sons of Bayezid," pp. 54–55 n. 44.

316 See: Doukas, 17.1 (p. 103); 'Alî Yazdî. *The Zafarnamah by Maulana Sharafuddin 'Alî Yazdî*, ed. by Mawlawi M. Ilaḥdad, 2 vols (Calcutta, 1885–88), 2:454; Alexandrescu-Dersca, Marie Mathilde. *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)* (Bucharest, 1942), pp. 80–81.

317 Sadettin, 1:295.

the territories between Nikomedeia and Skoutari, according to Beldiceanu, most likely should also be dated to 1419 (822 Hijri).³¹⁸ Therefore, these regions were described by the Ottoman fiscal authority immediately after the reconquest. The Ottoman campaign in 1419 is completely understandable:³¹⁹ in all probability, it was Mehmed I's punitive action for the Byzantine support of Pseudo-Mustafa and Cüneyt's revolt in 1415–16 (after that point, Mehmed I's attitude to the Byzantines became hostile).³²⁰

According to Beldiceanu's study of the Ottoman *tapu ve tahrir defter* of 1419, the majority of the population of the coastal regions was Greek.³²¹ Beldiceanu has also noted that the Greek population in Mesothynia after 1419 enjoyed considerable tax benefits, which can be explained by its recent reconquest by the Ottomans. On the other hand, one may add that the predominance of the Greek population might well indicate the deliberate Hellenization of the region by the Byzantine administration during 1403–19 because of its strategic importance.

Even if Mesothynia experienced rapid Hellenization in 1403–19, it could hardly have completely eliminated the old Turkic population living there for three generations from 1337 to 1403. It would be logical to expect that some of the Turks who had remained under the Byzantine rule in the Balkans and Anatolia after 1403 had become naturalized and were integrated into Byzantine society. Still, the available Byzantine and Ottoman sources are silent in this regard. It is obvious, however, that after 1403, on recovering the territories, which had long been assimilated by the Ottoman Turks, Byzantium experienced the last infusion of the Turks into its own population and again, as in the past, had communities of Byzantine Turks in its own territory.

Nevra Necipoğlu has questioned the fate of those Turks under Byzantine rule who inhabited Thessalonike before it fell into Byzantine hands in 1403–23. According to Necipoğlu, the Turks owning property in Thessalonike retained it and therefore did not leave the city. Moreover, the Ottomans insisted on establishing the sharia courts of *qāḍī* in Thessalonike to hear cases between Muslims.³²² It is obvious that the material that has been studied by Necipoğlu relates to Ottoman subjects who were foreign to the Byzantine authorities, but not the Turks who had accepted Byzantine citizenship. Most likely, it was large landowners who preferred the protection of the Ottoman sultan.

318 Beldiceanu, "La côte orientale de la mer de Marmara," p. 79.

319 Foss dated the campaign to 1421: Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles*, pp. 46–61.

320 Doukas, 22.7 (p. 161): "Μετά δὲ ταῦτα ἤρξατο ἐν κρυφῇ τρέφειν ἔχθραν κατὰ τῆς Πόλεως ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα κρύπτων εἰς βάθος ἀλλ' οὐ φανερώς τὸ παράπαν ἐδείκνυε."

321 Beldiceanu, "La côte orientale de la mer de Marmara," p. 79.

322 Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, pp. 56–83, 101–02.

We have no similar information about the old Turkic population of Mesothynia, although it is obvious that in 1403–19, along with Hellenization, there developed in the region the inevitable process of incorporation of the residual Turkic population into the Byzantine legal framework. According to the Ottoman *defters*, in the 1430s, many *timariots* were moved from Mesothynia to Albania.³²³ Were they not those former Byzantine Turks whom the Ottomans had preferred to move for the sake of ensuring their complete loyalty? Perhaps these *timariots*, or some of them, were residual traces of the old Turkic population, which had been naturalized in Mesothynia under Byzantine rule in the years 1403–19.

The Byzantine history of the fortresses in Mesothynia was not over with the Ottoman campaign of 1419. Aşıkpaşazâde's account ends with an enigmatic remark, which is absent in Bitlisî and for which I have no explanation. Although it is stylistically faulty, its meaning is clear.³²⁴

الحاصل بو دکر: گارنده کافر حصارجقلریکه واردر شمدی یه دکن کاه مسلمانلره
دوزدی وکاه کافره دوزدی، تا مراد خان اوغلی محمد دکن.

Translation: "Thus, some of these small fortresses of the infidels on the sea coast until now have sometimes been obeying Muslims and sometimes infidels, [to wit] until the time of Murad's son Mehmed."

Under "infidels," naturally the Christian Byzantines are implied here; Murad's son Mehmed is, obviously, Mehmed II (1444–46; 1451–81). If one believes Aşıkpaşazâde, the Mesothynia fortresses after their conquest by Mehmed I and until the reign of Mehmed II from time to time fell under Byzantine control. Sadettin similarly understood Aşıkpaşazâde's remark and explained at length that the fortresses were finally conquered by Mehmed II, giving no other details on the circumstances of the conquest.³²⁵ Consequently, one should continue to seek in the sources more detailed information about the connections between Constantinople and castles in Mesothynia between 1419 and 1453.

323 Beldiceanu, "La côte orientale de la mer de Marmara," p. 80.

324 Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih*, p. 94; Aşıkpaşazade, ed. Kreutel, p. 133.

325 Cf.: Sadettin, 1:296: عاقبت ظهور جاه و جلال و طلوع کوکب اقبال سلطان غازی ابو: الفتوحات و المغازی فاتح قسطنطینیة سلطان محمد خان بن سلطان مراد خان البسهما الله تعالى حلل الرحمة والرضوان اول اطراف و نواحیدن تیغ آشنك مصباحی ایله ظلام ظلمی و چرك شرکی رخی اولوب ریایات سعادت آیات اسلامی اول ولایاتده منصور و تصرف اهل اسلامه منسوب و ممالك عثمانیه دن محسوب ایلدی.

The Byzantine Turks in the Balkans

The Oriental anthroponymics and toponymics when studied in conjunction with traditional documentary and narrative sources partially enable the reconstruction of the demography of Byzantine Turks. The most detailed picture of Turkic pre-Ottoman settlement in west Byzantium is that of the Byzantine Macedonian provinces, due to the relative abundance of documentary sources containing the names of residents of that region, supplemented by narrative sources. Macedonia provides us with the most balanced information on the numbers, settlement practices, social structure, and evolution of the local Byzantine population. This demographic data are sufficient for a statistical approximation and explains why Macedonia has been the most studied region of Late Byzantium. The geography, economy, and demographics of the region, and, in particular, of its southern and southwestern reaches (Chalkidike and the lower stretches of the Strymon) have been described in great detail.¹

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- ¹ See, for instance, some of the most remarkable studies on Macedonian demography: Ostrogorsky, George. *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), pp. 259–368; Khvostova, Ksenia V. *Особенности аграрно-правовых отношений в Поздней Византии (XIV–XV вв.)* (Moscow, 1968); Laiou, Angeliki E. *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977); Lefort, Jacques. “Habitats fortifiés en Macédoine orientale au Moyen Âge,” in: *Habitats fortifiés et organisation de l'espace en Méditerranée médiévale* (Lyon, 1983), pp. 99–103; Idem. “Radolibos: population et paysage,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), pp. 195–234; Idem. “Population and Landscape in Eastern Macedonia during the Middle Ages: The Example of Radolibos,” in: *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, ed. Anthony A.M. Bryer and Heath Lowry (Birmingham and Washington, DC, 1986), pp. 11–21; Idem. “Population et peuplement en Macédoine orientale, IX^e–XV^e siècle,” in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, ed. Vassiliki Kravari, Jacques Lefort, and Cécile Morrisson, 2 vols (Paris, 1991), 2:63–82; Idem. *Villages de Macédoine: notices historiques et topographiques sur la Macédoine orientale au Moyen Âge*. 1: *La Chalcidique occidentale* (Paris, 1982); Kondov, Nikola. “Demographische Notizen über die Landbevölkerung aus die Gebiet des Unteren Strymon in der ersten Hälfte des XIV Jahrhunderts,” *Études balkaniques* 2–3 (1965), pp. 261–72; Idem. “Das Dorf Gradec. Die demographisch-wirtschaftliche Gestalt eines Dorfes aus dem Gebiet des unteren Strymon von Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts,” *Études balkaniques* 7 (1971), pp. 31–55; 13 (1977), pp. 71–91; Karlin-Hayter, Patricia. “Les Catalans et les villages de la Chalcidique,” *Byzantion* 52 (1982), pp. 244–63; Jacoby, David. “Phénomènes de démographie rurale à Byzance aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles,” *Études rurales* 5–6 (1962), pp. 163–86; Idem. “Foreigners and

The basis for these studies is found in the acts of the monasteries of Mount Athos.²

Although the Turkic population of the Byzantine Balkans has never been the focus of research, it can be facilitated by some recent studies, such as an article by the Russian scholar Petr Zhavoronkov on Late Byzantine Turkic aristocracy, which analyzes primarily Byzantine narrative sources.³ Additionally, Zorica Đoković's study, analyzing the anthroponymics of eastern Macedonia during Late Byzantine times, concerns Slavic names in Byzantine documental sources, as well as Albanian, Vlach, and Turkic ethnic groups. The Turkish section of the study, however, appears incomplete.⁴

The discussion of the demography of the Byzantine Turks thus begins with the exemplary case of Macedonia, which may assist in deciphering demographic data from other regions of the west Byzantine empire. Other regions that give more or less palpable data include, in particular, Constantinople and Lemnos.

the Urban Economy in Thessalonike, ca. 1150–ca. 1450," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 85–132; Smyrlis, Kostis. "The First Ottoman Occupation of Macedonia (ca. 1383–ca. 1403): Some Remarks on Land Ownership, Property Transactions and Justice," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, and Chris Schabel (Leiden and Boston, 2008), pp. 327–48.

2 French scholars have published the main bulk of the acts of the monasteries of Mount Athos in the series *Archives de l'Athos* (Paris, 1937–), founded by Gabriel Millet and Paul Lemerle; so far twenty-two volumes have come out, although, of course, beyond the published volumes there still remains a considerable number of formerly poorly published and unpublished monastic documents. On the contents and historical value of the acts of Athos, see: Dölger, Franz. *Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts für das Athoskloster Iberon* (Munich, 1949), pp. 5–31; Idem. *Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948); Karayannopoulos, Johannes E. and Weiss, Günter. *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1982), 1:105–07; Laiou, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire*, pp. 9–10; Bibikov, Mikhail V. *Византийские источники по истории древней Руси и Кавказа* (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 156–64. On Byzantine private acts, see: Medvedev, Igor P. *Очерки византийской дипломатики (частноправовой акт)* (Leningrad, 1988).

3 Zhavoronkov, Petr I. "Тюрки в Византии (XIII–середина XIV в.). Часть первая: тюркская аристократия," *Византийский временник* 65 (2006), pp. 168–69.

4 Đoković, Zorica. "Stanovništvo istočne Makedonije u prvoj polovini XIV veka," *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 40 (2003), pp. 97–244; Eadem. "Проучавање словенске антропонимијске грађе у практицима XII и XIII века," *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 43 (2006), pp. 499–516.

1 Byzantine Macedonia

When Oriental names in Macedonia are placed on a geographical map, their distribution is not widespread. The residences marked on the map delineate compact areas. These regions represent the nucleus of Turkic ethnic presence in Macedonia: the lower Strymon, Serres, Kalamaria in western Chalkidike, Hierissos and Lake Bolbe, Berroia and Lake Giannitsa (swamps), the valleys of the Vardar and Strumica, and Thessalonike (see Fig. 7). Turkic place-names coincide with the areas marked on the map.

The Turkic toponymics in Macedonia can be divided into two groups by origin. First, the group of Qipchaq place-names:

Κομανίτζης, 1325–38, northeast of Berroia, derived from the former owner's name.⁵

Kumanski Brod, 1300, location unidentified, near Skopje in the Vardar valley, mentioned in documents of the St. George Gorgo monastery in the vicinity of Skopje.⁶

Kumanci Spanci, 1481, western Macedonia, microtoponymics in Spanci (now Phanos, 20 km southeast of Phlorina).⁷

Kumaničevo, 1372–75, the southern part of the valley of the Vardar.⁸

Kumanova, 1467–68, 23 km southeast of Skopje, now Gumalevo.⁹

The second group of names is plausibly a vestige of the presence in Macedonia of Anatolian Turks:

Γαζής, possibly late thirteenth-early fourteenth century, near Rousaiou in Kalamaria, probably after its former *pronoïar*, occupied by 1327 by a company of Barbarenoi soldiers.¹⁰

Κουμουτζούλου, *Κουμουντζούλου*, between 1301 and the mid-fifteenth century, in Kalamaria near Neochorakion.¹¹

5 Kravari, Vassiliki. *Villes et villages de Macédoine occidentale* (Paris, 1989), pp. 76–78; *PLP*, no. 11999.

6 Kravari, *Villes et villages*, p. 133.

7 Kravari, *Villes et villages*, p. 333.

8 Kravari, *Villes et villages*, p. 133.

9 Kravari, *Villes et villages*, p. 132.

10 *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. Nicolas Oikonomides (Paris, 1984), no. 18.13 (p. 142), p. 140; Lefort, *Villages de Macédoine*, p. 139.

11 Lefort, *Villages de Macédoine*, pp. 83–84.

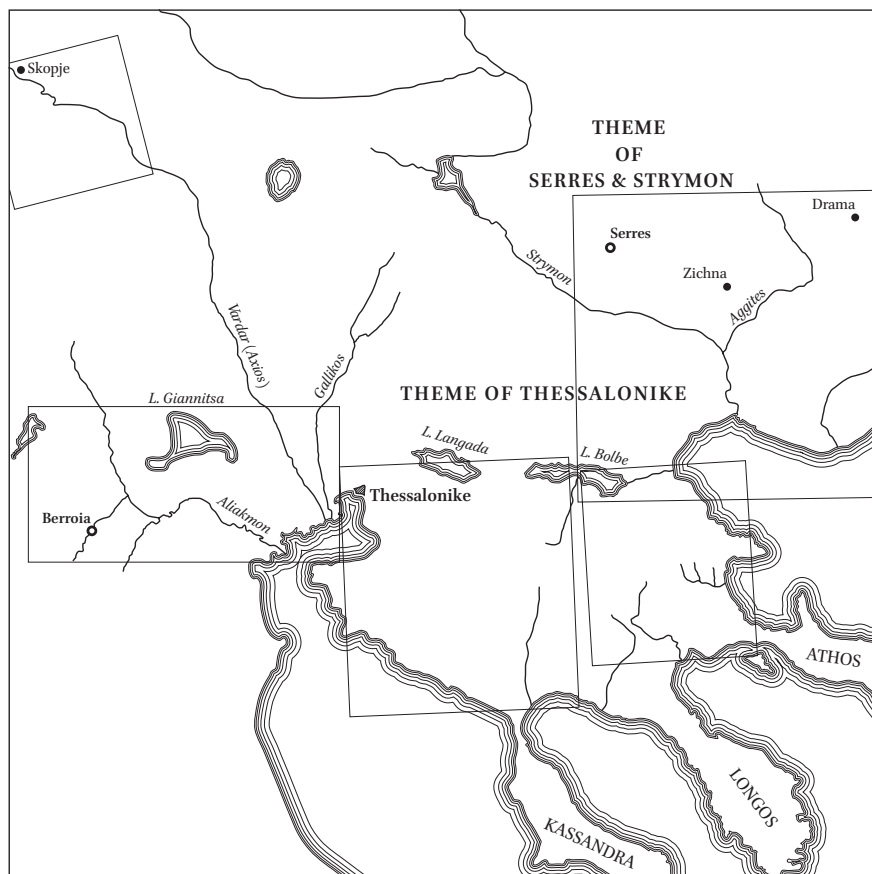


FIGURE 7 Nucleus areas of Turkic settlements (cartography: Oyat Shukurov).

Μελίκι, probably late thirteenth–early fourteenth century, east of Berroia, possibly after its former *pronoïar*.¹²

The following place-names could have initially designated both Qipchaq and Anatolian Turks:

¹² Chionides, Georgios. *Ιστορία της Βεροίας, της πόλεως και περιοχής* (Thessalonike, 1970), pp. 103, 161; Theoharides, Georgios. *Μία διαθήκη και μία δίκη Βυζαντινή. Ανέκδοτα Βατοπεδινά έγγραφα* (Thessalonike, 1962), p. 68 (map).

Τουρκοχώριον/Tjurki Hor ("Turkish village"), probably fourteenth century, contemporary Patris, 5 km north-northwest of Berroia in the foothills of Bermion.¹³

Τουρκοχώριον, ca. 1302, probably near Gabriane in Kalamaria. Its location is not clear; Lefort locates it west of Thessalonike;¹⁴ however a document of the Lavra monastery (*chrysoboullon sigillion* of Andronikos II Palaiologos) referred to it along with Gabriane (τὴν Γαβριάνην καὶ τὸ Τουρκοχώριον). It is important that the chrysobull exclusively concerns the region of Kalamaria.¹⁵ *Τουρκοχώριον* has also been located in Kalamaria by the editors of the Acts of Lavra.¹⁶ I concur with the editors of the Acts, locating it somewhere near Gabriane.

Βαρβαρίσιον, fourteenth century, a microtoponymic in the village of Krya Pegadia in Kalamaria,¹⁷ probably derived from the Βαρβαρηνοί soldiers.

It is remarkable that the Cuman place-names are mostly located in the northern and western parts of Macedonia, while Anatolian Turkic place-names are found exclusively in Macedonia's southern regions, especially around Berroia and in Kalamaria. The evidence of Macedonian place-names matches personal names, as we shall see below, although it is often not clear when these place-names originated. The place-names marked three specific areas: the regions of Kalamaria, Berroia, and the Vardar-Strumica.

2 The Lower Strymon and Serres

Although no Turkic place-names have been registered for the area of the lower Strymon and Serres, it appears to have had one of the highest concentrations of Turkic settlers in Macedonia: 30 percent of Oriental names for Byzantine Macedonia are located there. These Asians constitute about 1.7 percent of the total number of the names registered in *PLP* for the regions of Strymon and Serres. Both Qipchaq and Anatolian are represented there, with the preponderance of the latter: the ratio of Qipchaq to Anatolian Turks is 2:3. The localities with Oriental settlers are marked on Fig. 8.

¹³ Kravari, *Villes et villages*, p. 91.

¹⁴ Lefort, *Villages de Macédoine*, pp. 61, 62 nn. 2, 110.

¹⁵ *Actes de Lavra*, ed. Paul Lemerle, André Guillou, Nicolas Svoronos, Denise Papachrysanthou, and Sima Ćirković, 4 vols (Paris, 1970–82), 2:94.23 (p. 123).

¹⁶ *Actes de Lavra*, 4:91–92, 98, 151, 156.

¹⁷ *Actes de Lavra*, 2:no. 108.485 (p. 202), 4:98; Lefort, *Villages de Macédoine*, p. 90.



FIGURE 8 *The Lower Strymon, Serres, Zichna, Drama (cartography: Oyat Shukurov).*

Among Qipchaq names should be noted Κόμανος (Radolibos, Laimin; *PLP*, nos 12004, 12005, 12007), Κομανίτζης (Radolibos; *PLP*, nos 12000–02), Κομάννα (Melitziani; *PLP*, no. 11997); probably to the same group belong Καζανία (Loukoubikeia; *PLP*, no. 10116), Κοῦμανῆ (Kastrin),¹⁸ Κοῦμανῆ (Kastrin),¹⁹ Κοστα Κοῦμιγνанинь (Mounzianis).²⁰

The names of Ἀβραμπάκης (Serres; *PLP*, no. 60), Σιριμᾶνῆ Γαзи (Kastrin),²¹ Κατζάριος (Melitziani; *PLP*, no. 11492), Μασγιδᾶς (Serres, Kotzakion, St. Prodromos, Malouka; *PLP*, nos 17216, 17219, 17221, 17222, 94097), Μελίκης (Kamenikaia; *PLP*, no. 17787), Σουλιδᾶς (Doxompous; *PLP*, nos 26329–30), and Τουρμπασᾶς (Radolibos; *PLP*, no. 29194) probably indicate Anatolian Turks. The names of

18 Mošin, Vladimir. “Акти из светогорских архива,” *Споменик Српске Краљевске Академје* 91 (1939), p. 206.30.

19 Mošin, “Акти,” p. 207.139.

20 Mošin, “Акти,” p. 210.333.

21 Mošin, “Акти,” p. 208.171–72 (not found in *PLP*).

two members of the aristocratic family of the Soultanoi, Δημήτριος and Μιχαήλ (*dīmitrī sulṭān*, *mīkhū sulṭān*), are found in the historical work of Yazıcızâde ‘Alî; after 1387 these were residents of Zichna and had blood ties to the Lyzikoi family (Λυζικοί).²²

Σαρακηνός (Melitziani, Eunouchou, Serres; *PLP*, nos 24860, 24861, 24863, 24864) and Σαρακηνόπουλος (Chrysopolis; *PLP*, no. 24856), Δαμασκηνός (Drama; *PLP*, no. 5043), two members of the family of Ἀπελμενέ (*PLP*, nos 1153, 1156),²³ and also Καστὰ Γαμαλὲ (Kastrin)²⁴ may well have been of Arab origin; Βαρβαρηνός (Prinarion/Aeidarokastron; *PLP*, no. 2166) probably was a Barbarenoi soldier.

The numerical ratio between Turkic settlers and local Greeks and Slavs by villages and cities is:

TABLE 2 *Asians in the Lower Strymon, Serres, Zichna, Drama*

Place	Number of Persons in <i>PLP</i>	Oriental Names	Percentage
Chrysopolis	12	1	8.3 percent
Doxompous	183	2	1.1 percent
Drama	19	1	5.3 percent
Eunouchou	28	1	3.6 percent
Kamenikaia	28	1	3.6 percent
Kastrin	215	5	2.3 percent
Kotzakion	5	2	40.0 percent
Laimin	21	2	9.5 percent
Loukoubikeia	7	1	14.3 percent
Malouka	32	1	3.1 percent
Melitziani	126	4	3.2 percent
Mounzianis	38	1	2.6 percent
Radolibos	620	9	1.5 percent
Serres	1626	9	0.6 percent
Zichna	148	2	1.4 percent

22 Wittek, Paul. "Yazijioghlu 'Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja," *Bulletin of the British School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952), pp. 650–51; Idem. "Les Gagaouzes = Les gens de Kaykaus," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17 (1951–52), pp. 19ff. The progenitor of the Lyzikoi was probably Slav: Đoković, "Stanovništvo istočne Makedonije," p. 202.

23 For this family see also Chapter 5.6.

24 Mošin, "Акти," p. 210.299–300.

It is a remarkable feature in connection with the resettlement of the Turks that Turkic rural settlers were possibly kept far from the main centers of the region such as the cities of Serres, Zichna and Drama and, instead, were settled closer to the sea.

The Lower Strymon is known as a region where Byzantine mercenaries were settled, as was the case of the Prosalentai, imperial navy rowers, who were assigned land in the area east of the mouth of the Strymon.²⁵ Interestingly, the *paroikos* Γεώργιος Βαρβαρηνός, who may have been a former (?) member of the Barbarenoi soldier company, lived in the coastal location of Prinarion, close to the mouth of the Strymon. It is possible that Turkic mercenaries and Barbarenoi were assigned lands in that region for their service.

3 Kalamaria in Western Chalkidike

Kalamaria represents a high concentration of Oriental names, approximately 16 percent of the total Oriental names for Macedonia. Oriental residents constitute as little as 1 percent of the number of persons referred to by *PLP* for Kalamaria.

The Qipchaq presence in Kalamaria is attested by the names Κόμανος (Belona, Panagia; *PLP*, nos 93833, 12012) and Κομάννα (Stomion; *PLP*, no. 11998). Anatolian Turks are more numerous: Ἀναταυλάς (Portarea; *PLP*, nos 869, 871), Ἰαούπης (Sarantarea; *PLP*, no. 7816), Ἰαγούπης (St. Paramonos; *PLP*, no. 7824), and Μασοῦρος (Paschalia; *PLP*, no. 17232). The names Τοῦρκος (Hagia Trias, Aphetos, Kato Bolbos; *PLP*, nos 29186, 29190), Τουρκίτζη (Drymosita; *PLP*, no. 29169), and Τουρκόπουλος (Pinson; *PLP*, no. 29182) are applicable equally to Qipchaq and Anatolian Turks, although more likely to Anatolians.

Anthroponymic data are supported here by local Oriental place-names that are of both Qipchaq and Oğuz origin: Τουρκοχώριον, Κουμουτζούλου, and Γαζής, while Βαρβαρίκιον might have indicated the settlement of Maghrebi newcomers. Notably, these places belong to the same area where Asian settlers were located. As seen in Fig. 9, Turkic settlers occupied the southwestern part of Kalamaria, closer to coastal areas. The same logic as in the case of the Lower Strymon applies here: Byzantine authorities intentionally kept Turkic settlers away from Thessalonike, the city second in importance to Constantinople. Similar to the Strymon region, Turkic settlement tended to be denser toward coastal region from Belona to Kato Bolbos.

25 Bartusis, Mark. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 48–49.



FIGURE 9 *Kalamaria* (cartography: Oyat Shukurov).

The numerical ratio between Turkic settlers and locals by villages is:

TABLE 3 *Asians in Kalamaria*

Place	Number of Persons in <i>PLP</i>	Oriental Names	Percentage
Belona	11	1	9.1 percent
Drymosita	115	1	0.9 percent
Gournai	28	1	3.6 percent
Hagia Trias	61	1	1.6 percent
Hagios Mamas	33	1	3.0 percent
Hermeleia	184	1	0.5 percent
Kato Bolbos	123	1	0.8 percent
Linobrocheion	6	1	16.7 percent
Panagia	37	1	2.7 percent
St. Paramonos	3	1	33.3 percent
Paschalia	19	1	5.3 percent
Pinson	92	1	1.1 percent
Portarea	36	3	5.5 percent
Rousaiou	21	2	9.5 percent
Sarantarea	50	1	2.0 percent
Stomion	59	1	1.7 percent

4 Eastern Chalkidike

Another remarkable area in Macedonia is represented by the eastern part of Chalkidike and, especially, by the villages of Hierissos, Kamena, Kontogrikon, Metallin, and Selas. The name Θεοδώρα Δαμασκώ (Hierissos)²⁶ may have been that of an immigrant or a descendant of immigrants from Syria. Ἀλανός, who is mentioned in Hierissos before 1341 (*PLP*, no. 546), was probably an Alan mercenary of the beginning of the fourteenth century or, more likely, one of their descendants. Here again we find the combination of Qipchaq and Anatolian names. For instance, Βασίλειος Ἀμελγαζῆς (Selas; *PLP*, no. 91157) was certainly of Turkic Anatolian origin. Cuman presence was marked by the names Κόμανος (Kontogrikon; *PLP*, no. 12006), Κόμανος (Metallin; *PLP*, no. 12008), Ἰωάννης Κόμανος (Selas; *PLP*, no. 12011), as well as Γεώργιος Καζάνης (Kamena; *PLP*,

26 *Actes de Lavra*, 2: no. 91.103 (*PLP*, no. 5047, gives an incorrect page reference for the source).



FIGURE 10 *Eastern Chalkidike* (cartography: Oyat Shukurov).

no. 93676). Two documents record two *paroikoi* in the region of Hierissos with the nickname Αἰγύπτιος (both from Hierissos; *PLP*, nos 438, 91095), which indicates the presence of Gypsies in the area.²⁷

²⁷ For Gypsies, see: Soulis, George C. "The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961), pp. 148ff.; Đoković, "Stanovništvo istočne Makedonije," p. 177.

A few noblemen of Turkic Anatolian descent were referred to as residents of the region: a landowner and soldier “ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀλλαγίου” Γαζῆς (Lozikion; *PLP*, no. 3444), and a landowner Ἀναταυλᾶς (Lozikion; *PLP*, no. 868).

It is possible that some persons in that region in the fifteenth century were in fact those who had settled there in the course of the Ottoman invasions in Macedonia: Σάρσσιτσα (Hierissos, 1445; *PLP*, no. 24941), Γιάκσσαι (Siderokausia, 1445; *PLP*, no. 4155), and Μουσταφάς (Hierissos, 1454; *PLP*, no. 94212). The purely Turkic names of Σάρσσιτσα and Γιάκσσαι might well have belonged to Anatolian nomads who were brought to Macedonia by the Ottomans.

The ratio between Turkic settlers and locals by villages is:

TABLE 4 *Asians in eastern Chalkidike*

Place	Number of Persons in <i>PLP</i>	Oriental Names	Percentage
Hierissos	1219	6	0.5 percent
Kamena	32	1	3.1 percent
Kontogrikon	110	1	0.9 percent
Lozikion	14	2	14.3 percent
Metallin	73	1	1.4 percent
Selas	332	2	0.6 percent
Siderokausia	17	1	5.9 percent

As seen here, the highest percentage of Asian immigrants is registered for the inland villages Lozikion and Siderokausia, which differs from the tendency to settle Turks in coastal regions.

5 Berroia and Lake Giannitsa

This area divides into two subareas: the first one centers on Berroia and the second one gravitates toward the marches and swamps of Giannitsa. The high concentration of Turkic names is found in the region of Berroia. This area was probably occupied by both Qipchaq and Anatolian Turks. The place-name Κομανίτζης, located northeast of Berroia, which is probably a derivation from the name of a landholder, indicates the presence of Qipchaqs. It is curious that an Asian, the *paroikos* Νικόλαος Τοῦρκος, was a resident of Κομανίτζης in

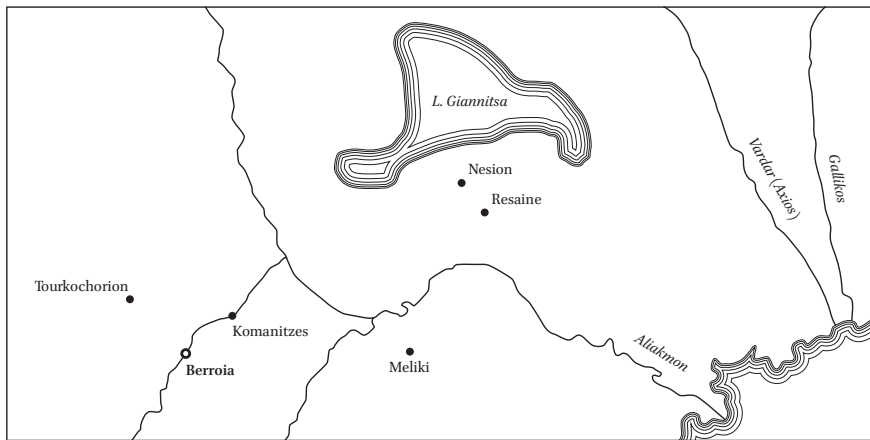


FIGURE 11 *Berroia and Lake Giannitsa (cartography: Oyat Shukurov).*

1338 (*PLP*, no. 29191). If not a coincidence, this demonstrates that the sobriquet Τούρκος was probably applicable in common usage to Cumans as well.

Most of the Oriental residents were probably incomers from Anatolia. Some members of the family of the sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II were settled by the Byzantine authorities in the region of Berroia: his mother Προδουλία, and possibly his wife, sister, daughter, and his son Constantine Melik.²⁸ Other Asian residents of Berroia, such as Μυσούρης (*PLP*, no. 19898), Μελίχ (*PLP*, nos 17784, 92662), and Ἀστραπύρης Μελίχης (*PLP*, no. 1597), were probably Anatolian Turks or their descendants. The villages of Τουρκοχώριον and Μελίκι most likely obtained their names from these Turks.

Most Turkic immigrants concentrated, first, in the city of Berroia and its environs and, second, closer to the Giannitsa swamps. Lands in the region of Berroia and the swamps near Lake Giannitsa belonged to the family of the Soultanoi who were likely linked with the Seljuk ruling house: Θεοδώρα Σουλτανίνα Μονομαχίνα (Berroia; *PLP*, no. 26335), Ξένη Σουλτανίνα Παλαιολογίνα (Nesion, Resaine; *PLP*, no. 26336), Ἀθανάσιος Σουλτάνος (Κομανίτζης; *PLP*, no. 26337), Ἀλέξιος Σουλτάνος Παλαιολόγος (Nesion; *PLP*, no. 26338), Δημήτριος Σουλτάνος Παλαιολόγος (Resaine; *PLP*, no. 26340), and Σουλτάνος Παλαιολόγος

28 Wittek, Paul. "La descendance chrétienne de la dynastie Seldjouk en Macédoine," *Echos d'Orient* 176 (1952), pp. 409–12; Idem. "Yazijioğlu 'Ali"; Idem. "Les Gagaouzes"; Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Οι χριστιανοί απόγονοι του Ιζζεδίν Καϊκαούς Β' στη Βέροια," *Μακεδονικά* 6 (1964–65), pp. 62–74. For more details on the family of the sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II, see also: Shukurov, Rustam. "Семейство ʿИzz ал-Дина Кай-Кавуса II в Византии," *Византийский временник* 67 [92] (2008), pp. 89–116.

(Berroia; *PLP*, no. 26341). Lands near Lake Giannitsa were of the aristocratic family of the Lyzikoi who apparently had blood links with the Soultanoi; Berroia was the homeland of Γεώργιος Λυζικός (*PLP*, no. 15196). Ἀθανάσιος Σουλτάνος, being undoubtedly of Anatolian Turkic blood, possessed land in Κομανίτζης, named after its former Cuman owner. If this place belonged initially to a Slavicized Cuman and was then transferred to an Anatolian Turk, there is a certain continuity and one may wonder whether traditionally this area with arable land was allotted to Turkic migrants.

The places in the region and the ratio between locals and Oriental immigrants are:

TABLE 5 *Asians in Berroia and Lake Giannitsa*

Place	Number of Persons in <i>PLP</i>	Oriental Names	Percentage
Berroia	194	15	7.7 percent
Komanitzes	2	2	100 percent
Nesion	12	1	8.3 percent
Resaine	2	2	100 percent

Oriental names for that area constitute 15 percent of the list of Oriental names for Macedonia, and 8 percent of the total number of region's residents in *PLP*; however, the ratio of Asians for particular localities is even higher, the highest percentage of Asian settlers among all the Macedonian regions. It is quite possible that it was the area, and especially the localities adjoining the swamps near Lake Giannitsa, that were mostly used for the resettling of Turkic incomers. The high percentage of Asians here may also be explained by the fact that the renowned aristocratic families of the region (the Soultanoi, Melikai, and Lyzikoi) were mentioned disproportionately compared to common people.

6 The Vardar Valley, Skopje, the Strumica

The Asians in this area seem to have been predominantly Qipchaqs. The toponymics in the neighborhood of Skopje and the Vardar River imply exclusively Cumans: *Kumanski Brod* near Skopje in the valley of the Vardar, *Kumaničevo* in the southern part of the valley of the Vardar, and *Kumanova* southeast of Skopje.

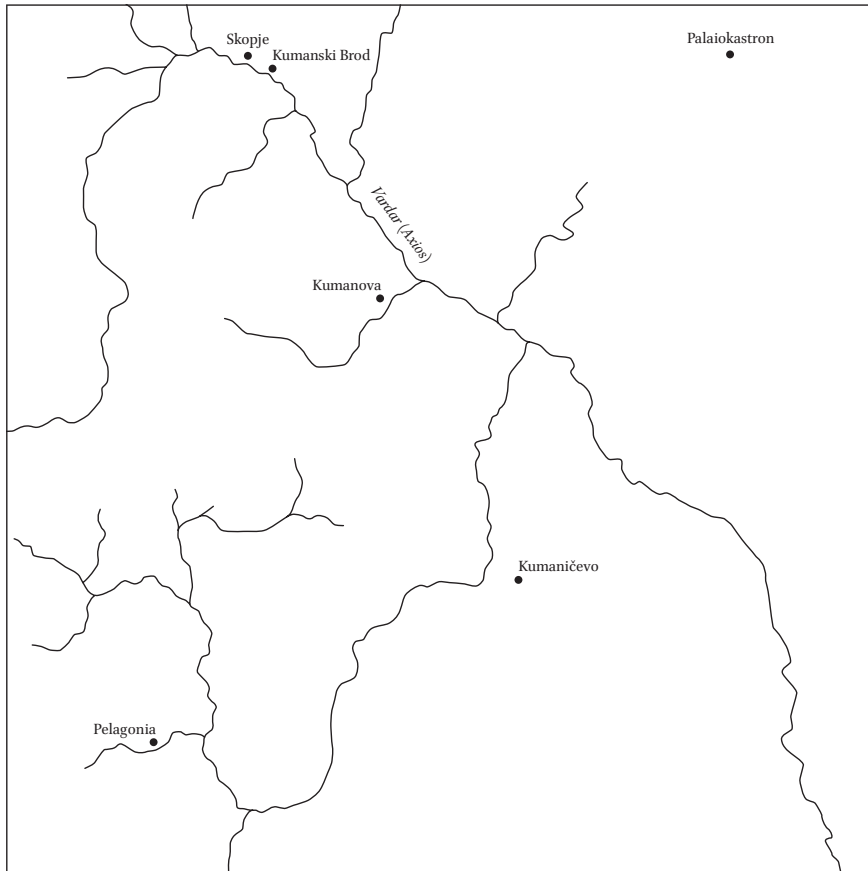


FIGURE 12 Skopje and the Vardar valley (cartography: Oyat Shukurov).

The Asians of Palaiokastron in the Strumica region were mostly of Qipchaq descent as well: Κόμανος (Strumica/Palaiokastron; *PLP*, no. 93832), two women by the name of Κομάνκα (both Strumica/Palaiokastron; *PLP*, nos 93830–31), and very likely Τουρκόπουλος (Strumica/Palaiokastron; *PLP*, no. 29178).

The immigrant residents of the region were not, however, exclusively Cuman. For instance, a certain Ἰσάχας (Pelagonia; *PLP*, no. 92115) was probably of Anatolian origin.

In the tenth century, the Vardar valley was likely settled by Hungarian mercenaries who had been enlisted in a special detachment of the imperial bodyguards called Τούρκοι Βαρδαριώται.²⁹ As late as the thirteenth and fourteenth

29 Janin, Raymond. "Les Turcs Vardariotes," *Écho d'Orient* 29 (1930), pp. 437–49; Kyriakides, Stilpon. "Η Αχριδῶ και η επισκοπή της. Οι Τούρκοι Βαρδαριώται," *Επιστημονικές Επετηρίδες*

TABLE 6 *Asians in Skopje and the Vardar valley*

Place	Number of Persons in <i>PLP</i>	Oriental Names	Percentage
Palaiokastron	186	4	2.2 percent
Pelagonia	7	1	14.3 percent

centuries, Byzantine narrative sources still referred to the detachment of the palace guards recruited from the Vardariot Turks.³⁰ Given the ethnic composition of the region, it is unlikely that, in the fourteenth century, the Vardariot guards were still ethnically Hungarian or were descendants of the initial Hungarian settlers. Judging by the onomastics of the region, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Vardariotai were ethnically either Qipchaq or Anatolian Turks who had replaced the Hungarians but who retained the traditional denomination of *Τούρκοι Βαρδαριῶται*. It is possible as well that “*Τούρκοι Βαρδαριῶται*,” by that time, had purely a territorial meaning and implied a group of settlers of mixed origin, who traditionally had been enlisted into the palace guard detachment.³¹ The Vardariotai seem to have occupied the Lower Vardar closer to Thessalonike, though it is impossible to give an exact location.³²

An argument exists in favor of an Anatolian origin for the fourteenth-century Vardariot Turks. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, during the Christmas

Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 3 (1939), pp. 513–20; Laurent, Vitalien. “Ο Βαρδαριωτῶν ἦτοι Τούρκων. Perses, Turcs asiatiques ou Turcs hongrois?,” in *Сб. в память на проф. Петръ Никовъ* (Sofia, 1940), pp. 275–88; Konidares, Gerasimos I. “Η πρώτη μνεία της επισκοπῆς Βαρδαριωτῶν Τούρκων υπό τον Θεσσαλονίκης,” *Θεολογία* 23 (1952), pp. 87–94, 236–38; Moravcsik, Gyula. *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1983), 1:87, 322; Guiland, Rodolphe. *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1967), 1:304; Oikonomides, Nicolas. “Vardariotes–W.l.nd.r–V.n.nd.r: Hongrois installés dans la vallée du Vardar en 934,” *Südost-Forschungen* 32 (1973), pp. 1–8; Kazhdan, Alexander P. “Vardariotai,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3:2153.

30 Akropolites, George. *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. August Heisenberg and Peter Wirth, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1978), 1:131.26–28; Pachymeres, George. *Georges Pachymères, Relations Historiques* IV.29, ed. Albert Failler, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), 2:417.3.

31 Janin, “Les Turcs Vardariotes,” p. 447.

32 Charanis, Peter. “The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3/2 (1961), p. 148; Vryonis, Speros. “Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower,” in *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans: Reprinted Studies* [Βυζαντινά και Μεταβυζαντινά, 2] (Malibu, 1981), no. 3, p. 138.

celebrations the Vardariotai acclaimed the emperor “in their ancient native language, that is, in Persian” (κατὰ τὴν πάλαι πάτριον καὶ τούτων φωνήν, ἥτοι περσιστί).³³ Elsewhere Pseudo-Kodinos associates the Vardariot Turks with “Persia,” again noting that they wore “on their heads a Persian hat called *angouroton*” (περσικὸν φόρεμα, ἀγγουρωτὸν ὀνομαζόμενον).³⁴ Pseudo-Kodinos finally explained that “long ago they were Persians by race; the emperor [space for a name left vacant], relocating them from there [Persia], settled them at the Vardar River; this is why they are called Vardariotai.”³⁵

Byzantine literature of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries normally employed the terms “Persians” and “Persian language” in reference to the Muslim natives of Anatolia and their Turkish language. John III Vatatzes (1221–54), Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58), or more likely Michael VIII³⁶ may have been the emperor who relocated “the Persians” from their homeland mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos. Very likely Τοῦρκοι Βαρδαριῶται of the fourteenth century were, at least partly, descendants of the Seljuk immigrants settling in the Vardar valley in the second half of the thirteenth century; these were the Anatolian Turks from whom the Vardariots inherited their “Persian” tongue.³⁷ Anatolian Turks were in the majority in the neighboring areas of Macedonia due to population transfers of the second half of the thirteenth century. If so, Vardariot guards might well have pronounced their acclamations at the imperial court in one of the Anatolian Turkic dialects or in Persian, which was common at the Seljuk court.³⁸

33 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Jean Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), p. 210.7–8; *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*, eds. Ruth Macrides, Joseph Munitiz, and Dimiter Angelov (Farnham, 2013), p. 155.

34 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 181.26–28; Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Macrides, p. 101.

35 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 182.6–10. Cf.: Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Macrides, p. 103.

36 But surely it was not Theophilos, as Janin and Moravcsik have suggested: Janin, “Les Turcs Vardariotes,” pp. 440–45; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:322.

37 It is possible that the first layer of the Anatolian Turkic element had appeared at the Vardar as early as the twelfth century, as Laurent has suggested (Laurent, “Ο Βαρδαριωτῶν ἥτοι Τοῦρκων,” pp. 285–86).

38 For the use of the Persian language in Anatolia, see: Hillenbrand, Carole. “Ravandi, the Seljuk Court at Konya and the Persianisation of Anatolian Cities,” *Mésogéios. Revue trimestrielle d'études méditerranéennes* 25–26 (2005), pp. 157–69; Ateş, Ahmed. “Hicri VI–VIII. (XII–XIV.) asırlarda Anadolu’da Farsça eserler,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7–8/2 (1945), pp. 94–135.

7 Thessalonike and Other Localities

Some Oriental names are reported for the largest urban centers of the region. Twenty-one names are referred to for Thessalonike (1 percent of the total names registered in *PLP* for the city). A considerable portion of holdings belonged to aristocratic families and civic and military officials, such as the high-status officer Χαρατζᾶς (*PLP*, nos 30614–15), the *hetaireiarches* Ἀναταυλᾶς (*PLP*, no. 870), *sebastos* Γεώργιος Ἀναταυλᾶς (*PLP*, no. 872), the *protohierakarios* Ἰαγούπης (*PLP*, no. 92055), the emperor's οἰκεῖος and συγκλητικὸς ἄρχων Θεόδωρος Ἰαγούπης (Διαγούπης; *PLP*, no. 7822), the emperor's δοῦλος Ἀλέξιος Μασγιδᾶς Κομνηνός (*PLP*, no. 17220), and another five members of that family, the *apographeus* of the Theme of Thessalonike Δημήτριος Ἀπελμενέ (*PLP*, no. 1155), κυρός Δημήτριος Σουλτάνος Παλαιολόγος,³⁹ the *protallagator* Γαζῆς (*PLP*, no. 91580), and three more Gazedes belonging to intellectuals, clerics, and merchants (*PLP*, nos 3450, 3452, 93299). Only a few members of middle and lower classes are found: financial notes mention the house owner Ἀληθινός Ἀλιάζης,⁴⁰ the landholder Βαβυλωνίτης (*PLP*, no. 91416), the *paroikos* Θεόδωρος Καζάνης (*PLP*, no. 10115), and the soldier (*kastrophylax*) Δημήτριος Ταλαπᾶς (*PLP*, no. 27416).

The prevalence of aristocracy and the concentration of officials and the elite are not surprising since Thessalonike was second only to Constantinople as an urban and administrative center. The low percentage of lower- and middle-class Orientals supports the intentional isolation of Turks away from the main urban centers by the authorities. This is supported in the case of Serres where as few as four Orientals are found, two of whom, the *kephale* Μιχαήλ Ἀβραμπάκης (*PLP*, no. 60) and Εἰρήνη Μασγιδάινα Δούκαινα (*PLP*, no. 17216), belonged to the elite.

Single Oriental names are found in different regions of western Macedonia, such as Kastoria (Σαρακηνός; *PLP*, no. 24862) and Grebena (Σαρτζάπεϊς; *PLP*, no. 24942).

8 Ethnic and Social Structure

In respect to the separation between locative categories of “Scythians” and “Persians,” Macedonian anthroponymics is revealing: both groups are found in Macedonia and the ratio between them roughly corresponds to the average

39 *PLP*, no. 26339. For more on him, see: Zachariadou, “Οἱ χριστιανοὶ απόγονοι,” p. 69.

40 *PLP*, no. 654; Kugéas, Sokrates. “Notizbuch eines Beamten der Metropolis in Thessalonike,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 23 (1914–19), p. 144 nos 1–2.

proportions for the entire Byzantine empire. The numerical expression of the ethnic affiliation of the names listed is represented in the following charts:

TABLE 7 *"Persians" and "Scythians" in Macedonia*

Origin	Names	Percentage
Persians	92	68.1 percent
Scythians	26	19.6 percent
Other	17	12.6 percent

The prevalence of Muslim names indicates the increasing role played by the Anatolian influx in the Balkans. It may have been a consequence of the massive emigration of Anatolian Turks, both sedentary and nomadic, that accompanied the Seljuk sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II when he fled to the court of Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1262. It is probable that most Asians in the database or their immediate ancestors were initially in the military service, either as immigrants or as mercenaries hired by the government. In any case, available narrative sources for that time do not provide any other explanation for the resettlement of Asians in the Byzantine territories. For particular regions of Byzantine Macedonia, it seems that Byzantine authorities deliberately mixed various groups of incomers in the same territories. Everywhere (with the exception of the area of Skopje and Strumica) Qipchaqs and Anatolian Turks lived side by side. As a rule, it is not possible to indicate any geographical area that would be populated by only one of these groups, an indication of a conscious policy of the Byzantine authorities for the assimilation of foreign newcomers.⁴¹

Macedonian Asian immigrants belonged to different strata of Byzantine social hierarchy with a different property status. Numerical expressions of the social standing of the holders of Oriental names are:

41 Charanis, "The Transfer of Population," pp. 140–54; Ditten, Hans. *Ethnische Verschiebungen zwischen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasien von Ende des 6. bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1993).

TABLE 8 *Social status*

Status	Names	Percentage
Aristocracy and <i>pronoïars</i>	46	34.1 percent
Clerics, monks, and intellectuals	9	6.6 percent
Merchants	2	1.5 percent
Smallholders and <i>paroikoi</i>	69	51.1 percent

A major part of those with Oriental names were engaged in administration, warfare, and the rural economy. The percentage of clerics, monks, and intellectuals was rather low. This affiliation of newcomers is to be expected. For a newcomer it was easier to find a social niche in ordinary affairs, rather than in intellectual activity, which presupposed a deeper immersion in the local culture. Adoption of Christianity was not a sufficient means. The predominance of aristocracy and *pronoïars* probably indicates that many of the newcomers were or initially had been soldiers, most likely mercenaries. The practice of allotting to soldiers *pronoia* as payment for their service was widespread in Byzantium at the end of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴²

The percentage of smallholding peasants and *paroikoi* (51.1 percent) is high and differs considerably from the general figures of *PLP*: *PLP*, for instance, lists only 17 percent *paroikoi* within the total number of Byzantine residents, while my database contains 31 percent *paroikoi*. It may be an indication that Turkic settlers filled mostly the lower classes of society. The peasants and *paroikoi* of the database may also have been both Qipchaq and Anatolian émigrés accompanying their compatriots who were enlisted as mercenaries, the second generation of immigrants settled on the lands, or freed slaves and prisoners of war.

The database includes the patronyms of at least seven noble families: Ἀναταυλᾶς (*PLP*, nos 868–71), Γαζής, Ἰαγούπης (*PLP*, nos 7816, 7822, 7824, 92055), Μασγιδᾶς (*PLP*, nos 17216–24, 94096, 94097), Μελίκ (*PLP*, nos 17784, 17787), Σουλτᾶνος (*PLP*, nos 26334–40), Ἀπελμενέ (*PLP*, nos 1152–53, 1155–56). The exceedingly high percentage of aristocracy in the database (about one-quarter) can be partly explained by the nature of available sources. Medieval sources, which provide a considerable portion of the names, registered mostly

42 Bartusis, Mark. "On the Problem of Smallholding Soldiers in Late Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), pp. 1–26; Idem. *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 157–90.

prominent military commanders and civic officers. Obviously, aristocrats were significantly fewer compared to the middle and lower classes.

9 Constantinople and Some Other Regions

Although the number of Oriental names for Constantinople is high, sixty-one, unlike Macedonia it is far from being balanced. The information on Turkic residents of Constantinople is derived mostly from narrative sources, which were not focused on the lower strata of the society, and to a lesser degree from imperial and patriarchal documents. More than half of the Oriental names for Constantinople belonged to high-status military and civil officers and intellectuals.

TABLE 9 *Asians in Constantinople*

Status	Names	Percentage
Aristocracy and <i>pronoïars</i>	37	59.6 percent
Clerics, monks, and intellectuals	13	20.9 percent
Small-holders and <i>paroikoi</i>	11	17.7 percent

There are four noble family names: Ἰαγούπης,⁴³ three Γαζής (*PLP*, nos 3446, 3447, 3448), two Μελίκης (*PLP*, nos 92662, 17788), three Ἀπελμενέ (*PLP*, nos 1151, 1152, 1158), four Σουλτάνος,⁴⁴ and three Συργιάννης (*PLP*, nos 27167, 27168, 27233). One cannot be sure, however, that all these names belonged to members of noble families and not to their namesakes.

High-status officials are numerous: the *protohierakarios* Ἀβράμπαξ (1290s; *PLP*, no. 61), Ἀλέξιος and Γεώργιος Ἰαγούπης, both of whom were *apographeus* and οἰκεῖος of Manuel II (*PLP*, nos 7819, 7821), Ριμψάς (πανσέβαστος and πραιτωρ τοῦ δήμου in 1286–87; *PLP*, no. 24291), Τζυράκης, who was οἰκέτης of the empress Anna (*PLP*, no. 28154), and Χαρατζάς, who was *primikerios ton exkoubitoron* in 1352 (*PLP*, no. 30615).

43 *PLP*, nos 7814, 7819, 7821, and the son of Γεώργιος Ἰαγούπης no. 7821.

44 *PLP*, nos 21387, 26333; see also below Chapter 5.4–5.

A group of names belonged to military commanders of Turkic troops: Kaykāwus' military commanders 'Alī Bahādur and Uğurlu in the 1260s, Νικηφόρος 'Ριμψᾶς (commander in 1259–71; *PLP*, no. 24292), Σαλίς (commander in 1263, operated in the Peloponnese; *PLP*, no. 24757), Ταρχατζιάρης (commander in 1305/06; *PLP*, no. 27546), and Χαλιλής (commander of Tourkopouloi in 1305–13; *PLP*, no. 30401). Several Oriental names from Thrace also belong to military commanders: 'Ιωάννης Ἀπελμενέ was the Doux of the Theme Boleron and Mosynopolis in 1324 (*PLP*, no. 1157), Μελίς commanded Turkic troops in Thrace in 1305–08 (*PLP*, no. 17761), and Τζαράπης was the governor of Apros in 1306 (*PLP*, no. 27802).

The clergy is represented by persons of varying status: the priests Θεόδωρος Ἀμηνασάν (1357; *PLP*, no. 776), Θεόδωρος Κούμανος (*PLP*, no. 13447), Κωνσταντίνος Μελίκης (*PLP*, no. 92662), Παπαμουγούλ (*PLP*, no. 21798), 'Ιωάννης Τζαμάς (*PLP*, no. 27731), the famous native of the city archbishop Σίμων Ἀτουμάνος (*PLP*, no. 1648), and the high-status convert from Islam and immigrant Μελέτιος, who seems to have lived in the city (*PLP*, no. 17738).

Rather curious are the names of Turko-Mongol origin. An Athonite Lavra's document of 1334 describes the monastery's lands in Angourina, a region of Parapolia a few miles west of Constantinople, and refers to a certain Μουγούλης as a landholder and to Μιχαήλ Μουγούλης as a *paroikos*.⁴⁵ In Angourina, the place-name Τουρκοβούνιν, i.e., "Turkish Hill," is also attested. A person with a similar name, who has been mentioned among the clergy, was the priest Παπαμουγούλ (i.e., "Father Mongol," mentioned above) in 1357. In addition, there was a curious place-name in the region of Constantinople, probably outside the city: a patriarchal act of 1351 refers to the χωρίον τὸ λεγόμενον τῶν Ταταροπούλων, which was the property of the Mougoulion Monastery.⁴⁶ The names Μουγούλης and Τατάρης, as well as Τουρκής (1323, in Mamitzon; *PLP*, no. 29168) in this context suggest the Golden Horde Turks and Mongols. The sources contain one more Mongol name, the notorious Κουτζίμπαξίς (*PLP*, no. 13622), and three Cuman names: Συτζιγάν, the first owner of which was a noble Cuman immigrant of 1241–42 (*PLP*, no. 27233), Γεώργιος Κόμανος (*PLP*, no. 93834), and the priest mentioned above, Θεόδωρος Κούμανος. The number of "Scythian" and, especially, Mongol names is a specific Constantinopolitan feature, atypical for Macedonia and Byzantine western Anatolia. These names unmistakably show the presence of Turkic and Mongol settlers from the north. This is probably an indication of the demographic impact of the frequent

45 *Actes de Lavra* III, pp. 18.18, 19.42; *PLP*, nos 19416, 19419.

46 *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, ed. Herbert Hunger, Otto Kresten, et al., 3 vols (Vienna, 1981–2001), 3:68.47 (no. 184).

Mongol raids of Thrace and Constantinople's environs at the end of the thirteenth and the first decades of the fourteenth centuries.

The influx of Turkic immigrants in the city was constant from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, although this conclusion is based on a small number of documents. The immigrants of the first generation, for instance, were Ἀμζᾶς (*PLP*, no. 772), Ἀντώνιος, who was a Muslim convert to Christianity (*PLP*, no. 91235; see also Chapter 8.14), and again Συτζίγαν, Κουτζίμπαξις, and Μελέτιος. The addressee of Manuel Gabalas Ἀτουμάνος (ca. 1313; *PLP*, no. 1646) most likely belonged to the second generation of immigrants, as did the copyist Ἀντώνιος Μπελχασήμ, son of Φίλιππος (*PLP*, no. 19695).

A meager Turkic presence is also found in Lemnos. As opposed to Constantinople, Lemnos is represented exclusively by persons of a lower social status, such as small landholders and *paroikoi*. Ἰωάννης Κόμανος (1304), Ἰωάννης Μουρτατόπουλος (1331–92), and Πέτρος Καζάνος (first half of the fifteenth c.; *PLP*, nos 12010, 19534, 92228) were *paroikoi*, while Ἀλιάζης (late fourteenth c.), Ἀμηνάλεσσα (1407), another Καζάνος (first half of the fifteenth c.), Μουρτάτος (1355, 1361), and Τουρκοῖωάννης (1407)⁴⁷ are described as landholders. Χατζίλαλα and his son Γεώργιος (1425–30) were relatively wealthy landholders (*PLP*, nos 30729–30). The name Κόμανος indicates a Cuman component among Turkic immigrants. Ἰωάννης Μουρτατόπουλος, and Μουρτάτος, judging by their “military” sobriquets and floruit, might have been those Cumans (or their descendants) who were settled in Lemnos by the order of Andronikos III Palaiologos in 1322–27. Χατζίλαλα was most likely of Ottoman descent as was Αἰτίνης, son of Κλαυδιώτης (*PLP*, no. 460). The influx of Turkish settlers never ceased here, beginning in the thirteenth century and lasting until the first half of the fifteenth.

10 A Note on Chronology

The existence of compact areas of Turkic settlement validates the chosen methodology, since narrative sources provide supporting evidence. The prevalence of Anatolian Turks indicates the scale of their immigration to the Balkans, and narrative sources reconstruct the history of these relocations. Their settlement in the Macedonian regions started not earlier than the twelfth century, but most likely the main body of the Anatolian immigrants appeared in the second half of the thirteenth century, mainly due to the exile of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II

47 *PLP*, nos 19536, 29175, 91159, 92227, 93053.

with his retinue, troops, and some of both his sedentary and his nomadic subjects.

The dates of the names cover the range from 1262 to the mid-fifteenth century. However, during this period they are distributed irregularly for different regions. For Macedonia, the chronological distribution is as follows: 8 percent of Asian names fall in the period 1261–99, 56 percent are registered for 1300–48, 17.5 percent for 1350–99, and 18.5 percent for 1400–mid-fifteenth century. Thus, more than a half of the selected names date to the period between 1300 and 1348. The case of Qipchaq names in Macedonia is even more telling. Qipchaq names are found in the sources from 1300 to 1445; however, as many as 87 percent date to 1300–48, and few are seen after 1348. Such an abrupt reduction in the number of Cuman names is somewhat puzzling. In general, this information is in keeping with narrative source for the major waves of Cuman settlement in Macedonia.

Other regions deliver another picture. Constantinople provides a completely different dynamic, where Oriental names are distributed as follows: 31 percent for 1263–91, 25 percent for 1300–34, 22 percent for 1352–96, and 22 percent for 1401–75. Lemnos, which generally corresponds to Constantinople and differs from Macedonia, offers the following: 33 percent for 1304–61, 66 percent for ca. 1400–53.

The figures for Macedonia might reveal a specific tendency in demographic evolution in the region. A reason for this irregularity could be the nature of the main sources for Macedonian demography: namely the acts of the Athos monasteries which contain detailed information only for the fourteenth century. Another explanation could be that the dramatic decrease in the numbers of Asians after the mid-fourteenth century may reflect the impact of the Black Death. The plague inundated the region several times after 1347, affecting the demographics.⁴⁸ Perhaps the Black Death changed the preexisting ethnic structure of the region, sweeping away the Asians. Although the Asians suffered from the plague as did other ethnic groups, perhaps once the pandemic subsided Greek and Slavic populations recovered, while Asians did not. The sharp decrease in the number of Asians after the mid-fourteenth century indicates that the height of both Anatolian and Qipchaq migrations to Macedonia occurred from the end of the thirteenth century through the first decades of the fourteenth century and had tapered off by the mid-fourteenth century.

48 Lefort, Jacques. "Rural Economy and Social Relations in the Countryside," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), pp. 104–06; Idem. "Population et peuplement," pp. 69–71; *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, 3 vols (Washington, DC, 2002), 1:48–49.

New waves of population transfers from Anatolia and Dasht-i Qipchaq to the Balkans would again increase due to the Ottoman conquests in the last decades of the fourteenth century.⁴⁹ This, however, was a completely new phase in the Turkification of the Balkans.

11 The Problem of Merchants

Somewhat puzzling is the low percentage of traders in the Balkans in the database. Available sources, however, seldom reflect the activities of merchants. Only a few surviving documents, such as account books, are directly related to trade and contain the names of merchants trading in Byzantine territory.⁵⁰ A list of merchants with the indication of their activity's place and date follows:

- Γαζής, Γεώργιος (Thessalonike, 1356/57; *PLP*, no. 93299).
 Ἰωσοῦπης/Ἰοσοῦπης (Black Sea, Herakleia, 1363; *PLP*, no. 93669).
 Καβάδης, Μανουήλ (wine merchant, Black Sea, 1319, 1324 or 1349; *PLP*, no. 93671).
 Μασιδᾶς (Thessalonike, 1356/57; *PLP*, no. 94096).
 Μαχμούτης (Black Sea, Herakleia, 1363; *PLP*, no. 94127).
 Μουσούλης, Θεόδωρος (Black Sea, 1440; *PLP*, no. 94210).
 Μουσουλμάνος (Μουλσουμάνος) (Black Sea, Herakleia, 1363; *PLP*, no. 94211).
 Μουσταφᾶς (Black Sea, Herakleia, 1363; *PLP*, no. 94213).
 Σατουλμίσης (soap trader, Black Sea, Herakleia 1363; *PLP*, no. 24964).
 Σουλαμάνης (Black Sea, Herakleia 1363; *PLP*, no. 26320).
 Ταρτάρης, Μανόλης (apple and chestnut trader, Black Sea, Herakleia 1363; *PLP*, no. 27457).
 Τζάκας (Black Sea, Herakleia 1363; *PLP*, no. 27694).
 Τοῦρκος (Black Sea, Herakleia 1363; *PLP*, no. 29185).
 Τοῦρκος, Δημήτριος (Black Sea, 1440; *PLP*, no. 29187).
 Τοῦρκος, Ἰωάννης (Black Sea, 1400; *PLP*, no. 29188).
 Τοῦρκος, Μιχάλης (Black Sea, 1400; *PLP*, no. 29189).
 Τουρκόπλος (Black Sea, 1314, 1329 or 1344; *PLP*, no. 29176).
 Χαλίλης (Black Sea, Herakleia 1363; *PLP*, no. 30400).
 Χαμάλης (Black Sea, 1438; *PLP*, no. 30545).

49 See, for instance: Smyrliis, "The First Ottoman Occupation of Macedonia," pp. 327–48.

50 See Indexes in: Schreiner, Peter. *Texte zur späthbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1991).

Χαντζαλής (Thessaly, Phanarion, 1404; *PLP*, no. 30587).

Χησάπογλας, Μανόλης (Black Sea, fifteenth c.; *PLP*, no. 30794).

These names, with few exceptions, were recorded in financial notes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, published by Peter Schreiner and refer to the western Black Sea region. When a name is not accompanied by a baptismal name there is no certainty whether the subject was Byzantine or a foreigner. Hence ten on the list – Ίωσούπης, Μαχμούτης, Μουσουλμάνος, Μουσταφάς, Σατουλμίσης, Σουλαμάνης, Τζάκας, Χαλίλης, Χαμάλης, Χαντζαλής – might well have been Muslim merchants from Anatolia, the Ottoman Balkans, or Crimea. Based on their names, most of these merchants were of Anatolian Turkish descent. Only Ταρτάρης was “Scythian,” while Σατουλμίσης and Τοῦρκος might have belonged to either “Scythians” or “Persians.” The prevalence of Anatolians among merchants is understandable since urban life was more developed in Anatolia in comparison to the Golden Horde’s lands. However, the low percentage of traders in the database is most likely due to a lack of adequate sources.

The Noble Lineages

Due to the nature of available sources, we know more about members of nobility, who were referred to in both documentary and narrative sources disproportionately to lower-status persons. Macedonian and, especially, Constantinopolitan anthroponymics clearly illustrates this. The members of noble families, senior military commanders, and civil officials constitute for the west Byzantine lands 35.15 percent (122 persons) of the database. These represent all generations of noble clans. The approximate ratio between members of the first and subsequent generations is 1:3. Consequently, 75 percent of the noble and high-ranking individuals from the database were not immigrants, but rather native Byzantines, albeit descendants (often rather distant) of “Persians” and “Scythians.” Therefore, these high-ranking persons may be called immigrants from the East or the North only with reservation.

Among the nobility, “Persians” significantly prevailed over “Scythians.” The Scythian nobility constitutes as little as 8 percent of the total number of high-ranking persons, the remainder are “Persians” or “Arabs.” At the same time, *paroikoi* with “Scythian” and “Persian” names give the opposite proportion: 60 percent of “Scythians” versus 40 percent of “Persians” (and others). Consequently, newcomers from Anatolia entered Byzantine society with more ease and were more able to make successful careers. Although single “Scythian” individuals were found among senior officials and courtiers, there were no “Scythian” noble families that would become related to the ruling dynasty and other high-profile lineages of the empire. The only exception was the Συργιάννης family, which was related to the Palaiologoi and other aristocratic houses, but lasted as a noble lineage for only two generations (mid-thirteenth c.-ca. 1334).¹ The prevalence of “Persian” nobility was closely linked to the cultural quality coming from the East and North. The Anatolian substratum was much more urbanized and refined in comparison to the “Scythian” wasteland. It was easier for them to settle in Byzantium and adjust to the norms proposed by the Greeks.

¹ PLP, nos 27233, 27167, 27168.

1 Constructing a “Family”

Alexander Kazhdan, in his classic and still highly influential works on the structure of the Byzantine nobility in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, has chosen the construction of “families” as his systematization of prosopographic material.² The main criterion for inclusion of a group of individuals into a “family” is based on their “patronymic.” However, Byzantine bynames were often not patronymics at all, but rather sobriquets derived, on the part of foreigners, either from a person’s pre-baptismal first name, nickname, official title, or honorary title. After baptism, the foreigner assumed a Christian name, while his older name might have been turned into a sobriquet. Because of this, Kazhdan’s construction of families, in some cases, seems arbitrary.

In establishing family links, especially for those with foreign names, one must be careful; the same foreign sobriquet could belong to someone not related by kinship and who was often separated from others geographically, chronologically, and professionally. It often depended on the popularity of a particular name among groups of foreigners.

For instance, the name Κόμανος appears fourteen times in the database, however, none belonged to nobility and hardly any can be grouped into a multigeneration lineage. The same is true of the sobriquets of seven individuals owning the name Σαρακηνός, and of five called Καζάνης/Καζάνος. These were popular sobriquets for lower classes who had no noble kinship links and no prominent position in state or church hierarchy.

2 The Gazes Families (I and II)

The name Γαζής was extremely wide-spread among “Persians.” It comes from the well-known Arabic term *ghāzī* (غازي), which in Turkish and Persian of the time meant “warrior, conqueror, raider, soldier of fortune.”³ Byzantines had

2 Kazhdan, Alexander P. *Армяне в составе господствующего класса Византии в XI–XII вв.* (Yerevan, 1975); Kazhdan, Alexander P. and Ronchey, Silvia. *L'aristocrazia bizantina dal principio dell'XI alla fine del XII secolo* (Palermo, 1999). See also: Zhavoronkov, Petr I. “Тюрки в Византии (XIII–середина XIV в.). Часть первая: тюркская аристократия,” *Византийский временник* 65 (2006), pp. 163–77, who uncritically follows Kazhdan’s models in the constructing of the Turkic “families” in Byzantium.

3 The Arabic غازي *ghāzī* is the substantivized active participle of the verb *ghazā* (root *gh-z-w*) with the meaning “to make a raid or an attack, to win, to seize, to loot.” The additional meaning of *ghazawat* (the verbal noun from the same verb) as “war against infidels” appeared much later and was secondary. For *ghāzī*, see also Chapter 3.9.

known the word γαζής as deriving from the Oriental “ghāzī warrior” since the twelfth century. For the events of 1116, Anna Komnene refers to a Ghāzī (Γαζής), one of the noble Turks in the service of the Seljuks, who was the son of the emir Ἀσάν Κατούχ.⁴ In the twelfth century, the honorary title Ghāzī was extensively used by the Danishmandid rulers in both its Arabic and Greek forms. The Greek legend on a coin of Gümüştegin Ghāzī (1104–34) gives the Greek form of his Muslim title as ὁ μέγας ἀμυρά(ς) Ἀμύρ Γαζή(ς).⁵ Ghāzī sometimes might be used as a first name as well.⁶ The word γαζής continued circulating in the Greek-speaking world throughout the Late Byzantine period and beyond.⁷ Therefore, it is unlikely that Greek γαζής could have been confused with anything other than *ghāzī* by the Byzantines of the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries.

There were fourteen Γαζήδες in Late Byzantine times; however, only a part of them could be grouped hypothetically into a family. A certain military Γαζής, mentioned earlier, who died before September 1286, was the former owner of land in Lozikion (eastern Chalkidike) and, possibly, one of Kaykāwus’ soldiers.⁸ He was a soldier of the cavalry troop of the thematic army of Thessalonike (ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεσσαλονικαίου ἀλλαγίου).⁹ Most likely he was a first-generation immigrant. Here Γαζής was a nickname which probably later became a family name for his descendants. In 1315, the Slavic Chilandar *praktikon* referred to προνιѣ Γαζниѣ Сириѣанова, that is, the *pronoia* of Συργιάννης Γαζής in Kastrin

4 Komnene, Anna. *Annae Comnenae Alexias* xv.6.9, ed. A. Kambylis and D.R. Reinsch (Berlin and New York, 2001).

5 The name Ἀμύρ Γαζή(ς) is found also on some subsequent Danishmandid coins. In the thirteenth century, the Mengujekid ruler Bahrām-Shāh in Erzincan (1168–1225), the Ayyūbids of Syria, and the Salduqids bore the honorary title of Ghāzī. Later the Ottoman emirs and sultans called themselves *ghāzī*. See more details: Shukurov, Rustam. “Turkmen and Byzantine Self-Identity: Some Reflections on the Logic of the Title-Making in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Anatolia,” in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. Antony Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 255–72.

6 See, for instance: Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Izz al-Dīn. *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. Carolus Johannes Tornberg, 14 vols (Leiden, 1851–76), 11:329, 12:278–79.

7 Moravcsik, Gyula. *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1983), 2:108, 109; Demetrakos, Demetrios. *Μέγα Λεξικόν Ὁλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, 15 vols (Athens, 1953–58), 2:1534.

8 *Actes de Zographou*, ed. Wassilij Regel, Eduard Kurtz, and Boris Korabiev, in *Византийскіи временник, Приложение к 13 тому* (St. Petersburg, 1907), no. X.15–19, 27 (pp. 27–28); *PLP*, no. 3444.

9 For *megala allagia*, see: Bartusis, Mark. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 192–96.

(Strymon) who very likely was a soldier and military officer.¹⁰ In September 1344, a certain *protallagator* Γαζής, a high-ranking military officer from Thessalonike, was a witness in an investigation concerning a dispute between the monastery of Docheiariou and a fiscal officer.¹¹ Given that all three were officials and military commanders, bore the same family name, and lived in the same area, it would be reasonable to suggest that they belong to a prominent family of hereditary soldiers living in the region of Thessalonike:

I Generation (1260s–80s)

Γαζής, ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Θησσαλονικαίου ἀλλαγίου, d. before 1286

II Generation (1280s–1300s)

N.

III Generation (1300s–20s)

Συργιάννης Γαζής, *pronoiar*, 1315

IV Generation (1320s–40s)

Γαζής, πρωταλλαγάτωρ, 1344

Thus, one may suggest that the *megaloallagites* Γαζής was the grandfather of Συργιάννης Γαζής and the great-grandfather of the *protallagator* Γαζής. It is also possible that Παῦλος Γαζής, probably a resident of Thessalonike, who in 1400–19 was δοῦλος of the emperor and ἀπογραφεύς,¹² could have been a relative of the Γαζήδες; however, between him and πρωταλλαγάτωρ Γαζής there is a gap of two generations, which makes such a suggestion hazardous.

As noted, Γαζής was a popular name; we find eleven more individuals (including Παῦλος Γαζής) bearing this name from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. However, it is too risky to claim that all or even some of them were related to those discussed above.¹³

One more prominent family with the patronymic Γαζής existed, to which belonged the famous intellectual Theodore Gaza, or more correctly Gazes (Θεόδωρος Γαζής, b. ca. 1400–75/76). He mentioned his father Ἀντώνιος and two brothers Ἀνδρόνικος and Δημήτριος by their first names, without a

10 Mošin, Vladimir. "Акти из светогорских архива," *Споменик Српске Краљевске Академје* 91 (1939), p. 208.171–72 (not listed in *PLP*).

11 *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 23.10 (p. 170); *PLP*, no. 91580.

12 *PLP*, no. 3452.

13 *PLP*, nos 3440, 3443, 3445–51, 93299.

patronymic.¹⁴ However, the purely Oriental sobriquet of Theodore, who was the son of Christian Antonios, can be explained only by the fact that Antonios himself possessed the byname Γαζής and passed it to his sons, and Γαζής therefore became a patronymic for subsequent generations. One can assume that Theodore's brothers Andronikos and Demetrios bore the same patronymic Γαζής. It is difficult to say whether the family had any blood relations with the military Γαζήδες or with Παύλος Γαζής. Taking into account the popularity of the name, these could have been just a namesake.

3 The Melik/Melikes/Melek Family

Another popular name for nobles and prominent persons was Μελίκ (variant spellings Μελήκ and Μελίκης). In fact, there did exist the noble family of the Meliks, founded by *sebastokrator* or *caesar* Κωνσταντῖνος Μελήκ (d. after 1306), the son of the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus. Constantine Melek was the governor of Pegai on behalf of Andronikos II and later, probably, became the governor of Berroia. The Greek μελήκ in Constantine's byname is one of the orthographic variants of the original Arabic title *malik* "king, prince" (ملك), which was early on borrowed by both Persian and Turkic. In Seljuk Anatolia of the thirteenth century, it was often used as an honorary title with the meaning "prince, sultan's son" (i.e., an equivalent of the Persian *shāh-zāda*) and was also employed for official titles of high officers with the meaning "head, chief emir": *malik al-umarā* "head of emirs," *malik al-sawāḥil* "chief emir of the Seaboard," *malik al-shu'arā* "chief poet," and so on.¹⁵ Pachymeres' usage clearly indicates that "Melek" in the particular case of Constantine was a sobriquet deriving from the honorary title *prince* or *sultan's son* (*melek* Constantine → Constantine Melek).¹⁶

This evolution of the name from an honorary title to a byname provides additional confirmation for Vitalian Laurent's suggestion that Constantine Melek founded the noble family of Meleks, which became related to the

14 PLP, nos 3446–48 and 3450; Gazes, Theodore. *Theodori Gazae epistolae*, ed. Petrus Aloisius M. Leone (Naples, 1990), no. 12.1, p. 66 (father's name); no. 4.1, p. 48 (brothers' names).

15 Ayalon, Ami. "Malik," *ET*², 6:261a–b; *Histoire des Seldjoudes d'Asie Mineure d'après l'abrégé du Seldjouknameh d'Ibn-Bibi*, ed. M.H. Houtsma (Leiden, 1902), p. 5 etc., passim; Shukurov, Rustam. *Великие Комнины и Восток (1204–1461)* (St. Petersburg, 2001), pp. 129–32.

16 Pachymeres, George. *Georges Pachymérès, Relations Historiques* xiii.22, ed. Albert Failler, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), 4:675.2–14: "ὁ Μελήκ Κωνσταντῖνος, τῶν τοῦ σουλτάνου υἱῶν ἄτερος."

Raouls in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹⁷ Laurent's conclusions are based on the analysis of a note from the end of the fifteenth century from the Evangeliary Barber. gr. 449, which relates to the ancestors of a certain Ματθαῖος Ῥαοὺλ Μελίκης. According to the note, an unnamed ancestor of the Meliks (προπάππος) originated from "Persia" (i.e., Seljuk Anatolia) and came to Constantinople with a large cavalry army to aid the city. Plausibly, this is a reference to the sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II's flight to Constantinople, which was retained in the family tradition. The sultan did in fact bring with him a large cavalry army, which participated in Byzantine wars of the time. The note calls the ancestor αὐθέντης, which can be understood as "sovereign," one belonging to a royal lineage, and can be applied to both Kaykāwus II and his son *malik* Constantine. The description of the official costume of the ancestor is plausibly applicable to Constantine only: the ancestor's headgear was decorated with a red stone (λιθάριν κόκκινον), probably a Pamir ruby and, by the emperor's order, he wore a dark-blue garment (γεραναῖον). As Laurent rightly noted, precious stones in headgear were an imperial attribute, while blue clothing indicated the dignities of *sebastokrator* and *caesar*, the top of the Late Byzantine hierarchy of dignities.¹⁸ Therefore, as Laurent concludes, the most apt candidate for the Meliks' ancestor is Constantine Melek. The rank of a governor, which Constantine Melek held in Pegai and Berroia, presupposed a high status in the state hierarchy. Constantine Melek was a first-generation immigrant, most likely born in Seljuk Anatolia, and by 1264/65, at the time of his father's flight from Byzantium, was probably underage and stayed with the sultan's women. Probable descendants of Constantine Melek were Ἀστραπύρης Μελίκης (referred to in 1338–43; *PLP*, no. 1597), Ῥάλης Μελίκης (*PLP*, no. 17791, ca. 1400), Μανουήλ Ῥαοὺλ Μελίκης (ca. 1439/40; *PLP*, no. 17788), and Ματθαῖος Ῥαοὺλ Μελίκης Ἀσάνης Παλαιολόγος (b. 1397–d. 1497; *PLP*, no. 17790). In addition, Ἰωάννης Μελίκης (landholder in Serres, 1323–26; *PLP*, no. 17787) and another Μελίχ whose baptismal name is unknown (Berroia, 1350–52; *PLP*, no. 17784) possibly belonged to the lineage of Constantine Melek. It seems that the aristocratic family of the Meliks became related to at least the Palaiologoi, Raouls, and Asans, eminent lineages of the empire.

1 Generation (1280s–1300s)

Κωνσταντῖνος Μελίχ, d. after 1306

17 Laurent, Vitalien. "Une famille turque au service de Byzance. Les Mélikès," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 49 (1956), pp. 349–68. Cf.: Zhavoronkov, "Тюрки в Византии," pp. 169–70.

18 Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Jean Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), Index.

II Generation (1300s–20s)

Ἰωάννης Μελίκης, 1323–26

III Generation (1320s–40s)

Ἀστραπύρης Μελίκης, 1338–43

IV Generation (1340s–60s)

Μελίκ, 1350–52

V Generation (1360s–80s)

N.

VI Generation (1380s–1400s)

Ῥάλης Μελίκης, ca. 1400

VII Generation (1400s–20s)

N.

VIII Generation (1420s–40s)

Μανουήλ Ῥαοὺλ Μελίκης, ca. 1439/40

IX–X Generations (1440s–80s)

N.

XI Generation (1480s–1500s)

Ματθαῖος Ῥαοὺλ Μελίκης Ἀσάνης Παλαιολόγος, d. 1497

The name Melik seems to have been used mostly by noble and prominent individuals. However, some individuals having the name Melik had nothing in common with the aristocratic family. The soldier Μελίκ, who was one of the commanders of the “Persian” troops in the Byzantine army during the war in Peloponnese in 1263 (*PLP*, no. 17785), surely had a lower social standing compared to Constantine Melek and, in addition, was much older. Undoubtedly, Μελίκ was a high-standing officer belonging to the first-generation immigrants who came most likely with Ἰzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II. We know nothing about his descendants.¹⁹

19 See also: Fassoulakis, Sterios. *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens, 1973), pp. 86–88.

Ἰσαάκ Μελήκ (d. 1305/06; *PLP*, no. 8242) was the military leader of Anatolian Turkish allies of the Catalans; he defected to Andronikos II and was promised the hand of a noble Turkish girl, the Seljuk sultan Mas'ūd's daughter, who lived in Constantinople. The emperor appointed him the governor of Pegai. Judging by his name, Ἰσαάκ Μελήκ was a baptized Turk.²⁰ Thus, having defected to the Byzantines and becoming the emperor's subject, he became a first-generation immigrant. He had little time, however, to take advantage of his new status because he was soon executed by the Catalans.

Another Μελήκ (*PLP*, no. 17761), who defected to the Catalans in 1305, was Christian and the commander of the Byzantine Tourkopouloi. In 1307, he participated in military operations in Thrace on the Catalan side and, in 1308, he left the Catalans with his men and moved to Serbia. Although Gregoras links this Μελήκ with the sultan Kaykāwus II, chronologically, it is improbable that Μελήκ belonged to the generation of Kaykāwus' soldiers. Gregoras is probably inaccurate again, as in other cases when he describes events of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries.²¹ This Μελήκ was most likely either a second-generation immigrant or an officer from the "Persian" troops of the Byzantine army.

The Constantinopolitan priest Κωνσταντῖνος Μελίκης (Μελλίκης, 1357; *PLP*, no. 92662) had nothing in common with the above-discussed Meliks,²² although it may be that he was a scion of noble parents. The same can be said about the copyist Ἰωάννης Μελικᾶς (fourteenth-fifteenth c.; *PLP*, no. 17786). Most probably, these Meliks were remote descendants of the "Persian" immigrants. These examples indicate the need to treat with great care any attempt to construct a family based only on the similarity of bynames.

4 The Soultanos Family (I)

Kinship relations between persons with the name Σουλτάνος need to be interpreted. We know of twelve individuals having this name, which in most cases was probably a patronymic rather than a sobriquet. Evidently, the family name Σουλτάνος indicates an origin from the ruling dynasty of the Seljuk sultanate in

20 Pachymeres XIII.15, XIII.22–23, XIII.29 (4:651, 671, 673–75, 695–97).

21 Gregoras, Nikephoros. *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker, 3 vols (Bonn, 1829–55), 1:229.11–12, 248.5–10, 254.3–17.

22 Hunger, Herbert. "Die Exarchenlist des Patriarchen Kallistos I. im Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel," in *ΚΑΘΗΗΤΡΙΑ. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Camberley, UK, 1988), p. 438 (no. 1.54).

Anatolia, although such an origin is complicated. This patronymic might well have belonged to different Byzantine families that were linked by genetic kinship but to different members of the Seljuk dynasty. According to the studies of Zachariadou and Zhavoronkov, at least two different families of the Soultanoi had different Seljuk progenitors of royal blood.²³

One of the families was founded by a certain Ἀθανάσιος Σουλτάνος (*PLP*, no. 26337), who was mentioned in two acts of the Vatopedi monastery.²⁴ According to the chrysobull of Andronikos II Palaiologos of June 1324, some time before that date *pansebastos sebastos* Theodore Sarantenos (d. 1330; *PLP*, no. 24906) had founded the monastery of St. John the Prodromos in Berroia, called τῆς Πέτρας; he had asked the emperor to confirm the independence of the monastery and to make it a patriarchal one. In addition, he requested that the emperor exempt from tax his possessions in Kritzista that he had donated to the monastery, as well as other possessions he intended for the monastery, both his ancestral lands and those he had received as a dowry from his late father-in-law Soultanos (τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Σουλτάνου ἐκείνου²⁵).

In Theodore Sarantenos' testament of October 1325, in addition to the movable and immovable wealth he had donated to the monastery of St. John the Prodromos, he again refers to the land formerly belonging to his father-in-law Soultanos.²⁶ The document contains additional information about Soultanos. First, he is referred to by his baptismal name (κύρις Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Σουλτάνος) and his noble origin is noted (εὐγενέστατος). Second, the testament maintains that Sarantenos' wife was Eudokia Doukaina Angelina Komnene (*PLP*, no. 151) who was the daughter of Athanasios Soultanos.²⁷ Judging by the daughter's name, Athanasios Soultanos married a noble lady whose family included the most renowned aristocratic patronyms of the empire (Doukas, Angelos, Komnenos).²⁸ Third, the document cites former possessions of Athanasios, which included arable land and forest in Komanitzes. The village Komanitzes, which has been described in detail by Kravari, was situated about 5 km north

23 Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Ἰζεδίν Καϊκαοῦς Β' στὴ Βέροια," *Μακεδονικά* 6 (1964–65), pp. 62–74; Zhavoronkov, "Тюрки в Византии," pp. 171–72, 174.

24 *Actes de Vatopedi*, ed. Jacques Bompaire, Jacques Lefort, Vassiliki Kravari, and Christophe Giros, 2 vols (Paris, 2001–06), 1: no. 62, p. 334, 336.71–72; no. 64, p. 344–61.

25 *Actes de Vatopedi*, 1: no. 62, p. 334, 336.71–72.

26 *Actes de Vatopedi*, 1: no. 64, p. 344–61.

27 *Actes de Vatopedi*, 1: no. 64, p. 358.141.

28 Polemis, Demetrios I. *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), p. 164. Cf. with Zachariadou's suggestion that Eudokia obtained the noble family name of Doukaina Angelina Komnene from her husband: Zachariadou, "Οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι," p. 67.

of Berroia on the southern bank of the Tripotamos river. The forest mentioned in the testament still survived in the eastern neighborhood of the village in 1958, but no longer exists.²⁹ The name of the village Κομανίτζης derives from the ethnic name Κόμανος “Cuman,” and the Slavic diminutive suffix. Kravari suggests that the village’s name derived from the personal name of a former owner of the property.³⁰ If this place formerly belonged to a Slavicized Cuman and later passed to a Seljuk Turk there is continuity, perhaps meaning that the location was intended by the authorities for the accommodation of foreigners. Fourth, Sarantenos’ testament specifies that he possessed the former lands of Soultanos for forty-six years. This statement indicates the date of his marriage to Eudokia as being around 1279; evidently, at that time, Athanasios was still alive.³¹ Theodore Sarantenos was a prestigious match for Eudokia; by the end of his life, he held high official ranks (*pansebastos*, *sebastos*, *skouterios*). It also means that Athanasios himself must have belonged to the highest aristocratic stratum of the empire thanks to a noble lineage.

Theocharides first suggested that Athanasios was a brother or son of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II and had married an unknown sister of Michael Palaiologos.³² Zachariadou later identified Athanasios Soultanos as one of the sons of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II, who remained in Byzantium after his father’s escape.³³ This hypothesis has been accepted by Chionides;³⁴ however, the editors of *PLP* have questioned the identification, and the editors of the acts of Vatopedi have referred to Zachariadou’s identification, but withheld judgement.

The reasons to doubt this identification are serious. If Athanasios Soultanos’ daughter Eudokia had reached marriageable age (twelve years old) and was married at the very latest by 1279, it would mean that she was born not later than 1267 but most likely earlier, since it was rare for Byzantine noble girls to be married at that young age. In such a case, Athanasios would have been

29 Kravari, Vassiliki. *Villes et villages de Macédoine occidentale* (Paris, 1989), pp. 76–78 (with the discussion of alternative localizations of Κομανίτζης) and map 10.

30 Kravari, *Villes et villages*, p. 76.

31 *Actes de Vatopedi*, 1: no. 64, p. 355.64–356.67: “τὸ ζευγηλατεῖον μου, τὸ τοῦ Κομανίτζη μετὰ πάντων αὐτοῦ τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ προνομίων, τοῦ εὐρίσκομένου λόγγου καὶ τῶν ὕλοκοπιῶν, καθὼς παρεδόθη πρὸς με διὰ γυναικείας προικὸς καὶ καθὼς ἐκράτει αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ εὐγενέστατος πενθερός μου κύρις Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Σουλτάνος ἐπὶ χρόνοις πολλοῖς, καὶ ἐγὼ ἤδη τὴν σήμερον χρόνους τεσσαρακονταεξί.”

32 Theocharides, Georgios. *Μία διαθήκη καὶ μία δίκη Βυζαντινὴ. Ανέκδοτα Βατοπεδινὰ ἐγγράφα* (Thessalonike, 1962), p. 55 n. 6.

33 Zachariadou, “Οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι,” pp. 62–74.

34 Chionides, Georgios. *Ιστορία τῆς Βεροίας, τῆς πόλεως καὶ περιοχῆς* (Thessalonike, 1970), pp. 115–17.

born no later than 1250–51 to reach reproductive age (sixteen-seventeen years). Therefore, he could not have been the son of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II who was born in 1237 and would have been only thirteen or fourteen in 1250–51. It is also known that the eldest son of 'Izz al-Dīn was Mas'ūd. It is therefore not possible to identify Athanasios Soultanos as a son of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II.

Additional chronological indications are found in the documents, which state that Athanasios Soultan had possessed the land for “eighty years” (chrysobull of 1324) and “eighty and more years” (testament of 1325).³⁵ Therefore Athanasios came into possession of the estate around 1244. According to Zachariadou and Kravari, Athanasios or his father could have obtained these lands only after 1261, the year of Kaykāwus II's resettlement in Byzantium (actually 1262).³⁶ One cannot, however, ignore the chronological indication of “eighty or more years” in the imperial chrysobull and by Sarantenos himself, who related the family memory and testified to a certain event well known to him and his defunct wife, as well as to jurists compiling the documents.

Most likely, Sarantenos and his informants by this date implied the reconquest of the region by the Nicaeans. John III Vatatzes (1221–54) seized the Vardar valley, Thessalonike, and Berroia in the autumn/winter of 1246.³⁷ Some interesting information is found in the *enkomion* of Theodore II Laskaris to his father John III. According to Theodore II Laskaris, his father moved some Cumans to Asia Minor (ca. 1241/42) and, in a reverse movement, Anatolian Turks to the Balkans.³⁸ It, moreover, is maintained that the “Persian” himself, that is, the Seljuk sultan, sent his sons (probably as hostages) to John III and

35 *Actes de Vatopedi*, 1: no. 62, p. 336.71–72: “κατεχόμενα παρ' αὐτοῦ τε (καί) τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σουλτάνου ἐκείνου ἐπὶ χρόνοις ἡδὴ ὀγδοήκοντα”; no. 64, p. 356.69–70: “τὴν τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἐπέκεινα χρόνων ταύτην.” Zhavoronkov's reading of these passages is doubtful: he has concluded that the reference to “eighty years” here is an indication of the age of Athanasios Soultan at the time of his death (Zhavoronkov, “Тюрки в Византии,” p. 171).

36 Zachariadou, “Οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι,” p. 70; Kravari, *Villes et villages*, p. 76 n. 1.

37 Akropolites, George. *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. August Heisenberg and Peter Wirth, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1978), 1:78–84; Kravari, *Villes et villages*, p. 43.

38 Laskaris, Theodore. *Teodoro II Duca Lascari, Encomio dell'Imperatore Giovanni Duca*, ed. Luigi Tartaglia (Naples, 1990), p. 50.95–98: “καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρὶν ἐκ τῆς δυτικῆς καὶ τῶν δυτικῶν χωρίων ἀποσπᾶσας τὸν Σκύθην τῇ ἐξῆς ἔδνα δοῦλα τὰ τούτου γεννήματα συνεισήγαγες, καὶ ἀνταλλάξας τέκνα τὰ Περσικὰ δεσμεῖς τούτων τὰς ἀντιστάσεις πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἀσφαλῶς.” For the discussion and translation of this *enkomion*, see: Langdon, John S. *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor: The Documentary Evidence for the Hagiographical Lore about John III Ducas Vatatzes' Crusade against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231* (New York, 1992), pp. 19–20.

witnessed “his own kin” settled in the empire.³⁹ The settlement of Cumans in Anatolia is well known from other sources. There are no reasons to ignore Theodore II’s statement that some “Persians” were moved to the Balkans and that some of the sultan’s children found themselves in Byzantium.

It is difficult, however, to know which of the Seljuk sultans are meant, especially since one cannot expect from a rhetorical statement the observance of strict chronological order. It is possible that the settlement of the Cumans and the arrival of the sultan’s sons happened at different times. The sultan ‘Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād I (1220–37) seems a more appropriate candidate for Theodore II’s “Persian,” because we know that his successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (1237–46) had only three sons, and the biographies of all three are well known.

Athanasios Soultanos could have in fact been one of the sons of ‘Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād I, who was sent (or given as a hostage) by his father to the Nicaean empire and moved by the emperor to the Berroia region after 1246. It would come as no surprise if the family memory had increased Athanasios’ settlement in Berroia by one or two years. If Athanasios was the son of ‘Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād I, then he would have been the brother of Kaykhusraw II and the paternal uncle of Kaykāwus II. Seemingly, this seems to be the only plausible interpretation that does not contradict the surviving evidence.

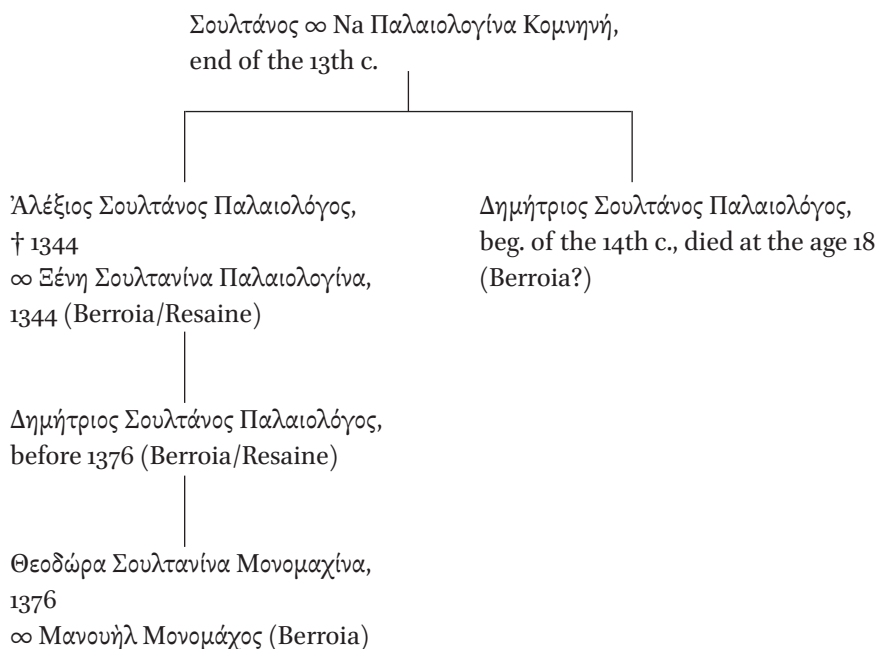
Except for his daughter Eudokia and her husband Sarantenos, we do not know of any other members of Athanasios Soultanos’ lineage.

5 The Soultanos Family (II)

Names from the other Soultanoi who were descendants of a close relative of Kaykāwus II have survived. Their progenitor was a certain Σουλτάν (*PLP*, no. 26333), who was mentioned by Manuel Philes as the father of Δημήτριος Σουλτάνος Παλαιολόγος (*PLP*, no. 26339, end of the thirteenth c.). According to Philes, Demetrios’ father was of sultanic blood (σουλτανικοῖς αἵμασιν) who was born in “Persia” (ἐξήνεγκε Περσίς) but changed his “paternal religion” (πάτριον σέβας) to Christianity.⁴⁰ There is no doubt that a member of the Seljuk rul-

39 Laskaris, p. 50.88–92: “Πέρσης . . . καὶ τέκνα σοι φέρει καὶ χρήματα δίδωσι καί, τὸ καινότατον, ἀποικισμοὺς τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὁρῶν, τιτρωσκόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν.” Langdon’s translation (p. 20): “he brings his children to you, and, seeing [the resulting] settlements of his own kin [inside your empire] . . .” Cf.: Korobeinikov, Dimitri. *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 2014), p. 77, whose translation of this passage is barely acceptable.

40 Philes, Manuel. *Manuelis Philae carmina inedita*, ed. Emidio Martini (Naples, 1900), p. 71.5–10 (no. 56). See commentaries on these lines in: Zachariadou, “Οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι,” p. 70.

FIGURE 13 *The Soultanos family II.*

ing house is implied. It may have been an otherwise unknown close relative of Kaykāwus II who moved to Byzantium with him in 1262. Σουλτάν married Palaiologina Komnene (*PLP*, no. 21386), the sister of the *prothierakarios* Demetrios Palaiologos. Σουλτάν and Palaiologina Komnene, apparently, had two sons, Δημήτριος Σουλτάνος Παλαιολόγος and his elder brother Ἀλέξιος Σουλτάνος Παλαιολόγος (*PLP*, no. 26338, probably identical to *PLP*, no. 26341). Ἀλέξιος Σουλτάνος Παλαιολόγος married Ξένη Σουλτανίνα Παλαιολογίνα (*PLP*, no. 26336) and had a son by her, possibly Δημήτριος Σουλτάνος Παλαιολόγος (*PLP*, no. 26340), who had a daughter Θεοδώρα Σουλτανίνα (*PLP*, no. 26335), who was married to Μανουήλ Μονομάχος (see Fig. 13).⁴¹

The Soultanos II family was prominent, having matrimonial ties to the ruling dynasty of the Palaiologoi. This kinship link was an indicator of a lineage belonging to high aristocracy.

Μιχαήλ Σουλτάνος and Δημήτριος Σουλτάνος, who lived in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, were referred to by Yazıcızâde 'Alī and apparently were related to one of the two Soultanoi. They were also linked to the Lyzikos family.

41 Zachariadou, "Οι χριστιανοί απόγονοι," pp. 70–72.

Σάββας Σολτάν (*PLP*, no. 26294), who lived in Sougdaia, has earlier here been proposed as the youngest son of Kaykāwus II. According to Byzantine naming patterns, this is plausible. The byname and patronymic Soultan, in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, would have been applied only to persons of sultanic blood and, therefore, was rare. During the time of Tourkokratia the status of the name changed. In the middle of the fifteenth century or later, it appears as the first name of a Christian woman. In the marginal notes of a manuscript of the Evangeliiary Aprakos, a certain Σουλτάνη (*PLP*, no. 26334) is commemorated in a list as a member of the family possessing the book.⁴²

Members of the same family might have had different synonymic bynames: 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād's son was called Soultanos, and Kaykāwus' son was known as Melik, while Kaykāwus' other son and a close relative had the name Soultanos. These bynames later turned into patronymics, typical for the Byzantine anthroponymical pattern. The presence of noble or high-ranking namesakes belonging to unrelated families complies with the Byzantine anthroponymical model, as in the case of Gazes and Melikes.

6 The Apelmene Family

The byname Ἀπελμενέ, apparently a patronymic of a family, is unusual for Byzantine anthroponymics (*PLP*, nos 151–58, 91262).⁴³ The family began in Nicaean times. An act of Lembiotissa mentions Πόθος Ἀπελμενέ (after 1235), a landholder in Mantaia near Smyrna.⁴⁴ A few decades later (1268), again near Smyrna, a certain fiscal officer *sebastos* Μιχαήλ Ἀπελμενέ (*PLP*, no. 1158) was referred to. From 1300 to 1394, the sources mention seven other owners of the name, all of whom were prominent. Δημήτριος Ἀπελμενέ (*PLP*, no. 1155), who died between 1320 and 1323, was referred to as *apographeus* in 1299/1300–04, *sebastos* in 1300–02 and, finally, in the Theme of Thessalonike, as *pansebastos* (since 1304). Ἰωάννης Ἀπελμενέ (*PLP*, no. 1157), ca. 1324, was the *doux* of the Theme of Boleron and Mosynopolis in Thrace. Another, Ἀπελμενέ (*PLP*, nos

42 Hutter, Irmgard. *Corpus der Byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, 3.1: Oxford, Bodleian Library (Stuttgart, 1982), p. 140 (no. 93).

43 See also Chapter 3.7 and Chapter 4.2.

44 Miklosich, Franz and Müller, Joseph. *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1825–95), 4:210 (no. CXXIII).

1151–52), was a high-ranking courtier, an οἰκέτης of John VI Kantakouzenos who patronized him, raised him, and educated him from his early youth.⁴⁵

There were successful clerics among them: the *epistemonarches* Ἀπελμενέ in Lemnos (before 1355; *PLP*, no. 91262), *protekdikos* Δημήτριος Ἀπελμενέ in Serres (in 1360; *PLP*, nos 1153, 1156), and, in succession, the *sakelliou*, priest, *chartophylax*, and *exarchos* Γεώργιος Ἀπελμενέ of Chios (in 1381–94; *PLP*, no. 1154). Such prominent civil officers and members of the church administration indicate deep assimilation in Byzantine society.

7 The Masgidas Families (I and II)

The noble Μασγιδᾶς family flourished in the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries. The etymology of Μασγιδᾶς, at first sight, presents no problem: ← μασγίδιον “mosque” ← Arabic *masjid* (مسجد).⁴⁶ The problem, however, is in the semantics of the name. The name is unmistakably associated with the Muslim world. The problem lies in the fact that Μασγιδᾶς, unlike other personal names discussed here, had no Oriental equivalent. Unlike the Christian tradition in which personal names relating to the “church” were normal (Chiesa, Tempio in Italian; Temple and Church in English; Kirche in German), traditional Muslim anthroponymy never used *masjid* as a first name or sobriquet. There are two possible explanations for this anomaly. The name Μασγιδᾶς might have been the Hellenized Arabic *majīd* (مجيد) “Glorified,” misunderstood and misspelled by the Byzantines who analogized it with μασγίδιον. A less probable option is that Μασγιδᾶς “mosque” might have denoted a person coming from Islamic lands, that is, “Asian, of Muslim heritage,” possibly with a pejorative connotation. It might have been synonymous with more generalizing sobriquets, such as Ἀγαρηνός and Σαρακηνός.

45 Weiss, Günter. *Joannes Kantakouzenos – Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Monch – in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 30, 41, 56, 59, 147–50. Kantakouzenos referred to his οἰκέτης Apelmene several times, noting that, in 1342, the latter betrayed him: Kantakouzenos, John. *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri iv*, ed. Ludwig Schopen, 3 vols (Bonn, 1828–32), 2:138 and 2:247; however, in 1343, Kantakouzenos again mentioned him as his supporter (Kantakouzenos, 2:432). Weiss and *PLP* separate these references by Kantakouzenos, suggesting that there were two different Apelmenes. However, I see no grounds for such a reading of Kantakouzenos’ text. Most likely, Kantakouzenos was implying one and the same person, who was very close to him, who once disappointed him, but, finally, recovered his favor.

46 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:182–83.

We know sixteen Masgidades, including one Μασγιδιώτης. According to the chronology and localization of the names in the sources, two families holding the patronymic Masgidas can be distinguished.

The first and more ancient lineage was linked to the region of Serres and Zichna, especially the villages Kotzakion, Malouka, and Melitziani in the valley of the Strymon. It seems to have been founded by Ἀραβαντηνός Μασγιδᾶς, a landholder in Kotzakion in 1273.⁴⁷ Judging by the date he may have been one of Kaykāwus' men. The next generation of the family is represented by Καλλίστρατος Μασγιδᾶς and his wife Μάρθα, who probably lived in the 1270s-90s and had two sons Ἀθανάσιος Μασγιδᾶς (d. March 1336; *PLP*, no. 17219) and Ἰωάννης Δούκας Μασγιδᾶς (d. after 1324; *PLP*, no. 17222).⁴⁸ Athanasios is referred to as a monk, while John married the noble lady Eirene Doukaina Masgidaina (*PLP*, no. 17216). John, adding his wife's patronymic to his name, was a prominent person referred to in the document as the δούλος of the emperor Andronikos II. In 1324, John Masgidas and his wife donated his hereditary land in Kotzakion to the Ivron monastery.⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that John's wife, Eirene, added her husband's patronymic Masgidaina to her name thus confirming its relative status (see Fig. 14).

Two more Masgidades were mentioned in the monastic documents as residents of the region of Serres, Zichna, and Strymon. Θεόδωρος Μασγιδᾶς, who was a landholder in Malouka and died before 1310, probably belonged to the generation of Kallistratos (*PLP*, no. 17221). Another, Ἰωάννης Μασγιδᾶς, who possessed hereditary lands in Dragosta and died before 1351,⁵⁰ seems to have belonged to the next generation than Athanasios and John Doukas Masgidas. It is likely that Theodore Masgidas and John Masgidas belonged to the lineage of Ἀραβαντηνός, however we have no information in the sources about the specific degrees of kinship between them. Finally, Μασγιδιώτης (*PLP*, no. 17224), who was mentioned as a proprietor in 1341 in Strymon/Melitziani, may also have belonged to that family.

47 *Actes d'Ivroun*, ed. Jacques Lefort, Nicolas Oikonomides, Denise Papachryssanthou, and Hélène Métréveli, 4 vols (Paris, 1985–95), 3:no. 61.21 (p. 112) and p. 110: he is referred to as a neighbor; *PLP*, nos 93106 and 94097 (wrong first name Ἀρβανίτης).

48 Mercati, Silvio G. "Sull'epitafio di Atanasio Masgidas nel monastero del Prodomo presso Serres," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 13 (1947), pp. 239–44.

49 *Actes d'Ivroun*, 3:no. 81:287–89.

50 This John Masgidas is wrongly identified in *PLP* with John Doukas Masgidas and is referred to under the same no. 17222, see: *Actes de Saint-Pantéléémôn*, ed. Paul Lemerle, Gilbert Dagron, and Sima Ćirković (Paris, 1982), no. 11.17–18 (p. 99); Kravari, Vassiliki. "Nouveaux documents du monastère de Philothéou," *Travaux et mémoires* 10 (1987), no. 4. 26–27, and p. 306; *Actes d'Ivroun*, 3:287.

FIGURE 14 *The Masgidas family I.*

Another family of the Masgidas (Masgidas II), which can be traced at least through the fourteenth century, was linked with Thessalonike and Kalamaria. The family has been reconstructed by the editors of the acts of Lavra.⁵¹ Κωνσταντῖνος Μασγιδᾶς (d. before 1374; *PLP*, no. 17223) lived in Thessalonike or its region and had property there. It is possible that he was a younger relative or even the son of a certain Μασγιδᾶς (*PLP*, no. 17217) who in 1321 possessed lands in Linobrocheion in Kalamaria. Constantine was married to a noble lady, Σφράτζαινα, whose baptismal name is not known. A daughter and a son, Εἰρήνη Σφράτζαινα and Ἰωάννης Σφρατζῆς, were the offspring of this marriage. Constantine's nephew, Ἀλέξιος Μασγιδᾶς Κομνηνός (1374; *PLP*, no. 17220), was a prominent person referred to in a document as the δοῦλος of the emperor.

A certain Μασγιδᾶς, who died before 1342,⁵² is registered as a landholder in Neochorion in close proximity to Linobrocheion in Kalamaria, thus supporting the Masgidas II association with the region. Perhaps he was identical with Constantine Masgidas or was the unknown Masgidas who married a Komnene lady. Another Masgidas is known as a merchant from Thessalonike in 1356/57 (*PLP*, no. 94096). Two other Masgidades, who might have been members

51 *Actes de Lavra*, ed. Paul Lemerle, André Guillou, Nicolas Svoronos, Denise Papachrysanthou, and Sima Ćirković, 4 vols (Paris, 1970–82), 3:98.

52 *PLP*, no. 17218, but *PLP* gives the wrong date for his floruit.

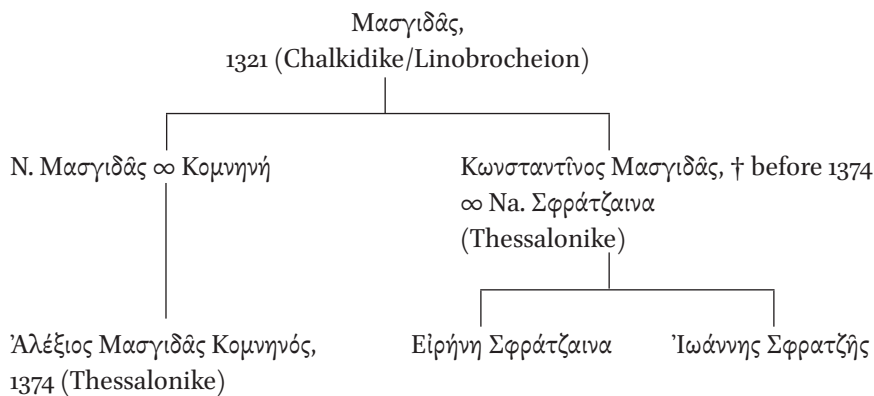


FIGURE 15 The Masgidas family II.

of this lineage, were referred to in 1425 as prominent and noble persons in Thessalonike.⁵³

It is difficult to judge the kinship relation between the Masgidas I and the Masgidas II families; however, considering that this patronymic was found exclusively in Macedonia (the regions of Thessalonike, Serres, and Zichna) and belonged to wealthy and sometimes prominent persons, it would be reasonable to suggest that the two families were in fact branches of the same lineage.

8 The Iagoupes Family

Ἰαγούπης (variants: Γιαγούπης, Γιακούπης, Γιακούφ, Διαγούπης) derives from the Koranic name “Ya‘qūb” (يعقوب), being the same as the biblical “Jacob.”⁵⁴ Its Arabicized form and connection with the Islamic tradition suggest that the bearers of the name were most likely immigrants from Muslim Anatolia or their descendants. The name was popular in the Muslim world and could have belonged to persons of any social status. Byzantine sources from the thirteenth century on mention sixteen Iagoupes of different social standing. At least seven of them may be grouped into a family on the grounds of their geographical localization, social status, and professional affiliation. If so, the lineage of the Iagoupes survived from the thirteenth century through the fifteenth.

53 Mertzios, Konstantinos. *Μνημεία μακεδονικής ιστορίας* (Thessalonike, 1947), p. 51 and fig. 3a (facsimile of original document).

54 Firestone, Reuven. “Ya‘qūb,” in *ET*², 11:254a; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:135.



FIGURE 16 *The church of St. George in Belisirma: donator's inscription (after Laurent, "Note additionnelle," p. 369).*

The Byzantine Iagoupes were anxious to preserve the patronym of their Muslim progenitor who must have been a person of prominence. By keeping their patronymic, descendants appealed to the glory and nobility of their ancestor. It is possible that their Turkic ancestor belonged to the ruling family of the emirate of Germiyan, a Turkmen state with its capital in Kütahya (Kotyaion).⁵⁵

Βασίλειος Γιαγούπης (IA1) is the eldest of the known members of the family and the most frequently mentioned in contemporary studies. Basil is mentioned on a donors' fresco in the church of St. George in Belisirma (Cappadocia), dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century (Fig. 16).⁵⁶ The fresco represents St. George, who is flanked by two donors: *kyra* Tamar, who presents to the saint a model of the church (right), and Basil Giagoupes (left). An extensive

55 Shukurov, Rustam. "Иагупы: тюркская фамилия на византийской службе," in *Византийские очерки* (St. Petersburg, 2006), pp. 205–29.

56 Laurent, Vitalien. "Note additionnelle. L'inscription de l'église Saint-Georges de Bélisérara," *Revue des études byzantines* 26 (1968), pp. 369–70; Restle, Marcell. *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, 2 vols (Greenwich, CT, 1967), 1:66, 176–77, III, pl. LX. On the church of St. George with additional bibliography, see also: Teteriatnikov, Natalia. *The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia* (Roma, 1996), pp. 136, 224.

TABLE 10 *The Iagoupes family*

No.	Patronymic	Baptismal Name	Social Standing	Place	Floruit	PLP no.
IA 1	Γιαγούπης	Βασίλειος	emir	Cappadocia, Belisırma	ca. 1282–1304	4149
IA 2	Ἰαγούπης (Ἰαούπης)	N.	landholder	Chalkidike, Sarantarea	1300–21	7816
IA 3	Ἰαγούπης	Κωνσταντῖνος	witness	Chalkidike/ St. Paramonos	1335	7824
IA 4	Ἰαγούπης	N.	<i>prothierakarios</i> , witness	Thessalonike	1344	92055
IA 5a	Ἰαγούπης (Ἰαγούπ)	Ἀλέξιος	<i>apographeus</i> , οἰκεῖος of Manuel II	Constantinople?	1394–1400 (in PLP mistakenly 1396–)	7819
IA 5b	Ἰαγούπης, the same as Ἰαγούπης Ἀλέξιος	N.	ἄρχων	Constantinople	1396	7814
IA 6	Ἰαγούπης	Γεώργιος	<i>apographeus</i> , οἰκεῖος of Manuel II	Constantinople	1406–07	7821
IA 7a	[Ἰαγούπης], son of IA 6	N.	child, pupil of John Chortasmenos	Constantinople	beg. fifteenth c. –	
IA 7b	Ἰαγούπης (Διαγούπης), the same as IA 7a	Θεόδωρος	οἰκεῖος of the emperor, συγκλητικὸς ἄρχων	Thessalonike	1421	7822

inscription accompanies the images: Ἐκαληεργί(θ)ῃ ὥρ(αίως) ὁ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου[υ διὰ συνδρο]μῆς, πολυποθ(ήτου) καὶ κόπου τ(ῆς) ... γεγραμέν(ης) κυρᾶς Θαμάρη κ(αὶ) τοῦ ἀμῆρ αὐτῆς κυ(ροῦ) Βασιλείου Γιαγού[πη]· [ἐπὶ] μὲν τοῦ πανηυψηλοτ[άτου] μεγαλουγένους μεγάλου σουλτάν[ου Μα]σούτη, ἐπὶ δὲ Ῥομέων βασιλέβοντος κυ(ροῦ) Ἀν[δρονίκου] (“The most venerated church of the holy and glorious great martyr George has been excellently decorated by the much-valued diligence and effort of the depicted

[here] *kyra* Tamar and her emir Basil Giagoupes in [the reign] of the highest and noblest great sultan Masout, when *kyr* Andronikos rules over the Romans").⁵⁷

Basil wears a turban, which by its shape is purely Oriental and not Byzantine.⁵⁸ He is dressed in an Oriental robe (*jāma*, *khil'at*) of typical Anatolian (Persian) shape. The structure of the name Βασίλειος Γιαγούπης, however, consists of baptismal name and byname or patronymic and is typically Byzantine, indicating his Christian and Byzantine identity. Such names were unusual for the anthroponymy of Seljukid Rūm, where the names of local Christians, as a rule, were constructed according to Arabo-Persian models. Basil was most likely a Byzantine in foreign service.

As to *kyra* Tamar, as Vryonis has shown, she was the Georgian princess who was born in the marriage between the Georgian queen Rusudan (1222–45) and the Seljuk prince Dāwud, the son of the ruler of Erzerum Tuğrul-Shāh (ca. 1201–25). The marriage of Rusudan and Dāwud occurred ca. 1223 (620 H). Tuğrul-Shāh had baptized his son at the request of the royal bride, an unprecedented event for the history of the Near East. Their daughter Tamar was married to the Seljuk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (1237–46) in 1237, when, presumably, she was thirteen or even younger.⁵⁹ Tamar was known among her Seljuk subjects as *Gurjī-khātūn*, that is, "Georgian Lady" and enjoyed the

57 The inscription is given according to the most convincing reading by Vitalian Laurent (Laurent, "Note additionnelle," pp. 369–70) with minor corrections taken from: Métivier, Sophie. "Byzantium in Question in 13th-century Seljuk Anatolia," in *Liquid and Multiple: Individuals and Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*, ed. Guillaume Saint-Guillain and Dionysios Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), p. 239. A rather complete bibliography of the monument and its inscriptions is found in: Thierry, Nicole. *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité au moyen âge* (Turnhout, 2002), p. 283, though inscription's reading here is imperfect.

58 On Byzantine turbans, see: Parani, Maria G. *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden and Boston, 2003), pp. 68, 70, 78, 119, 221, 225, 232, 242, 294, 326, 327, 331.

59 Ibn al-Athīr, 12:270–71; Abū al-Fidā, Ismā'īl. *Abu-l-Feda, Annales musulmici. Arabice et latine*, ed. Jacobus G.C. Adler, 5 vols (Copenhagen, 1789–94), 4:318–20; Nasawī, Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Сират ас-Султан Джалал ад-Дин Манкбурны*, ed. Ziya M. Bunyatov (Moscow, 1996), pp. 165, 341–42; Ibn Bībī (AS). *El-Evamirū'l-Ala'yye fī'l-umuri'l-Ala'yye*, ed. A.S. Erzi (Ankara, 1956), p. 167; Abū al-Faraj, Gregorius. *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj the Son of Aaron*, ed. E.A.W. Budge, 2 vols (London, 1932), 1:403; Salia, Kalistrat. *Histoire de la nation géorgienne* (Paris, 1980), p. 218; Balivet, Michel. *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rūm turc: histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque* (Istanbul, 1994), p. 71; Shukurov, *Великие Комнины*, p. 119.

honorary title of *malikat al-malikāt*, to wit, “Queen of Queens.”⁶⁰ After the death of Ghiyāth al-Dīn II, she married Mu‘īn al-Dīn Parwāna (d. 1277). Despite Gregory Bar Hebraeus’ statement that Tamar defected to Islam, at the moment of the creation of the fresco she had retained her Christian identity.⁶¹ Additionally, the fresco represents her in a typical Byzantine gown.

The most disputed element of the inscription is the title of Basil Giagoupes. Paleographically the most probable reading of the title is that suggested by Restle and later supported by Laurent: ἀμῆρ αὐτῆς “her emir.”⁶² An earlier reading of Lafontaine-Dosogne, ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, “her husband,”⁶³ is improbable paleographically, while that of Nicole and Michel Thierry and Vryonis, ἀμηνάρζης ← *amīr al-‘arīd*,⁶⁴ is impossible grammatically because ἀμηνάρζης is a nominative form, but its syntactic group requires the genitive. This author, some time ago, believing that a Seljuk aristocratic lady could not have had her own emirs, suggested a reading of the title as ἀμῆρ (τῆς) αὐλῆς, a hybrid Persian-Greek equivalent for the court title *amīr-i bār*.⁶⁵ It is evident now, however, that the ladies of the Seljuk royal harem, both Christians and Muslims, had at their disposal an extensive administrative apparatus, which included emirs who were responsible for palace services and the troops of bodyguards.⁶⁶ For this reason, Restle’s reading, ἀμῆρ αὐτῆς – which contradicts neither paleography nor historical context – is preferred.

As to the affiliation of Basil Giagoupes, he may have been a Byzantine officer (either civil or military) who was sent to the Seljuk state of Mas‘ūd II by Andronikos II. His Byzantine affiliation is indicated by his Byzantine name and the reference to Andronikos II in the dedicatory inscription. Sophie Métivier is probably correct in suggesting recently that such references to Byzantine emperors in dedicatory inscriptions in Muslim Anatolia implied a Byzantine

60 Aflākī, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad. *Šams al-Din Ahmad al-Aflaki al-‘Arifi, Manakib al-‘Arifin (Metin)*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, 2 vols (Ankara, 1959–61), pp. 92, 263, 432–33.

61 Abū al-Faraj, *Chronography*, 1:403–04; Vryonis, Speros. “Another Note on the Inscription of the Church of St. George of Beliserama,” *Βυζαντινά* 9 (1977), pp. 13–19.

62 Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, pp. 174–75.

63 Lafontaine-Dosogne, Jacqueline. “Nouvelles notes cappadociennes,” *Byzantion* 33 (1963), pp. 148–54.

64 Thierry, Nicole and Thierry, Michel. *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Région de Hasan Daği* (Paris, 1963), pp. 202–06; Vryonis, “Another Note,” p. 12.

65 Shukurov, “Иагупы,” p. 214.

66 For more details, see: Shukurov, Rustam. “Harem Christianity: The Byzantine identity of Seljuk Princes,” in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yildiz (London, 2012), pp. 115–50.

affiliation of the donators.⁶⁷ As suggested here, Basil Giagoupes was the eldest known member of the Byzantine Iagoupes family, which had been mentioned in the Palaiologan empire since ca. 1300.

Most likely, nos 1A5a–b represent one and the same person, Ἀλέξιος Ἰαγούπης. Their identity has been first suggested in *PLP* and seems plausible. Alexios, was probably the most prominent and well-known member of the family. He acted as *apographeus* in 1394, was appointed as the guardian of Jacob Tarchaneiotēs in 1400, and was referred to as οἰκείος of the emperor Manuel II, who addressed a theological treatise to him.⁶⁸ Most likely, it was the Alexios who was called ἀρχων Ἰαγούπης in the source text of 1396 who acted on behalf of the emperor at the church synod concerning the case of Makarios, the emperor's confidant and future metropolitan of Ankyra.⁶⁹

Nos 1A7a–b plausibly refer to one and the same person, Θεόδωρος Ἰαγούπης, as well. The unnamed son of George Iagoupes (1A7a) and Theodore (1A7b) can be identified on the following grounds. George acted as *apographeus* in 1406–07 and was referred to as οἰκείος and δοῦλος of the emperor;⁷⁰ he was the addressee of John Chortasmenos, who was his son's tutor.⁷¹ Theodore, on the other hand, was mentioned in a document as one of Thessalonike's

67 Métivier, "Byzantium in Question."

68 *Actes du Pantocrator*, ed. Vassiliki Kravari (Paris, 1991), pp. 145,69 (no. 20), 148,5ff. (no. 21), 155,22 (no. 22); *PLP*, no. 7819; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 2:354; Marc, Paul. *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit. Bericht und Druckproben* (Munich, 1910), pp. 16–19; Barker, John. *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), p. 528; Beck, Hans-Georg. *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 748.

69 *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. Venance Grumel, Vitalien Laurent, and Jean Darrouzès, 2 vols, 8 pts (Paris, 1932–89), 1/6:no. 3025; *PLP*, no. 7814; Beck, Hans-Georg. *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 741–42; Laurent, Vitalien. "Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu Ier (1397–1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du xv^e siècle," *Revue des études byzantines* 30 (1972), p. 52; Matschke, Klaus-Peter. *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar, 1981), pp. 112–13, 263.

70 *Actes de Saint-Pantéléemôn*, no. 16, p. 120.1, and no. 17, p. 125.43; *Actes of St. Panteleemon. Акты русского на св. Афоне монастыря Пантелеимона* (Kiev, 1873), no. 24, p. 188 (incorrect date), and no. 25, p. 198.

71 Hunger, Herbert. *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370–ca. 1436/37). Briefe, Gedichte und Kleine Schriften. Einleitung, Regesten, Prosopographie, Text* (Vienna, 1969), no. 27, pp. 176–77; Idem. "Johannes Chortasmenos, ein byzantinischer Intellektueller der späten Palaiologenzeit," *Wiener Studien* 70 (1957), pp. 153–63; Talbot, Alice-Mary. "Chortasmenos, John," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1:431–32.

ἄρχοντες τοῦ συγκλήτου and the emperor's οἰκεῖοι,⁷² and probably belonged to the aristocratic elite of Thessalonike (οἱ δυνατότεροι).⁷³ The high social status of both George and Theodore would be natural for a father and a son. Thus the unnamed son of George, having a high social status because of his birth, and Theodore, both belonging to the same generation, are one and the same person.

Kinship links between persons holding the byname Iagoupes have long been postulated by scholars. Dölger describes nos 1A3, 1A5b and 1A7b as belonging to the same noble family ("ein bekanntes Adelsgeschlecht").⁷⁴ The editors of the acts of the monastery of St. Panteleimon (Lemerle, Dagron, Ćirković) have grouped nos 1A2, 1A3, 1A6, 1A7b in a single family.⁷⁵ Oikonomides, in his edition of the acts of the Docheiariou monastery, assembles nos 1A2, 1A3, 1A4, and 1A7a into "une famille thessalonicienne."⁷⁶ Kravari talks about kinship links between nos 1A5a and 1A6 with further reference to the Iagoupes family as described in the acts of St. Panteleimon and Docheiariou.⁷⁷ Thus, all known holders of the byname Iagoupes have been qualified in different combinations as relatives. I support this identification, believing that all were descendants of the same progenitor, who most likely was a baptized immigrant from Muslim Anatolia, and, further, that the noble family of the Iagoupai did not include other individuals holding the name Iagoupes who lived outside the Palaiologan empire.⁷⁸ There are no sufficient reasons for linking the Iagoupes family exclusively with Thessalonike, as Oikonomides did. Judging by the offices they held, they could have been residents of Constantinople who visited Thessalonike and Lemnos on behalf of the emperor. That Iagoupes no. 1A2 owned land in Chalkidike is not conclusive proof of a local origin.

72 Dölger, Franz. *Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), no. 102.14, pp. 266, 264; *Actes d'Iviron*, 4: no. 97, p. 158.14; *PLP*, no. 7822; Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara*, pp. 159–75.

73 For the senate of Thessalonike, see: Tafrali, Oreste. *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle* (Paris, 1913), pp. 22, 71–73; Vacalopoulos, Apostolos E. *A History of Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike, 1972), p. 53; Necipoğlu, Nevra. "The Aristocracy in Late Byzantine Thessalonike: A Case Study of the City's Archontes (Late 14th and Early 15th Centuries)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2004), pp. 133–51.

74 Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, p. 270.

75 *Actes de Saint-Pantéléémôn*, p. 119.

76 *Actes de Docheiariou*, p. 169.

77 *Actes du Pantocrator*, p. 142.

78 Θερνανός Ἰαγούπης (*PLP*, no. 4150 = no. 7823) and the nun Γαγούπενα (*PLP*, nos 7812, 4148), both from Trebizond, Μακάριος Γακοῦφ from Sougdaia (*PLP*, no. 4154), Ἀλέξης Γακούπης from Cyprus (*PLP*, no. 4153), Γακύνν Γακύνν from Palermo (*PLP*, no. 93345), and Γάκουπος from southern Italy (*PLP*, no. 93344).

Kinship ties between the known Iagoupai can only be resolved hypothetically. We know that Alexios (IA5a–b) and George (IA6) held the position of *apogapheus*. Although, as Hunger noted, there is no direct evidence of kinship ties between them,⁷⁹ there is too small a probability, however, that two namesakes were coincidentally engaged in the same activity and perhaps even served in the same office. Most likely, as Kravari suggested, Alexios (IA5a–b) and George (IA6) were relatives.⁸⁰ Most probably Alexios and George belonged to different generations and were father and a son, and that George (IA6) and Theodore (IA7b) were also father and son.

I Generation (1260s–80s)

N. Ya'qūb from Anatolia

II Generation (1280s–1300s)

IA1 Βασίλειος Γιαγούπης

III Generation (1300s–20s)

IA2 Ἰαγούπης

IV Generation (1320s–40s)

IA3 Κωνσταντῖνος Ἰαγούπης

V Generation (1340s–60s)

IA4 *prothierakarios* Ἰαγούπης

VI Generation (1360s–80s)

N.

VII Generation (1380s–1400s)

IA5 Ἀλέξιος Ἰαγούπης

VIII Generation (1400s–20s)

IA6 Γεώργιος Ἰαγούπης

IX Generation (1420s–40s)

IA7 Θεόδωρος Ἰαγούπης

79 Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos*, p. 96.

80 *Actes du Pantocrator*, p. 142.

Another argument indirectly confirms kinship ties between these Iagoupai, i.e., the unity of their activities and social status. According to the prosopographical table above, five of seven Iagoupai were in the imperial service, four of whom served as civil officers. Thus Alexios (IA5a–b) and George (IA6) were ἀπογραφεύς, that is, officers responsible for compiling land inventory, delineation of possessions, and calculation of tax rates.⁸¹ The title συγγλητικός ἄρχων refers to Theodore Iagoupes as a prominent senate dignity. Senate archons belonged to the empire's administrative elite, held high offices in civil administration, and executed important errands for the emperor. The dignity of the συγγλητικός ἄρχων was linked predominantly to civil administration.⁸² These Iagoupai belonged to the imperial οἰκεῖοι, that is, to the narrow circle of courtiers who were close to the person of the emperor.⁸³ It is possible that the *prothierakarios* Iagoupes (IA4) was also a civil official, since in 1344 he was among those invited to a court trial.⁸⁴

Hunger classifies George Iagoupes (IA6) as belonging to the upper layer of the Byzantine “middle class” (μέσοι).⁸⁵ As he noted, μέσοι lacked social significance and political influence but attempted to give their children a decent education. This is confirmed, as Hunger thinks, by the instance of George Iagoupes hiring another member of μέσοι, John Chortasmenos, as a tutor for his son. The definition of George Iagoupes as belonging to μέσοι, however, is questionable. Even considering the conventionality and uncertain status of μέσοι, the occupations and social standing of the Iagoupai allow them instead to be classified as aristocrats. The existence of a family name was, in a Byzantine context, a strong argument in favor of their belonging to the nobility. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century, two members of the family were imperial οἰκεῖοι,

81 For the standing and function of ἀπογραφεύς, see: Maksimović, Ljubomir. *The Byzantine Provincial Administration under the Palaiologoi* (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 186–91; Kazhdan, Alexander P. “Apographeus,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1:134.

82 See, for instance: Angold, Michael. *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea: 1204–1461* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 72–73.

83 On imperial οἰκεῖοι, see: Verpeaux, Jean. “Les oikēioi. Notes d’histoire institutionnelle et sociale,” *Revue des études byzantines* 23 (1965), pp. 89–99; Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, pp. 154–55.

84 *Actes de Docheiariou*, p. 170.10.

85 Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos*, pp. 46–47. On μέσοι, see: Ševčenko, Ihor. “Alexios Makrembolites and his Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor,” *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 8 (1960), pp. 200f.; Bryer, Anthony A.M. “The Structure of the Late Byzantine Town: Dioikismos and the Mesoi,” in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, pp. 263–79; Poliakovskaja Margarita A. *Портреты византийских интеллектуалов* (St. Petersburg, 1998), pp. 224–25.

which implies their having admittance to the imperial palace. However, the Iagoupes family lacked matrimonial ties with other renowned aristocratic families and the imperial dynasty to be incorporated into the higher elite of the empire. In any case, it was an eminent family, whose members were close to the emperor and senior clergy and who retained their unity as a family for more than a hundred years.

9 The Anataulas Family

The name Ἀναταυλᾶς (gen. Ἀναταυλᾶ) derives from Arabic ‘Ayn al-Dawla “The Eye of the Dynasty.” An older Greek variant of this name is found in the form Αἰναδοβλᾶς on the twelfth-century coin of the Danishmandid ‘Ayn al-Dawla b. Amīr Ghāzī, who ruled in Malatya in 1142–52.⁸⁶ The difference between ~δοβλᾶ and ~ταυλᾶ is insignificant, while the contraction αι → α in ‘ayn~/αἰν~ was rather common in Middle Greek: Αἰναδοβλᾶς and Ἀναταυλᾶς were two variants of the same Arabic name.⁸⁷

Nothing is known about the Asian progenitor of the Anataulas family, though he must have been a prominent person. The honorary title (*laqab*) ‘ayn al-dawla was popular at the courts of Muslim rulers. Since the ninth century, *laqabs* with the component *dawla* were usually conferred on the highest Muslim court officials and military commanders, as well as to supreme rulers (viziers, sultans).⁸⁸ In the early Seljukid period, according to the Seljukid great vizier Nizām al-Mulk, “the titles *dīn*, *islām* and *dawla* suit four grades of persons: first are rulers, second are viziers, third are ‘ulamā, and fourth are emirs, who are constantly engaged in holy war and contribute to the victory

86 For more details about this coin, see: Whelan, Estelle J. “A Contribution to Danishmendid History: The Figured Copper Coins,” *American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 25 (1980), pp. 140–41; Oikonomides, Nicolas. “Les Danishmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le sultanat d’Iconium,” *Revue Numismatique* 6e série 25 (1983), p. 190; Shukurov, Rustam. “Формулы самоидентификации анатолийских тюрок и византийская традиция (XII–XIII вв.),” in *Причерноморье в средние века*, ed. Sergej Karpov, 8 (St. Petersburg, 2001), p. 154 n. 12.

87 Triandaphyllidis, Manolis. *Die Lehnwörter der mitteligriechischen Vulgärliteratur* (Strasburg, 1909), p. 21: γαῖτάνι → γατάνι; γαῖδαρος → γάδαρος etc. One of the instances of west European borrowings in Greek: Kahane, Henry and Kahane, Renée. “The Western Impact on Byzantium: The Linguistic Evidence,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982), p. 136: κισβιτάνος “castellan” ← *kevetaigne* / *kievetaïne*.

88 Bosworth, Clifford E. “Laḳab,” in *ET*², 5:621b–22b.

of Islam.”⁸⁹ However, since the twelfth century the prestige of titles with the component *dawla* had been in decline.⁹⁰ Two Seljuk manuals for official letter-writing of the end of the thirteenth century indicated that the *dawla* titles were granted to the military elite exclusively (*nāʾib*, *wālī*, emirs).⁹¹ This is confirmed by thirteenth-century Anatolian historiography, which states that in Seljuk Anatolia the title *dawla* normally belonged to high military leaders.⁹² Hence, the Muslim progenitor of the Anataulas family was probably a senior military officer, or perhaps a governor. Evidently, he originated from Anatolia since the titles with the element *dawla* were not in use in the Golden Horde at the time.⁹³

The *sebastos* Γεώργιος Ἀναταυλᾶς (Ania), in November 1322, was referred to as a witness in the sale of some premises in Thessalonike by Alexander Doukas Sarantenos⁹⁴ and his wife to the Chilandar monastery.⁹⁵ *Sebastos* George Anataulas topped the list of witnesses as the most notable among them. The witnesses represented a colorful group: besides *sebastos* Anataulas, an officer from Thessalonike’s *mega allagion* Michael Chamaidrakon,⁹⁶ the Thessalonian “chief architect” (πρωτομαΐστωρ τῶν οἰκοδόμων) George Marmaras,⁹⁷ and,

89 See the entry “Laqab” in: Dehkhodâ, Aliakbar. *Loghatnâme*. CD-version (Tehran, 2000); Nizâm al-Mulk, Abû ‘Alî Ḥasan. *Низам ал-Мулк, Книга об управлении государством*, ed. Boris N. Zakhoder (Dushanbe, 1998), p. 127.

90 Bosworth, “Laqab,” p. 623a.

91 Khūyî, Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min. *Hasan b. ‘Abdîl-Mu‘min el-Hoyi, Gunyetu’l-Katib ve Munyetu’l-Talib*, in Erzi, Adnan S. *Selçukiler Devrinde âid İnşâ Eserleri* (Ankara, 1963), pp. 3.11, 5.16, 8.6, 9.16, 10.1; Khūyî, Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min. *Hasan b. ‘Abdîl-Mu‘min el-Hoyi, Rusumu’r-Resa’il ve Nucumu’l-Faza’il*, in Erzi, Adnan S. *Selçukiler Devrinde âid İnşâ Eserleri* (Ankara, 1963), pp. 4.13, 7.9, 15, 19, 8.10, 15. It must be noted that the titles with the element *dawla* were never given to the emirs of middle and low ranks such as the emirs of nomadic troops and the emirs of *iğdiş* detachments (that is, Muslim converts from Christianity).

92 See, for instance: Duda, Herbert W. *Die Seldschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibî* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 158, 199, 201, 202, 226, 227, 330 n. 77, etc.

93 Curiously, in the 1270s, a certain ‘Ayn al-Dawla was a painter and Christian Greek living in Konya. It is difficult to know whether he had any relation to the Byzantine Anataulai (see: Asutay-Effenberger, Neslihan. “Byzantinische (griechische) Künstler und ihre Auftraggeber im seldschukischen Anatolien,” in: *Knotenpunkt Byzanz. Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen*, ed. A. Speer, Ph. Steinkrüger (Berlin, 2012), pp. 802–04).

94 *PLP*, no. 24899.

95 *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. Louis Petit and Boris Korablev, in *Византийский временник, Приложение к 17 тому* (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 178.13, 180.61 (no. 84); *PLP*, no. 872.

96 *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. Petit and Korablev, p. 180.62 (no. 84); *PLP*, no. 30543; Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, p. 376 (no. 47).

97 *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. Petit and Korablev, p. 180.64 (no. 84); *PLP*, no. 17102.

TABLE 11 *The Anataulas family*

No.	Patronymic	Baptismal Name	Social Status	Place	Floruit	PLP no.
An1a	Ἀναταυλᾶς	Γεώργιος	<i>sebastos</i> , witness	Thessalonike	1322	872
An1b	Ἀναταυλᾶς	N.	landholder	Rentina/ Lozikion	1327	868
An2a	Ἀναταυλᾶς	N.	<i>hetaireiarches</i> , landholder	Kalamaria/ Neochorion	d. before January 1342	870
An2b	Ἀναταυλᾶς	N.	landholder	Kalamaria/ Portarea	d. before January 1342	869
An3	Ἀναταυλᾶς	N.	landholder	Rentina/ Lozikion	1350/51	–
An4	Ἀναταυλᾶς	Γεώργιος	landholder	Kalamaria/ Portarea	1388	871
An5	[Ἀναταυλᾶς]	Θεόδωρος	holder of an <i>adelphate</i>	Kalamaria/ Portarea	after 1388	–

what is most remarkable, the famous painter (ζωγράφος) George Kallierges who worked at the Chilandar monastery.⁹⁸ These personalities, probably, outlined the elite circle of acquaintances and contacts of George Anataulas, who undoubtedly belonged to the Thessalonian elite. Most probably, the same *sebastos* George was implied under Ἀναταυλᾶς (An1b) in the Chilandar document of October 1327 concerning the monastery's property in Lozikion. The document mentions Ἀναταυλᾶς as a toponymic indicator (τὰ δίκαια τοῦ Ἀναταυλᾶ) for the boundaries of the neighboring monastery lands.⁹⁹ Due to

98 *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. Petit and Korablev, p. 180.63 (no. 84); *PLP*, no. 10367. On George Kallierges, see also: Cutler, Anthony. "Kallierges, Georgios," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2:1093; Đurić, Vojislav J. *Византийские фрески. Средневековая Сербия, Далмация, славянская Македония* (Moscow, 2000), pp. 56, 153–54; Lazarev, Viktor N. *История византийской живописи* (Moscow, 1986), p. 174. Manuel Philes wrote about one of Kallierges' icons: Philes, Manuel. *Manuelis Philae carmina*, ed. Emmanuel Miller, 2 vols (Paris, 1855–57), 2:25–26.

99 *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. Petit and Korablev, p. 240.47, 50, 54 (no. 116); Dölger, Franz. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 5 (Munich, 1965), no. 2576; localization of Lozikion, see in: *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. Mirjana Živojinović, Christophe Giros, and Vassiliki Kravari, 1 (Des origines à 1319) (Paris, 1995), p. 73 (fig. 10), Index.

the chronological proximity of this reference with George's floruit, one may suggest that the toponymical identifier "Ἀναταυλᾶς" here implies George's possessions in the area since sources do not mention any other member of the family for that generation. It is possible that George's title of *sebastos* was somehow connected with his foreign descent.¹⁰⁰

As for the identification of *hetaireiarches* Anataulas (no. An2a) and Anataulas no. An2b, both were large landowners in Kalamaria and both lived during the same period of time (according to documents, *hetaireiarches* Anataulas died before 1342 and Anataulas no. An2b died before 1346). It could not be a simple coincidence that two such prominent persons of the same noble family lived and died in the same area. Most likely the sources imply one and the same person. *Hetaireiarches* Anataulas (An2a-b) was referred to as a large landowner in Neochorion (by Sarantarea)¹⁰¹ and Portarea (and settled in the latter *paroikoi*).¹⁰² Interestingly, the lands in Portarea seem to have been confiscated from the Esphigmenou monastery and granted to Anataulas by Anna of Savoy and John V in response to John VI Kantakouzenos' enthronement in 1341.¹⁰³ The confiscation of lands was probably a punishment for the Esphigmenou monastery for its support of Kantakouzenos.¹⁰⁴ The date of *hetaireiarches* Anataulas' death may be reconstructed hypothetically. As noted above, Anataulas An2a died before January 1342, while Anataulas An2b was among the enemies of Kantakouzenos and participated in the confiscation of his supporters' property. The confiscations took place after 26 October 1341 (the day of Kantakouzenos'

100 Cf.: Ahrweiler, Hélène. "Le sébaste, chef des groupes ethniques," *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger* (Munich, 1966), pp. 34–38.

101 Lemerle, Paul. "Un praktikon inédit des archives de Karakala (janvier 1342) et la situation en Macédoine orientale au moment de l'usurpation de Cantacuzène," in *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον*, 4 vols (Athens, 1965), 1:285.40–41, 297. For the localization of Neochorion, see: Lefort, Jacques. *Villages de Macédoine: notices historiques et topographiques sur la Macédoine orientale au Moyen Âge*. 1: *La Chalcidique occidentale* (Paris, 1982), pp. 106–07, maps 4 and 13; see also: *Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. Louis Petit and Wassilij Regel, in *Византийский временник, Приложение к 12 тому* (St. Petersburg, 1906), Index general on p. 201: "ancien détenteur d'un bien à Kalamaria" (on *hetaireiarchos* Anataulas).

102 *Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 22, pp. 142.27–28, 143.32.

103 *Actes d'Esphigménou*, pp. 141, 144; Lemerle, "Un praktikon inédit des archives de Karakala," pp. 292–93. For confiscations of monastery lands, see more in: Bartusis, Mark. *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 394–404.

104 *Actes d'Esphigménou*, p. 25; Meyendorff, John. *Жизнь и труды святителя Григория Паламы. Введение в изучение* (St. Petersburg, 1997), pp. 48, 58–59. For more details, see: Shukurov, Rustam. "Анатавлы: тюркская фамилия на византийской службе," *Византийский временник* 66 (91) (2007), pp. 193–207.

proclamation),¹⁰⁵ and Nicol dated the beginning of the confiscations to the winter of 1340/41.¹⁰⁶ Consequently, *hetaireiarches* Anataulas must have died in this interval of time, from the end of 1341 to January 1342.

The degree of relatedness between individuals listed in the genealogical table is not known, with the one exception. George An4 was the father of Theodore An5. According to a document of the Esphigmenou monastery, George Anataulas possessed a plot of land in Portarea (Kalamaria) jointly with the monastery, which, between 1383 and 1387,¹⁰⁷ was confiscated by the Ottoman authorities and passed to a certain Muslim (ἐδόθη πρὸς μουσουλμάνον).¹⁰⁸ However, after the monastery appealed to Murad I and his vizier 'Alī-pāshā (εἰς τὸν μέγαν αὐθέντην καὶ τὸν Ἀλί πασεῖαν), the parcel was returned along with George's share. George had initially laid claim on his share, but later an amicable agreement was reached between him and the monastery.¹⁰⁹ According to the agreement, George yielded his share to the monastery in return for two life *adelphates* (διακονίας δύο) for himself and his son Theodore. Each *adelphate* included twelve sacks of wheat, twenty-four measures of wine, six measures of oil, two sacks of beans, and thirty pounds (λίτρας) of cheese.¹¹⁰ According to Morrisson and Cheynet's calculations, at the end of the fourteenth century twelve sacks of wheat equaled twenty-seven *modioi* and cost about 6.75 *hyperpyra*,¹¹¹ twenty-four measures of wine cost ca. 7.92 *hyperpyra*,¹¹² and

105 Kantakouzenos III.27 (2:165ff.); Nicol, Donald M. *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100–1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study* (Washington, DC, 1968), p. 47.

106 Nicol, *The Byzantine Family*, p. 48.

107 For the first Ottoman conquest of Thessalonike and neighboring areas, see: Necipoğlu, Nevra. "Sources for the Social and Economic History of Late Medieval Thessalonike and their Significance for Byzantine and Ottoman Studies," in *Tarihçe güney-doğu Avrupa: Balkanolojinin dünü, bugünü ve sorunları*. [Ankara Üniversitesi dil ve tarih-coğrafiya fakültesi yayınları] (Ankara, 1999), pp. 97–107. See also the proceedings of the symposium on Late Byzantine Thessalonike in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 5–278, and esp., Barker, John. "Late Byzantine Thessalonike: A Second City's Challenges and Responses," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 5–33, and Bakirtzis, Charalambos. "The Urban Continuity and Size of Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 34–64; Jacoby, David. "Foreigners and the Urban Economy in Thessalonike, ca. 1150–ca. 1450," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), pp. 85–132.

108 *Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 29, p. 169.4.

109 *Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 29, p. 169.6.

110 *Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 29, p. 169.9–12.

111 *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, 3 vols (Washington, DC, 2002), 2:827 (Table 5).

112 *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 2:834–35 (Table 8).

six measures of oil cost between 3 and 15 *hyperpyra*.¹¹³ Thus, annually, George and Theodore received goods from the monastery costing, according to conservative estimates, 17.50 *hyperpyra*, while the salary of a soldier in Thessalonike in 1425 was as little as 9 *hyperpyra* annually,¹¹⁴ and a domestic servant in 1350 in Constantinople earned 14 *hyperpyra* per year.¹¹⁵ The *adelphate* equaled approximately the annual food allowance of a soldier or a monk.¹¹⁶ Essentially, the two Anataulai received from the monastery goods equaling a living wage.¹¹⁷

Finally, Ἀναταυλᾶς An3 was probably referred to in 1350/51 in Lozikion: a Lavra document mentioned Ἀναταυλᾶς as a toponymic indicator for the possessions of Stephen Dušan's servant Kalabaris (*PLP*, no. 10207).¹¹⁸

Although there is no direct evidence of kinship links, others of the name Anataulas most probably belonged to the same family. The main arguments in favor of this suggestion are the unusual and rare family name, unique for Byzantine anthroponymics, their similar social status, and the localization of all in a compact area of Thessalonike and its environs. Persons holding the byname Anataulas have been grouped into a family by Lefort in his edition of the acts of the Esphigmenou (An1a, An1b, An2a, An2b, An4, An5)¹¹⁹ and by *PLP* (nos 869, 871, 872). Lefort's interpretation can be amended: in some cases different references to the same person are regarded by Lefort as implying different persons, and George An1a-b was not the grandfather of George An4, as Lefort thinks, but rather great-grandfather. The father of George An4 was most likely Anataulas An3. The repetition of the baptismal name George throughout generations is an additional confirmation of kinship links.

1 Generation (1280s–1300s)

N. 'Ayn al-Dawla, a Muslim from Anatolia

113 *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 2:838 (Table 10).

114 *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 2:863 (Table 17).

115 *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 2:866 (Table 18).

116 *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 2:870–71 (Table 20).

117 This case of *adelphate* has been discussed in detail as typical many times: Oikonomides, Nicolas. "Monastères et moines lors de la conquête ottomane," *Südost-Forschungen* 35 (1976), p. 7; *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 1:53; 2:870 (chapter by Morrisson and Cheynet, being an extended version of an older piece: Cheynet, Jean-Claude, Malamut, Élizabeth, and Morrisson, Cécile. "Prix et salaires à Byzance (x^e–xv^e siècle)," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, 2:339–74). For some additional observations, see: Shukurov, "Анатавли," pp. 193–207.

118 *Actes de Lavra*, 3:45.11–12 (no. 130): "σύνορον τοῦ Ἀ[να]ταυλᾶ."

119 *Actes d'Esphigménou*, p. 141.

II Generation (1300s–20s)

An1a–b Γεώργιος Ἀναταυλᾶς

III Generation (1320s–40s)

An2a–b Ἀναταυλᾶς

IV Generation (1340s–60s)

An3 Ἀναταυλᾶς

V Generation (1360s–80s)

An4 Γεώργιος Ἀναταυλᾶς

VI Generation (1380s–1400s)

An5 Θεόδωρος Ἀναταυλᾶς

The Anataulas belonged to the Thessalonian nobility and were wealthy. It was a family of hereditary officers, civil or military. At the same time, the family's lack of matrimonial links with the empire's higher aristocracy indicates that the Anataulas family could not have belonged to the metropolitan imperial elite, instead being a noble lineage of regional importance. The family possessed estates in three areas of Chalkidike: Neochorion in northern Kalamaria, Portarea in southern Kalamaria, and Lozikion in the *katepanikion* of Rentina.

Assimilation Tools

The Byzantine world was always accessible to immigrants. In this sense Byzantine society was an open system that offered barbarians (whether capable or not) an opportunity to be naturalized and acquire wealth. The Byzantines had no fear of barbarians. They depended on two primary social regulators in regard to immigrants: a cultural and confessional norm that facilitated assimilation for desirable immigrants, and legal and police institutions that enforced the rejection of unwanted aliens. The description of these social regulators depends on the pioneering (and still valuable) work of Spyros Vryonis, “Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower,”¹ which studies the causes of the influx of immigrants into Byzantium and of the mechanisms for handling them. Vryonis’ approach is mainly demographic. He has uncovered the extent to which the Byzantines depended on foreign mercenary forces. The influx of Turks beginning in the second half of the eleventh century with an increase in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, both eastern and northern, was related to territorial losses and, consequently, with a decline in human resources. Vryonis focuses more on the reasons for large-scale immigration and not so much on the mechanisms of assimilation. A systematic account of the assimilation and naturalization mechanisms is the next logical step.

1 The Motivation of the Turks

Any study of Byzantine naturalization needs to begin with the motivation of Turkic immigrants themselves, of their reasons for an eagerness to settle in the territory of the empire. Many immigrants in the process of assimilation were not resistant or indifferent to these assimilation mechanisms. They wanted speedy naturalization. Byzantium retained its attraction to foreigners until at least the middle of the fourteenth century. (I have discussed the causes

1 See: Vryonis, Speros. “Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower,” in *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans: Reprinted Studies* [Βυζαντινά και Μεταβυζαντινά, 2] (Malibu, 1981), no. 3, pp. 125–40.

of this attraction for Anatolian Turks in a number of publications.)² In the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries, neighboring Turks, both “Persians” and “Scythians,” saw in Byzantium a source of social and economic benefits, a refined way of life, and sublime culture. The Roman/Byzantine empire in the Near East had retained its unquestionable cultural prestige, being synonymous with civilization, power, and wealth. The adoption of Byzantine culture during the early period of Turkic presence in Anatolia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries established a solid foundation for the subsequent rise of Anatolian Islamic culture. The Turks, coming to Byzantium as mercenaries and allies, were not only attracted by remuneration and booty but also, in spite of Byzantium’s military decline and impoverishment, continued to regard Byzantium as a superior partner, service to which was honorable and prestigious. In historical perspective this may seem paradoxical; however, sources unambiguously indicate that even in the first half of the fourteenth century Turkic conquerors continued to experience a deep reverence for the weakening enemy.

The epoch of Andronikos III and John Kantakouzenos provides detailed examples of barbarians’ reverence of Byzantium. The meeting of Andronikos III with his former enemy, the emir Timur-khan of Karasi, in Pegai in 1328 is one such example. Upon seeing the emperor, Timur-khan and the closest part of his retinue dismounted and approached the emperor on foot. Other Turks, who accompanied the emir, remained in place but prostrated themselves before him, touching their heads to the ground (τὸν βασιλέα προσεκύνουν, τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐρείσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν). The emir prostrated himself and kissed the emperor’s foot (προσεκύνει τε καὶ ἡσπάζετο τὸν βασιλέως πόδα); only after that did he mount his horse. In the words of Kantakouzenos, the emir thus demonstrated his “servility” (δουλεία) to the emperor.³ The expressions προσκυνέω and ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς πόδας applied to Byzantine palace ceremony had the exact meaning of “prostration” and “kissing feet.” Thus, the emir reproduced the traditional model of the greeting of the emperor by his subjects, which was well described in Byzantine ceremonial treatises. In the fourteenth century, as in

2 Shukurov, Rustam. “Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes,” in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London, 2012), pp. 115–50; Idem. “Christian Elements in the Identity of the Anatolian Turkmens (12th–13th Centuries),” in *Cristianità d'occidente e cristianità d'oriente (secoli VI–XI)* (Spoleto, 2004), pp. 707–64; Idem. “Turkmen and Byzantine Self-Identity: Some Reflections on the Logic of the Title-Making in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Anatolia,” in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. Antony Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 255–72.

3 Kantakouzenos, John. *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri iv*, ed. Ludwig Schopen, 3 vols (Bonn, 1828–32), 1:340.2–9.

previous epochs, *proskynesis* and kissing emperor's foot and hand was an indispensable element of court ceremony.⁴

With fewer details, Kantakouzenos describes Andronikos III's meetings with the Saruhan emir in Phokaia in 1329 and the sons of the Aydın emir in 1335, the etiquette of which was essentially the same; Kantakouzenos notes again the emirs' δουλεία toward⁵ the emperor and their prostration (προσεκύνησαν) before him.⁶

During the negotiations of Kantakouzenos with Turkic pirates in the summer of 1348, the Turks again performed *proskynesis* and kissed the feet of, this time, John VI Kantakouzenos, who stood encircled by Turks alone and without fear.⁷ This time the rituals were performed by hostile Turks, who had just raided the empire and had repelled the Greek attack.

The *proskynesis* and kissing of feet by the Turks, in terms of both Byzantine and Muslim ceremony, displayed their loyalty to the Byzantine authorities, acknowledging the emperor as their unreserved sovereign, the "sovereign and his subject" model.

This peculiarity of the Turkic attitude to the empire and the emperor could be utilized strategically. To the Greeks, the Turks seemed no more than a docile instrument of their political will. Nicol defined John Kantakouzenos' attitude to the Turks as "naïve."⁸ The attitude of Kantakouzenos to the Turks, as well as his Byzantine political allies and enemies, was not so much naïve as exceedingly overconfident. Not recognizing the Turks as a serious independent force, they hoped to neutralize by diplomatic trickery and bribery possible

4 For instance, see: Porphyrogenetos, Constantine. *Constantin Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. Albert Vogt, 2 vols (Paris, 1967), 1:74.19–20, 86.23, etc.; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Jean Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), pp. 235.27–236.1 (ἀσπάζεται τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως πόδα καθήμενου ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα), 238.23–24 (ἀσπάζεται τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ στόματι), 275.3–4 (τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως κύψας ἀσπάζεται πόδα) 234.24–26 (ἀσπάζονται πρῶτον μὲν τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα τοῦ βασιλέως, εἶτα τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα), 236.3–6 (οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν Γεννοῦιτῶν ἄρχοντες, ἐρχόμενοι ἐξ ἀποδημίας, προσκυνοῦντες ἀσπάζονται τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως πόδα καὶ τὴν χεῖρα), 238.29–239.2 (ἀσπάζονται καὶ οὗτοι τὸν βασιλέα, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα, εἶτα πρὸς τὴν παρεῖαν). Cf. with kissing of sacral objects: *ibid.*, pp. 191.2–3 (ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . ἀσπάζεται τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας), 222.9–10, and 241.6 (ἀσπάζεται τὸν σταυρὸν), 234.10 (ἀσπάζεται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), etc.

5 Kantakouzenos, 1:388.15.

6 Kantakouzenos, 1:481.15–16.

7 Kantakouzenos, 3:65.18–19: "περιστάμενοι προσεκύουν καὶ ἡσπάζοντο τοὺς πόδας, μόνον ἔχοντες ἐν μέσοις."

8 Nicol, Donald M. *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor, and Monk, c. 1295–1383* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 174–75.

negative consequences of the Turkish involvement in the political struggle in the empire.

The relationship between John Kantakouzenos and the Aydın emir Umur-bek was of a special character. According to Kantakouzenos himself, it was “friendship” and “affection” (φιλία) that bound him to Umur-bek. The relationship began through correspondence, possibly in 1331 after Umur-bek’s unsuccessful attack on Thrace.⁹ The personal meeting in Klazomenai in 1335, which lasted four days, finally established between them “unbreakable bonds of friendship.” Remarkably, Umur-bek recognized Andronikos III as his sovereign and himself as one of Andronikos III’s noble Roman subjects.¹⁰ Umur-bek’s acknowledging his “Romanness” was likely facilitated by knowledge of Greek.¹¹ Gregoras noted that Umur-bek “in the depth of his heart cherished love for the emperor” John Kantakouzenos.¹² In the Turkic *Düsturname-i Enveri*, dealing with Umur-bek’s geste, Kantakouzenos is described as the emir’s “brother” (*qardaş*) and “friend” (*yâr*), the Persian term *yâr* (یار) representing an exact equivalent of the Greek concept of φίλος.¹³ Such a sincere and continuous friendship between Kantakouzenos and Umur-bek captured the imagination of their contemporaries (both Byzantines and Turks), as well as that of modern scholars.¹⁴ Except for the personal attachment between Kantakouzenos and Umur-bek, they reproduced the scheme of relationships between the Byzantine emperor and the Seljuk sultan of former times; the sultan may have been acknowledged as a “friend” (φίλος, οἰκεῖος, and “son” (υἱός) of the emperor,

9 For instance, “ὁ γὰρ μέγας δομέστικος καὶ πρότερον μὲν εἶχε πρὸς Ἀμοῦρ φιλίως καὶ γράμμασιν αὐτῷ ὠμίλει...” (Kantakouzenos, 1:482.14–15), “ἀρρήκτοις φιλίας δεσμοῖς” (Kantakouzenos, 1:483.10), and “Ἀμοῦρ ὁ τοῦ Αἰτίνης, φίλος ὢν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Καντακουζηνῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ...” (Kantakouzenos, 2:344.12–13).

10 Kantakouzenos, 1:482–83: “τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνῳ τελούντων ἐπιφανῶν Ῥωμαίων νομίζειν ἔνα.”

11 Gregoras, Nikephoros. *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker, 3 vols (Bonn, 1829–55), 2:649.14–15: “οὕτως οὐ βάρβαρον ὁ βάρβαρος εἶχε τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλ’ ἡμερον καὶ παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς τὸ παράπαν ἐχόμενον.”

12 Gregoras, 2:648.9–8: “ἐν τοῖς καρδίας θαλάμοις ἔθαλπε τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔρωτα.”

13 Mélikoff, Irène. *La Geste d’Umur Pacha (Düsturname-i Enveri)* (Paris, 1954), pp. 98 (ver. 1470), 106 (ver. 1768, 1772–73), 111 (ver. 1914), 124 (ver. 2310), etc. See also: Lemerle, Paul. *L’emirat d’Aydın, Byzance et l’Occident. Recherches sur “La geste d’Umur Pacha”* (Paris, 1957), pp. 145ff.

14 See, for instance: Florinskij, Timofei D. *Южные славяне и Византия во второй четверти XIV в.*, pts 1–2 (St. Petersburg, 1882), 1:67–76; Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, p. 174; Gill, Joseph. “John VI Cantacuzenus and the Turks,” *Βυζαντινά* 13 (1985), p. 58 n. 2.

but never as an equal partner.¹⁵ Umur-bek acted toward Andronikos III and later Kantakouzenos more like a junior foreign sovereign (or younger brother in Turkic terms) performing certain voluntary moral obligations to a senior. The level of Byzantine diplomatic “protocol” with Umur-bek was evidently higher in comparison to that for other Turkic chiefs as described above. Umur-bek’s instance, evidently, paralleled the relations between the Byzantines and the Seljuks of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a “senior and junior sovereigns” model. If Umur-bek enjoyed the virtual status of a “sultan,” other Turkic chiefs seemed satisfied with the humbler status of emperor’s noble subjects.

2 An Opposite Example

The noted reverence of the Turks for Byzantium is opposed by an unusual precedent of relationships between emperors and Ottoman emirs. As Nicol rightly believes, the occupation of Gallipoli by the Ottoman emir Süleyman in 1354 and subsequent Turkish expansion in Thrace was experienced by Kantakouzenos as a personal tragedy, a failure of his strategy toward the Anatolian Turks. The acknowledgement that his policy had actually brought the Turks to Thrace influenced his imminent abdication.¹⁶ In fact, Kantakouzenos had made a fatal miscalculation in his relations with the emir Orhan; he clearly underestimated the Turk. From the outset, the emir Orhan chose a special mode of communication with the Byzantines, which was fundamentally different than that of other Anatolian Turks.

In communications between Andronikos III and Kantakouzenos and the Turkic emirs of Karasi, Saruhan, and Aydın, regardless of the balance of forces, the Turkic chiefs emphasized the primacy of the Byzantine emperor and symbolically manifested their loyalty. The relationship with the Ottomans began in a different mode. The first documented contact between Andronikos III and Orhan took place in 1333. Although their contacts were through embassies, the relationship is clear. Orhan proclaimed himself the emperor’s “friend” and pledged to do no harm to the eastern cities of the empire (Ὁρχάνην βασιλέως εἶναι φίλον καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἑω πόλεις, ὅσαι ἔτι ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀδικεῖν μὴδέν). The emperor and the emir exchanged gifts. The emir sent horses and

15 Macrides, Ruth. “The Byzantine Godfather,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 11 (1987), pp. 139–62, esp. p. 151; Korobeinikov, Dimitri. “A Sultan in Constantinople: The Feasts of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I,” in *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium*, ed. L. Brubaker and K. Linardou (London, 2007), pp. 93–108.

16 Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, p. 177.

hunting dogs (of which Andronikos III was particularly fond), as well as carpets and leopard skins, while Andronikos III sent the emir silver bowls, wool and silk fabrics, and one of his own gowns (τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπιβλημάτων ἓν). As Kantakouzenos noted, barbarian satraps placed above all else the presentation of one's own clothing and honored it as "a sign of special honor and favor" (ὁ περὶ πλείστου παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάρων σατράπαις ἄγεται αἰεὶ καὶ τιμῆς εἶναι δοκεῖ τεκμήριον καὶ εὐμενείας).¹⁷ On the part of the emperor, this gesture emphasized a senior sovereign's goodwill toward a junior governor. From the first contact, Andronikos III was forced to follow the "senior and junior sovereign" model rather than that of "sovereign and his subject."

The Ottoman emirs, since the earliest stages of their relationship with Byzantine authority, attempted to stay on equal footing. Kantakouzenos underscored the fact that Andronikos III and Orhan did not meet personally but exchanged embassies: καὶ λόγων γενομένων περὶ σπονδῶν διὰ τῶν πρέσβεων (οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ συνῆλθόν γε ἀλλήλοις). Evidently, in this way Orhan avoided undesirable ceremonies that would have required gestures of loyalty, such as προσκύνησις and ἀσπάζεσθαι τοὺς πόδας.

Orhan even avoided participating in the ceremony of his own wedding to Kantakouzenos' daughter Theodora on Byzantine territory. The first ("Byzantine") part of the ceremony took place in the early summer of 1346 at Selymbria. Orhan sent thirty ships, Turkic cavalry, and representatives from among his highest nobility. The ceremony followed Byzantine customs in full accordance. In a neighborhood of Selymbria a wooden stage was erected (πρόκυψις ἐξ ξύλων). Theodora, at the appointed time, ascended the stage, hidden from the audience by gold weave and silk curtains. Only John Kantakouzenos remained on horseback; all others dismounted. The curtains opened to kneeling eunuchs with lamps in their hands as the music began. The participants offered praises to Theodora. The appearance of the bride from the imperial house before its subjects was a variant of the ceremony of *prokypsis*.¹⁸ At the end of the ceremony, Kantakouzenos provided a feast for all who were

17 Kantakouzenos, 1:446–48, esp. p. 447.14–24.

18 On *prokypsis*, see: Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: *Offices and Ceremonies*, ed. Ruth Macrides, Joseph Munitiz, and Dimitar Angelov (Farnham, 2013), pp. 401–11; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3:1732–33; Poliakovskaja, Margarita A. "Сакрализация парадной жизни византийского императорского дворца эпохи Палеологов," *Известия Уральского государственного университета* 4/66 (2009), p. 232 (with further bibliographical references). For Theodora's *prokypsis*, see: Bryer, Anthony A.M. "Greek Historians on the Turks: The Case of the First Byzantine-Ottoman Marriage," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to R.W. Southern*, ed. R. Davis and J. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), pp. 482–84.

present. Only afterward did Theodora, accompanied by her groom's representatives, proceed to join Orhan on Ottoman territory.¹⁹ Orhan's absence at the "Byzantine" part of wedding can be explained by his unwillingness to subject himself to the position of one of Kantakouzenos' subjects, but also because the traditional ceremonies of an imperial wedding had never accommodated a spouse who was Muslim.

The only personal meeting between Kantakouzenos and his son-in-law Orhan, according to the former, was in the spring of 1347 when Kantakouzenos commemorated his mastering of the empire with a feast in Skoutari lasting many days, at which Orhan and his four sons took part. There is no mention of gestures of loyalty by Orhan. The celebration on foreign soil was an unprecedented concession given Byzantine imperial etiquette (Skoutari by that time being in Turkish hands). As another concession, during the feasts the emperor and emir sat at the same table as equals, apart from all others.²⁰ After the feasts, Theodora in company with Orhan's sons and noble Turks went to Constantinople. If Theodora went to visit her relatives, her Turkic brothers-in-law and her husband's noble servants went there for enjoyable leisure. Constantinople still preserved its attraction to barbarians as a longed-for "tourist" destination. Orhan, again, avoided visiting Byzantine territory.

For most native Byzantine nobility, in the middle of the fourteenth century, granting daughters to Anatolian Turks was no longer unimaginable. Among events of 1345 Gregoras mentions that not long before John Vatatzes' daughter had married the emir of Karasi Sulaymān.²¹ John Vatatzes, the former governor of Thessalonike, defected to John Kantakouzenos when deposed by Apokaukos. His daughter's father-in-law Sulaymān sent an army to him in Thrace to fight Anna of Savoy. The empress Anna managed to lure John Vatatzes to her side, but he quarreled with the Turks and was killed by them.²² The case of Theodora, however, was unprecedented since she was an imperial legitimate daughter married to a Muslim. The marriage, although completely noncanonical, caused no protests from the Church, which had since the twelfth century strictly forbidden marriages between Muslims and Christians. As noted by Nicol, a few decades earlier the marriage of Simonis, the five-year-old daughter

19 Kantakouzenos, 2:585–89.

20 Kantakouzenos, 3:28.

21 Gregoras, 2:741; *PLP*, no. 2518.

22 Gregoras, 2:741–42. For more information on John Vatatzes, see: Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Histoire et légendes des premiers Ottomans," *Turcica* 26 (1995), pp. 76–77; Eadem. "The Emirate of Karasi and that of the Ottomans: Two Rival States," in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon, 1993), pp. 231–33.

of Andronikos II, to the Serbian tsar Stephen Uroš Milutin (1281–1320), who was in his forties, had engendered a negative reaction from the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, unlike the case of Theodora and the Church's silence.²³

Orhan insisted on equality with the Byzantine emperor, atypical for the west Anatolian emirs at the time. He confirmed his determination by extending his authority across the straits to establish himself in Thrace. Byzantium attempted to "tame" the Turk (through "friendship" and military alliance) but failed completely. The relationship between Orhan and Kantakouzenos marked the collapse of traditional models of Byzantine-Turkish contacts, as well as the decline of the phenomenon of Byzantine Turks. Turks began to no longer feel the need of favors and protection from the Byzantines.

3 Christianization

The Byzantine legal system acknowledged Orthodoxy as the only acceptable confessional affiliation. Its adoption was the first step of naturalization for immigrants.²⁴ It is unclear, however, how consistently this rule was observed in the actual social practices of the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries.

Prosopography gives the definite answer that all Byzantines who bore Oriental names, without exception, were Christians. Oriental names, both sobriquets and family names, in almost all cases are associated with Christian first names: 67 percent of names are accompanied by baptismal proper names, unequivocally indicating a religious affiliation. Among those who are named only by their Oriental nickname (the remaining 33 percent), the majority can be identified as Christians on the basis of their occupation or family ties (82 percent). In Byzantine Macedonia, two purely Ottoman Muslim names can be found of those who probably settled in the region during the first Ottoman occupation in 1386–1403 and remained on Byzantine territory after 1403.²⁵ In addition, in the database two Jews with Oriental names²⁶ and sixteen persons

23 Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, p. 174.

24 See also: Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies," pp. 131ff.

25 For Muslim population in the lands regained by the Byzantines after 1403, see: Necipoğlu, Nevra. "Sources for the Social and Economic History of Late Medieval Thessalonike and their Significance for Byzantine and Ottoman Studies," in *Tarihte güney-doğu Avrupa: Balkanolojinin dünü, bugünü ve sorunları* [Ankara Üniversitesi dil ve tarih-coğrafiya fakültesi yayınları] (Ankara, 1999), pp. 104–05.

26 *PLP*, nos 94530 (Σουγᾶς), 19544 (Μουσχῆς). The Asian names of these Jews indicate their origin from the Muslim lands, most likely the eastern Mediterranean, Anatolia, the Near East, Egypt, etc.

whose religious affiliation is indefinable appear. In other words, the overwhelming majority of immigrants from both Dasht-i Qipchaq and Muslim Anatolia had adopted Christianity. This was, undoubtedly, the result of state policy for immigrants settling in the empire as subjects of the Palaiologan emperors.²⁷ Despite the decline and deterioration of economic and social conditions, the Byzantine social system still preserved a deliberate assimilative mechanism.

Baptism entailed the changing of name. Cheynet has noted that, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the name Eleutherios was given to baptized Muslim Arabs.²⁸ The assignment of this name to a neophyte is logical: “Eleutherios” meant “liberated,” “liberated slave.” It was applicable to those “liberated” from “Hagarene paganism,” as Cheynet suggests, but also to a liberated Muslim slave who had been captured in hostilities and settled on Byzantine territory, implying “freedman, liberated from slavery.” Late Byzantine sources, however, give no regular patterns of baptismal naming of Turkic immigrants that would be similar to that noted by Cheynet. Similar to Byzantine monastic practice, Turkic neophytes might have received a baptismal name the initial sound of which was consonant with their former “pagan” name. For instance, as John Kantakouzenos testified, the famous Cuman or Mongol immigrant Συτζιγάν acquired his baptismal name Συργιάννης due to phonetic similarity.²⁹

The database gives the following percentages of baptismal names among Byzantine Turks: John (6.4 percent), George (5 percent), Theodore and Theodora (4.6 percent), Michael (4.3 percent), Demetrios (3.3 percent), Basil (2.1 percent). Other names such as Alexios, Andronikos, Anna, Athanasios, Constantine, Xenos, Manuel, Nikolaos, Paul, and Petros each constitute less than 1.5 percent of the total. Of course, Christian baptismal names are known for as few as 67 percent of Byzantine Turks. The rest are referred to in the sources only by barbarian names that were not registered in church calendars. “Military” baptismal names such as George, Theodore, Michael, and Demetrios are prevalent. Some signs of consistency in naming in aristocratic families are notable: for instance, Demetrios was frequent in the Soultanos II family, while George was frequent for the Anataulai.

27 Asdracha, Catherine. *La région des Rhodopes aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles: étude de géographie historique* (Athens, 1976), pp. 76f.; Bartusis, Mark. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 27, 62, 197, 244, 374.

28 Cheynet, Jean-Claude. “L’apport arabe à l’aristocratie byzantine des X^e–XI^e siècles,” in Idem. *La société byzantine. L’apport des sceaux* (Paris, 2008), p. 645.

29 Kantakouzenos, 1:18.14–16: “... Συτζιγάν βαρβαρικῶς καλούμενου, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου φωτισματος αὐτὸν ἀναδεξαμένου Συργιάννη ἐπικληθέντος.”

Some Anatolian Hagarenes who settled in Byzantine territory had been baptized in their infancy (see Chapter 1.12). Although church authorities demanded rebaptism, their initial Christian experience may have facilitated their adaptation to Byzantine life. The story of the Seljuk sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II's stay in Byzantium, which was reflected in contemporary sources, provides an unprecedented detailed picture of the operation of the church and administrative mechanisms both for incorporation and exclusion from Byzantine society for large masses of immigrants.

In the winter of 1264/65, Kaykāwus' conspiracy against Michael Palaiologos failed; the sultan with his two elder sons joined the Mongol and Bulgarian troops, which invaded Thrace, and left Byzantium for Crimea. Ibn Bibī argues that the details of the conspiracy were exposed to Michael Palaiologos by the sultan's uncle Kyr Kattidios.³⁰ The emperor's rage at the sultan's flight descended on the sultan's emirs, most of whom had remained in Byzantium. Both Greek and Oriental sources similarly describe the fury of Michael Palaiologos. He arrested all high-ranking officers of the sultan including 'Alī Bahādūr. 'Alī Bahādūr was executed, as were others, as Aqsarāyī argues.³¹ According to Oriental sources, 'Alī Bahādūr, *amīr-ākhur* Uğurlu, the unnamed *amīr-majlis*, and some other unnamed emirs were identified as the figures who inspired the sultan to attack and depose Michael Palaiologos.³² 'Alī Bahādūr and probably others were charged with treason and making an attempt on the emperor's life.

30 Ibn Bibī (AS). *El-Evamirü'l-Ala'yye fi'l-umuri'l-Ala'yye*, ed. Adnan S. Erzi (Ankara, 1956), p. 638; Yazıcızâde 'Alī. *Jazııyoğlu 'Alī, Oğuzname*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Orient. Quart. 1823, fol. 367b [hereafter – Yazıcızâde 'Alī (Berlin)]. Aqsarāyī does not specify the names of the traitors: Aqsarāyī, Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd. *Kerimuddin Mahmud Aksaraylı, Müsameret ül-ahbâr. Moğollar zamanında Türkiye selçukluları tarihi*, ed. Osman Turan (Ankara, 1944), p. 75; Baybars al-Manşūrī gives a rather improbable version relating that both uncles Kyr Kattidios and Kyr Khāya were sent to the emperor by the sultan himself to inform him about the conspiracy of Turkic emirs: Baybars al-Manşūrī al-Dawādār. *Zubdat al-fikra fi ta'riḫ al-Hijra. History of the Early Mamluk Period*, ed. Donald S. Richards (Beirut and Berlin, 1998), p. 93. However, as I have suggested, Kyr Khāya was not with the sultan at that time. For the role of the two uncles, see above Chapter 3.6 and also: Shukurov, Rustam. "The Oriental Margins of the Byzantine World: A Prosopographical Perspective," in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Aldershot, 2011), pp. 186–90, and more details in: Idem. "Семейство 'Изз ал-Дина Кай-Кавуса II в Византии," *Византийский временник* 67 [92] (2008), pp. 96–105.

31 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 638; Aqsarāyī, p. 75; Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn. *Kitāb al-sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā, 8 vols (Beirut, 1997), 2:14.

32 Baybars al-Manşūrī, p. 93 ('Alī Bahādūr, *amīr-ākhur* Uğurlu, the *amīr-majlis*); Aqsarāyī, p. 75 (*amīr-ākhur* Uğurlu). Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 638, ascribes the very idea of the plot to a group

Amīr-ākhur Uğurlu, however, managed to avoid the death penalty. Aqsarāyī relates that *amīr-ākhur* Uğurlu “found refuge in the Monastery of Aya Sofya, for every offender looking for asylum in this monastery received protection from the death penalty. However, although they did not execute him, his two world-seeing eyes were blinded by a red-hot [iron] rod.”³³ The story sounds plausible, for it was normal practice for those accused of a crime to seek asylum in a church and, especially, in St. Sophia.³⁴ In the summer of 1264, a few months earlier, the *chartophylax* Bekkos and *megas oikonomos* Xiphilinos, along with their wives and children, rushed to St. Sophia to take asylum there from the wrath of the emperor.³⁵ This was probably taken as a model by *amīr-ākhur* Uğurlu.

Many of Kaykāwus’ Turks were arrested by the authorities. Baybars al-Manṣūrī continues the story: “However, with regard to the emirs, he [i.e. Michael Palaiologos] blinded all of them, and then ordered to gather all those who have dealt with them, their soldiers, slaves, commoners, and servants. All of them were brought together in the Great Church [i.e., St. Sophia], where higher clergy and officials were present and they demanded that they adopt the Christian faith. Those who accepted baptism remained unscathed, but those who wanted to remain Muslim at all cost were blinded. Among them was a man from Erzincan, Nūr al-Dīn by name; when they brought him and demanded he adopt Christianity, he exclaimed: ‘Paradise is prepared for Islam and fire is prepared for you!’ His words were passed to the emperor. The emperor said: ‘This man is firm in his faith, provide him with written travel permission and let him go.’ They did this and released him.”³⁶ This story sounds convincing as it has close parallels in Byzantine practices. A similar precedent

of unnamed emirs and probably wants to portray ‘Alī Bahādūr as a chance witness to the conspirators’ conversation.

33 Aqsarāyī, p. 75: دست بقتل خواص دراز کردند، اغرلو امیر آخر بدیر ایا صوفیه پناه برد: بسبب آنکه هرگاه کاری که بدان دیر پناه برد ایمن می دارند از قتل، اما چون از قتل امان دادند در دو چشم جهان بینش میل کشیدند و باقی اصحاب را محبوس گردانیدند.

34 Macrides, Ruth. “Killing, Asylum, and the Law in Byzantium,” *Speculum* 63/3 (1988), pp. 514–16ff.

35 Pachymeres, George. *Georges Pachymères, Relations Historiques* III.24, ed. Albert Failler, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), 1:299.4ff.

36 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, pp. 93–94: یلوز: و اما امراؤه فانه کلهم جمیعاً ثم رسم بان یجمع کل من یلوز بهم من الجند والغلمان والعامة والحاشية فجمعوا فی الكنيسة الكبرى جمیعاً و حضر البطارقة والبطارقة و عرضوا علیهم الدخول فی دین النصرانية فمنهم من تنصر فسلم و من ابي الا البقاء علی اسلامه فکحل و کان فیهم رجل من ارزنکان یسمی نور الدین فلما احضر واه و عرضوا

of group baptism is known from the middle of the twelfth century, when some Hagarenes were summoned to the synod and were required to be baptized. It was normal practice to bring infidel subjects to the church authorities in order to force them to adopt Christianity.³⁷ Gregoras explicitly confirms the forcible conversion of Kaykāwus' men: "His people, who were men of a great multitude and extremely warlike, having been brought to new birth by the Christian baptism, were incorporated in the Roman army."³⁸

Baybars relates in the cited passage that those who rejected baptism were blinded. But Aqsarāyī reports that those who escaped death were imprisoned.³⁹ Ibn Bibī and Yazıcızâde 'Alī maintain that those who rejected baptism "were punished, detained by the emperor, and remained forever in prison."⁴⁰ The versions of Ibn Bibī and Aqsarāyī seem more plausible, that stubborn Muslims would have been punished by imprisonment but not the death penalty, which Byzantines applied with caution and only in extreme cases. Pachymeres partly confirms this, saying that all the servants of the sultan's family were imprisoned.⁴¹ Pachymeres refers elsewhere to the detainment of prisoners of war (seemingly those who rejected the options of baptism and naturalization in Byzantium) in the Nicaean prison in connection with the events of February 1265;⁴² perhaps some of them were the Turks of Kaykāwus. The punishment of blinding was likely more appropriate for those charged with rebellion, as happened in the case of Uğurlu.

The conversion of Kaykāwus' Muslims took place only in Constantinople and, probably, in Thrace and Macedonia, but not in Dobrudja. In the second

عليه التّصّرّ صاح و قال الجنة معدّة للاسلام و النار معدّة || لكم فطالعوا الملك بامرہ فقال
هذا رجل ثابت علي دينہ فاعطوه کُتاب الطريق و لا تعرضوا له فاطلقوه.

37 See above Chapter 1.12.

38 Gregoras IV.6 (1:101): "ὁ δὲ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ὄχλος, ἄνδρες δ' οὗτοι μάλα τοι πλείστοι καὶ κράτιστοι τὰ πολέμια, τῷ Χριστιανῶν ἀναγεννηθέντες βαπτίσματι, τῇ Ῥωμαίων συγκατελέγοντο στρατιᾷ," and see also a similar statement: Gregoras VII.4 (1:11–16).

39 Aqsarāyī, p. 75.

40 Ibn Bibī (As), p. 638: و امير آخر را مکحول و مسمول و علی بهادر را مقتول کردانید هرکه از اتباع و اشباع و خدم و حشم سلطان ارتداد می نمود و در ملت مسیح مداخلت می کرد نان و امان می یافت و هرکه بعروّه و بُقی اسلام دست اعتصام قوی می داشت و نقش ان الدین عندالله الاسلام بزورق جان و صفحه اعتقادی نگاشت بنکال و عقال فاسلیوس مبتلای گشت و در زندان ابد محبوس می ماند. Cf. with Duda's German translation of Ibn Bibī: Duda, Herbert W. *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibī* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 284, and Yazıcızâde 'Alī (Berlin), fol. 368.

41 Pachymeres III.25 (1:313.14–15): "σὺν τοῖς περὶ ἐκεῖνους ἅπασιν, εἰρκταῖς ἀσφαλῆσιν ἐδίδου."

42 Pachymeres III.28 (1:321.20–21).

quarter of the fourteenth century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, passing through Dobrudja, refers to the city Bābā-Saltūq, undoubtedly linked with the Muslim saint Sarı Saltıq, as an indication of the continuous presence of a Muslim population.⁴³ Fifteenth-century Ottoman tradition implied that Kaykāwus' Turks (or some of them) continued to confess Islam in Dobrudja up to the time of the Ottoman conquest. Also according to Ottoman tradition, some Muslim Turks of Dobrudja (including Sarı Saltıq) followed the sultan in his move to Crimea.⁴⁴

The *forcible conversion* of Muslims had a distinct juridical meaning. During the sojourn of Kaykāwus in Byzantium, Anatolian Muslims who came with him, both noble and commoners, continued to profess their religion. It is also confirmed by the case of Malik and Sālik's Turks; they remained Muslims while serving first in the Byzantine and then in the Latin army, and only later, as the war ended, did some of them adopt Christianity (presumably the Latin rite) and were settled in Morea.⁴⁵ Kaykāwus' Muslims in Byzantine territories were legally considered subjects of a foreign sovereign and thus in that capacity could have kept their Muslim faith. However, after the failure of Kaykāwus' conspiracy and his escape from Byzantium, the juridical status of his people changed. They were treated as prisoners of war or settlers in the category of expatriated individuals and fell under the jurisdiction of the emperor and Roman law. Insofar as Islam was considered paganism by the Byzantine Church and, according to civil law, the practice of paganism was illegal throughout the empire,⁴⁶ Kaykāwus' Muslims had no option other than baptism. The alter-

43 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Shams al-Dīn. *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and transl. Charles Defrémery and Beniamino Raffaello Sanguinetti, 4 vols (Paris, 1853–58), 2:416.

44 Yazıcızâde 'Alî (Berlin), fol. 368b: کوجرب اول ترك اولري و صار صلتوق بله آلب دشته ايلتدی و صلغاد و صغداقي آکا تيار و خلقنه ييريورت ويردی Decei, Aurel. "Le problème de la colonisation des Turcs seldjoudides dans la Dobroggea au xiii^e siècle," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi. Tarih Bölümü 6 (1968), p. 88; Bakır inexplicably omits this passage and the subsequent phrase: Yazıcızâde 'Alî. *Tevârih-i Âl-i Selçuk [Oğuznâme-Selçuklu Târihi]*, ed. Abdullah Bakır (Istanbul, 2009), p. 774.

45 *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. John Schmitt (London, 1904), line 5735: "καὶ ὤρισεν ὁ πρίγκιπας κ' ἐβάρφτισάν τους ὅλους."

46 See for more details about the status of Islam: Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies," pp. 129–32; Reinert, Stephen W. "The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th–15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations," in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC, 1998), pp. 125–50; Shukurov, Rustam. "The Crypto-Muslims of Anatolia," in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia or the Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878–1920*, ed. David Shankland, 3 vols (Istanbul, 2004–13), 2:135–58.

native for those who refused baptism and retained their “pagan” faith was imprisonment.

It is remarkable that Michael Palaiologos did not punish the sultan’s women and children, although they were put under custody immediately following the sultan’s escape. The sultan’s wife, mother, sister, daughter, and two sons, who remained in Byzantium, were probably eventually settled in Berroia in western Macedonia and enjoyed the status of the noblest aristocratic families of the empire. This conformed to the Byzantine tradition of not harming underage children and women of even the bitterest enemy.

The overall retinue of Kaykāwus’ followers was large and included not only high military and civil officers but also their families, servants, slaves, and soldiers. After the sultan’s escape in the winter of 1264/65, extensive disturbances ensued in Constantinople, and probably in other provinces of the empire, resulting in mass arrests and persecutions of Turks and their forcible conversion to Christianity. Muslim authors reflected more vividly the real extent of the crises than did Greek historians. Most of Kaykāwus’ men, however, were finally incorporated in Byzantine society and found their own niches.

To my knowledge, we do not have in the whole of Byzantine history, either before or after that time, such a detailed and colorful description of the forcible mass conversion of Muslims within such a short period. However, the case discussed here has parallels in Byzantine history. Over the course of 200 years in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sources briefly and in passing referred many times to mass baptism of Turkic captives and allies, both “Scythians” and “Persians.”⁴⁷

The depth of Christianization of Turkic neophytes may be questioned. Demetrios Chomatenos relates about a person who, being within the Byzantine political and canonical jurisdiction, abjured from Christianity to Islam.⁴⁸ This former Hagarene Turk, ‘Alīshīr (Ἀλυσήριος), was baptized in his youth,⁴⁹ prompting the supposition that, being a first-generation Christian,

47 Brand, Charles. “The Turkish Element in Byzantium, 11th–12th Centuries,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), pp. 16–17.

48 Chomatenos, Demetrios. *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Günter Prinzing (Berlin, 2002), no. 103 (pp. 402–03).

49 In the Byzantine anthroponymic model, the name ‘Alīshīr was likely a nickname (it is unlikely to be family name) which was derived from the Muslim personal name he bore before baptism. We do not know the baptismal name of ‘Alīshīr. It is possible that he belonged to the upper classes. However, it is doubtful that he was a member of a noble family. Yet, another ‘Alīshīr was a *paroikos* (Ἀλυσήριος, Trikala, 1348, *PLP*, no. 726). The probability of having family ties between these two ‘Alīshīr is close to zero. The name ‘Alīshīr, however, is found in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Anatolia being probably

he found himself on Byzantine territory as either a captive, slave, or hostage from some noble Anatolian Muslim lineage. Chomatenos further relates that for many years 'Alishīr was a good Christian; however, his faith was shaken and he uttered blasphemy against God and trampled the cross. In the end he repented and appeared before the ecclesiastical authorities and was given a penance. Chomatenos, speaking of the blasphemy against God and trampling the cross, could not have meant an "atheist" rebellion, which was scarcely possible for a person educated in either Islamic or Christian traditions. More likely, Chomatenos implied that 'Alishīr cursed the Christian conception of God and trampled the cross as a symbol of Christianity and, for a time, returned to the fold of Islam. It was not a case of religious "duality." 'Alishīr went through a spiritual crisis, returned to Islam, and then went back to Christianity.

This case is an indication that, in the thirteenth century, the return to Islam for a former Muslim (even if in secret) was possible within Byzantine canonical and civil jurisdiction. Similar cases of secret apostasy of individuals in Constantinople (the *koubikoularios* Samonas and the *protospatharios* Chase) and a group of former Muslims in the Pontic region are reported from the tenth through the turn of the fifteenth centuries (see below Chapter 7.5). Instances of crypto-Islamicity, albeit rare, indicate that Byzantine cultural space was not so solidly anti-Islamic. Individuals and groups of newly naturalized immigrants from the Orient might have been open and susceptible to Islamic teachings. These marginal groups, however, left no traces on Byzantine culture.

Precedents show that the western Byzantines were still successful at naturalizing immigrants. Contradictory evidence is provided for other parts of the Byzantine world. For instance, analogous Pontic anthroponymic material provides grounds to believe that, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, some

more common among nomadic Turkmens. The name was not typical for members of the urban Seljuk bureaucratic elite. 'Alishīr as the name of noble individuals appeared only at the beginning of the era of *beyliks* among Turkmen leaders of western Anatolia. A connection of the name with the Turkmen nomads, in the cultural context of Muslim Anatolia, is perhaps confirmed by its genesis and semantics. Linguistically, it is a purely Iranian Muslim name: it consists of the Arabic *ʿAlī* (the fourth caliph and the founder of Shiism) and the Persian *shūr* "lion," where "Lion" (Arabic *haydar*, Persian *shūr*) was the honorary name of the same caliph 'Alī. Thus, the name, denoting "'Alī the Lion," clearly refers to the figure of the fourth caliph, who was revered by Shiites as *imām* and a holder of divine grace. The name was more prevalent in Shia milieux. If so, it is not surprising if, in Anatolia, it was mainly connected with the nomadic or semi-nomadic Turkmens, who were more inclined to Shiite ideas than the Seljuk bureaucratic and intellectual nobility, who remained faithful to Sunnism.

Asian newcomers to the Empire of Trebizond retained their Muslim faith. They retained their purely Muslim names as subjects of the emperor. In the Palaiologan empire sources prove that authorities remained successful in the Christianization of Asian immigrants.

4 More on Inclusion and Exclusion

Two examples show the destinies of immigrants who by accident found themselves on Byzantine territory and encountered the Byzantine legal system. The first example concerns a “Scythian” woman, that is, a Cuman Turk or Mongol. She lived in the Golden Horde (“beyond the Danube”), was somewhat wealthy, unmarried, and with no children. As Gregoras pointed out, the Scythian woman was eager to move to Byzantium and receive baptism (ἐπόθει δ’ ἐκ πολλοῦ προσχωρῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὸ θεῖον δέξασθαι βάπτισμα). When she saw Greek slaves, who had been captured in Thrace by the Mongols, driven by her house she bought one and married him, intending to move to Byzantium. She bore two children and was pregnant with another when the Greek wife of her husband, who had also been enslaved during the Mongol raids to Thrace, arrived. The Scythian woman did not become jealous of her husband’s first wife but bought her in order to comfort her husband and have additional help with the housework. The Scythian woman did not abandon her plan to move to Byzantium. She, at last, received baptism and settled in Constantinople along with her husband and his first Greek wife who remained her slaves. The Greek wife went to the patriarch and accused the Scythian woman of robbing her of her husband. The Scythian woman came to the trial and presented her case. She liberated her husband, but left his first wife in bondage, offering that she could redeem herself for the price that had been paid for her, as the Scythian woman needed money to support her children. The patriarch and other participants of the trial hailed the decision of the Scythian woman, considering it highly generous and fair. Justice was made full and complete when the first wife went to Thrace to gather money from her former neighbors and Mongols raided the area, reducing her to slavery once again and taking her to the Golden Horde. The husband and the Scythian woman lived happily ever after.⁵⁰ These events happened some time before 1337–38.

This story is instructive in many ways. The Byzantine man and his wife, being enslaved by the enemy and later returned to Byzantium as slaves, had not been

50 Gregoras, 1:542–44. Page’s rehearsal of this story abounds with inaccuracies: Page, Gill. *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans, 1200–1420* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 158–59.

freed by default, in accordance with Justinian's law with regard to enslaved Romans.⁵¹ The Scythian woman's eagerness to immigrate to Byzantium at any cost is typical. Not only Anatolian "Persians" felt reverence to and were eager to settle in Byzantium but northern Scythians as well. The Scythian woman fulfilled her dream by stages, starting with her marriage to a Byzantine subject and giving birth to his children. When the Scythian woman encountered legal prosecution, the Byzantine juridical system took her side, despite the fact that she was a recent immigrant and neophyte with charges against her put forward by a native Roman woman who, in addition, had suffered from Scythian raids. The Byzantine legal system did not take ethnicity into account. Mechanisms of legal regulation in this case protected an immigrant and provided inclusion into Byzantine society.

The second example is more complex. Pachymeres relates that a certain Κουτζιμπαξίς, "Tocharos" by blood – that is, a Mongol – made rapid career advances in Byzantium.⁵² Pachymeres maintains that he professed the religion of "Persians" (τὰ Περσῶν δ' ἔσεβε) and was the most powerful (τὰ κράτιστα) among the magicians of Nogai of the Golden Horde. Here it is Mongol shamanism that is undoubtedly implied by the religion of Persians; these priests were an indispensable element of the royal courts of both the Golden Horde and Iranian Mongols.⁵³ As Pachymeres correctly noted, the name Κουτζιμπαξίς is the Greek equivalent of the Turkic "chief shaman" (Turkic *koca-bahşı*).⁵⁴ After the death of Nogai in 1299 or 1300, Kocabahşı decided to move to Turkish Anatolia with his wife and children; however, by accident he found himself on Byzantine territory in Pontic Herakleia. Having received baptism and baptizing his family, Kocabahşı became close to Andronicus II and occupied an important place among the emperor's courtiers. In essence, Kocabahşı and his family,

51 Rotman, Youval. *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, transl. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, MA, 2009), pp. 32–33.

52 Pachymeres X.30, XII.1.32, XIII.4.14.

53 For incorrect interpretations, see: *PLP*, no. 13622 (Κουτζιμπαξίς initially professed Islam); *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, DC, 1975), p. 362 n. to line 21 (he professed Zoroastrianism).

54 Pachymeres XIII.14 (4:627.19–20): "πρῶτος δὲ τῶν ἱερομάγων τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἐξελληνίζεται." The interpretation belongs to Étienne Marc Quatremère and Zachariadou: Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Observations on Some Turcica of Pachymeres," *Revue des études byzantines* 36 (1978), pp. 262–63. However, Zachariadou for unclear reasons identifies Kocabahşı's religion in the following way: he "was a Muslim Turk, the chief magician in Nogay's court."

adopting Byzantine allegiance, became “Romans.” In order to halt the Turkic chief Sulaymān-pāshā⁵⁵ from ravaging the neighborhood of Nikomedeia, the emperor made Kocabahşı the ruler of Nikomedeia and married his daughter to Sulaymān. It failed to produce results as Sulaymān did not honor the peace and Kocabahşı undertook hostile actions against the local Greeks.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, Kocabahşı continued to enjoy the status of a close attendant to the emperor and to execute the emperor’s errands. He was appointed a Byzantine envoy to the Golden Horde khan Toqta (1290–1312). In 1305, he was sent to Thrace as a negotiator with the rebellious Alans and northern (Scythian) Tourkopouloi. However, having married the daughter of the Alan chief Κυρσίτης (apparently his second marriage), he behaved suspiciously.⁵⁷ The continuation of the story is found in one of the letters of the patriarch Athanasios I. Kocabahşı (Παξῆς of Athanasios I) was arrested by the Byzantines on charges of treason, but ca. 1306 managed to escape from a Constantinopolitan prison and fled back to the Golden Horde. The patriarch asked the emperor not to be too strict on the guardians of Kocabahşı for their failure.⁵⁸ Thus Kocabahşı’s brilliant career in Byzantium was interrupted.

This case displays the remarkable ease with which Kocabahşı was baptized and entered the emperor’s inner circle, the openness of Byzantine elite for talented barbarians. Kocabahşı’s fate, however, also provides an example of how a recently naturalized noble barbarian entering into conflict with the authorities and demonstrating his disloyalty was immediately confronted with the police apparatus and found himself behind bars. Disobedient barbarians had no choice other than to escape from the empire.

Both Anatolian Persians and northern Scythians were fixated on Constantinople. The “Scythians” were dreaming of becoming “Romans,” while the Anatolians already (or still) considered themselves “Romans” and were separated by only a half-step from full naturalization.

55 He is probably the same person as the emir of Kastamonu Shujā’ al-Dīn Sulaymān-pāshā: Failler, Albert. “Les émirs turcs à la conquête de l’Anatolie au début du 14^e siècle,” *Revue des études byzantines* 52 (1994), pp. 90–91; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène. “L’installation des ottomans,” in *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Bernard Geyer and Jacques Lefort (Paris, 2003), p. 362.

56 Pachymeres X.30 (4:379.11–23), XII.1 (4:507.11–12).

57 Pachymeres XII.32 (4:603.28–31), XIII.4 (4:627); XIII.14 (4:649).

58 *The Correspondence of Athanasius I*, pp. 114–16 (no. 51).

5 Proprietors and *Pronoiars*

If the state was interested in a particular immigrant, after his baptism he was provided with a means of subsistence. Standard measures for such financial support – money and land – for naturalized immigrants settled on the imperial lands went back to as early as the seventh and eighth centuries.⁵⁹ In Constantine Porphyrogenetos' time, *protonotarioi* of *themata* were ordered to pay to Christianized Saracen captives and immigrants who had been allotted lands by the authorities considerable funds in gold for food and the purchase of agricultural implements. These Saracen settlers were also released from taxes for three years. Temporary tax immunity was granted to locals who admitted to their households a baptized Saracen son-in-law.⁶⁰ The lavish distribution of land to "Scythian" and "Persian" immigrants continued into the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as has been described in detail by Charles Brand.⁶¹

Financial relations between Byzantine authorities and those mercenaries and allies, who remained foreign subjects and did not adopt Byzantine allegiance, developed according to different patterns. For instance, during the Late Byzantine period, foreign mercenaries and allies normally received agreed payments from the authorities and sometimes, in addition, extra gifts in gold and goods. In the 1260s, 'Alī Bahādur as a foreign ally was bestowed with honorary clothing and other rewards for his military victories in the name of the emperor.⁶² As Kantakouzenos noted, the booty, including slaves that had been taken by Muslim mercenaries and allies remained in their possession.⁶³ It seems that foreign mercenaries and allies who kept their non-Orthodox religious identity could not obtain estates on Byzantine territory.

59 Litavrin, Gennadij G. *Византийское общество и хозяйство в X–XI вв.* (Moscow, 1977), p. 238.

60 Porphyrogenetos, Constantine. *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, ed. Johann Jacob Reiske, 2 vols (Bonn, 1829–30), 1:694.22–696: "Περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Σαρακηνῶν τῶν ἐπὶ θέματι βαπτιζομένων." For a helpful discussion of this chapter, see: Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies," p. 130.

61 Brand, "The Turkish Element," p. 17.

62 Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 638: «باري چند فاسيليوس را معاديان و منازلان ظاهر شدند علي بهادر را ۱: بدفع ايشان فرمان داد در ان باب جواب خصوم ملك الروم چنانك از كمال حماسه او اقتضا كرد واجب ديد و باقامت رسانيد و بقمع كفار آثار صرامت ظاهر كردانيد بدانواسطه پايه او در خدمت ملك الروم در وقار و حشمت بيفزود و هر بار سبحان خلعت و صلت از خزانه ملك الروم در باره او دار و فايض بود و پيوسته بانعام و اكرام او اختصاص مي يافت. Cf.: Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, p. 284.

63 Kantakouzenos, 1:497 (on the seizure of civilians by Umur-bek's Turks in Albania in 1337).

As for those adopting Byzantine allegiance, noble immigrants as a rule obtained from the authorities estates as their private property. Most noble lineages (the Melikai, Soultanoi, Masgidades, Anataulai) possessed hereditary lands which they were able to pass to their descendants. Many holders of Oriental names in the database (or their immediate ancestors) were initially soldiers, either new settlers and refugees or former foreign mercenaries who were hired by the authorities and were naturalized and granted an estate on Byzantine territory (see, for instance, Fig. 17).

The Byzantine authorities, in relations with barbarian newcomers, made also use of the *pronoia/oikonomia* institution, that is, conditional lifetime or hereditary grants to a person or a group of persons in the imperial service (especially military) of properties, tax revenues that were derived from specific territory or property, tax exemptions, and the like.⁶⁴ An average personal *pronoia/oikonomia* afforded its holder the equivalent of 70–80 gold *hyperpyra* per year.⁶⁵

Regarding Turkic *pronoïars*, the sources preserve interesting evidence. A certain *pronoïar* Πέτρος, called Φαρχατίνης by Persians before he was baptized,

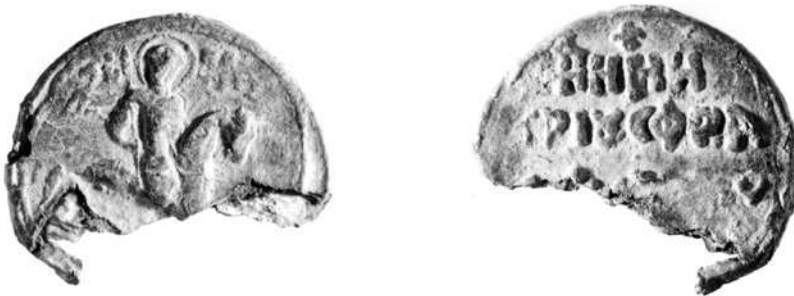


FIGURE 17 Seal of Demetrios Aelgazes. Judging by the representation of St. Demetrios on the seal, its owner was most likely a soldier (after Jordanov, Ivan. *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, 3 vols (Sofia, 2003–09), 3: no. 1810).

64 On *pronoia* in the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries, see: Bartusis, Mark. *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge, 2012), esp. chs 4–7, pp. 374–94, on the contents of *pronoia*. See also: Khvostova, Ksenia V. “Прония: социально-экономические и правовые проблемы,” *Византийский временник* 49 (1988), pp. 13–23; Harvey, Alan. *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 5–12, 72; *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, 3 vols (Washington, DC, 2002), 1:23; Laiou, Angeliki E. and Morrisson, Cécile. *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 157–59.

65 For calculations, see: Oikonomides, Nicolas. “À propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats,” *Travaux et mémoires* 8 (1981), p. 354, and for a more detailed picture: Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, pp. 497–503.

died before 1283–89. He possibly belonged to Kaykāwus' men. It seems that Πέτρος Φαρχατίνης or his two sons (one of whom was named Andronikos) had a *pronoia* in or near Constantinople. However, after the death of Πέτρος Φαρχατίνης the authorities attempted to deprive his two sons of their *pronoia* and to transfer them to Thrace or Macedonia where they could be enrolled, if they so wished, in the “Persian military lists” (Περσικοὶ στρατηγικοὶ κατάλογοι) and would be given necessary provisions (σιτηρέσιον) and arable land. The young men appealed to the patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus. Gregory of Cyprus related this story in his letter to *megas logothetes* Theodore Mouzalon some time between 1283–89.⁶⁶

The name Φαρχατίνης is identical to the Muslim name Fakhr al-Dīn, which could have been either his Muslim personal name or an honorary title (*laqab*) at the Seljuk court.⁶⁷ In all probability, he was a high-status Muslim emir of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus who, at some point, had converted to Christianity. Besides Φαρχατίνης, there were other *pronoia*rs among Kaykāwus' Turks such as *mega-loallagites* Γαζής and Ἀραβαντηνὸς Μασγιδᾶς. Consequently, some of Kaykāwus' Turks, especially military commanders, had been granted *pronoia* by the emperor. This helps to explain numerous references in Oriental sources to the emperor's generosity to Kaykāwus' retainers and attendants, which is formulated by Aqsarāyī: the Byzantines “gave each of his retainers, to the extent of his proximity [to the sultan] and rank, a fair place to live, and some allowance for provisions and daily expenses was provided to each of them in accordance with his position.”⁶⁸ Those of Kaykāwus' men who became subjects of the emperor

66 Eustratiades, Sophronios. *Γρηγορίου του Κυπρίου Επιστολαί*, in *Εκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 4 (1909) *Παράρτημα*, p. 119 (no. 159). Analysis of the case is provided in: Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 374–75, and Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, pp. 343–46. See also: Bibikov, Mikhail V. “Сведения о пронии в письмах Григория Кипрского и ‘Истории’ Георгия Пахимера,” *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 17 (1976), p. 95; *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. Venance Grumel, Vitalien Laurent, and Jean Darrouzès, 2 vols, 8 pts (Paris, 1932–89), 1/4:326 (no. 1536). Cf.: *PLP*, no. 29669 (with numerous factual mistakes in the entry).

67 Laurent's suggestion for the Asian prototype of the name is unlikely: “Ferhadeddin.” For honorary titles at the Seljuk court, see: Khūyī, Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min. *Hasan b. ‘Abdīl-Mu‘min el-Hoyi, Gunyetu’l-Katib ve Munyetu’t-Talib*, in Erzi, Adnan S. *Selçukiler Devrinde âid İnşâ Eserleri* (Ankara, 1963), pp. 1–15; Khūyī, Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min. *Hasan b. ‘Abdīl-Mu‘min el-Hoyi, Rusumu’r-Resa’il ve Nucumu’l-Faza’il*, in Erzi, *Selçukiler Devrinde âid İnşâ Eserleri*, pp. 1–46.

68 Aqsarāyī, p. 70: خواص اور اھریکی را بر قدر قربت و منزلت مسکنی لایق مہیا کردانیدند و اسباب زل و مایحتاج ایشان بر وفق حال ھریکی علی حدہ مہیا و مرتب داشتند. See similar statements in: Ibn Bibī (AS), p. 637; Duda, *Die Seltshukengeschichte*, p. 284; Maqrizī, 2:14.



FIGURE 18 Seal of John Tourkopoulos (*beg. of the fourteenth century; PLP, no. 29183*), who may have been a second-generation Kaykāwus' man and a soldier of the Tourkopouloi troops (after Likhachev, Nikolaj P. Моливдовулы греческого Востока (Moscow, 1991), p. 136, Table LXVI, 10).

are most likely meant here. As is clear from Fakhr al-Dīn's case, Kaykāwus' men would have been bestowed with *pronoia*, arable land to be farmed, as well as *σπηρέσιον*, that is, a sum of money. The data from Greek and Persian sources coincide and are similarly worded. It is clear that the basic patterns of financial support and incorporation of immigrants into the local economy generally remained the same as in the time of Constantine the Porphyrogenetos.

The information on the fate of the second generation of Kaykāwus' soldiers is equally noteworthy. Some of this generation pursued the military careers of their fathers in the "Persian" regiments, which were later commonly called "Tourkopouloi" (see Fig. 18). This is in accordance with Gregoras' remark about Kaykāwus' soldiers who subsequently "multiplied exceedingly with generations of their children."⁶⁹

The Tourkopouloi as part of the Byzantine army were mentioned until the first decade of the fourteenth century, while in the troops of the Catalans of Thessaly they were found until the 1330s.⁷⁰ The sobriquet Τουρκόπουλος is

69 Gregoras, 1:248.9–10: "ταῖς τῶν παίδων διαδοχαῖς αὐξηθέντας."

70 Savvides, Alexios. "Late Byzantine and Western Historiographers on Turkish Mercenaries in Greek and Latin Armies: The Turcoples/Tourkopouloi," in *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to D.M. Nicol* (London, 1993), pp. 122–36; Idem. "Εκχριστιανισμένοι Τουρκόφωνοι μισθοφόροι στα βυζαντινά και λατινικά στρατεύματα της Ανατολής," in *Πρακτικά του Ι' Πανελλήνιου Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου* (Thessalonike, 1989),

found in documentary sources until as late as 1409, however, none of the holders of the name at that late date was a soldier. The byname “Tourkopoulos” in the acts of the mid-fourteenth century through the mid-fifteenth should probably be understood not in the sense of a type of troop, but rather in its direct meaning “the scion of a Turk.”⁷¹ In this sense, for instance, Michael Panaretos of Trebizond employed the word “Tourkopouloi” (for the second half of the fourteenth century), narrating the capture of many Turkic children by the Greeks.⁷²

The immigrant soldiers of the first and second generations might have been a company of soldiers who were together granted a joint *pronoia*.⁷³ The Βαρβαρηνοί in Kalamaria and the Turks in Tzympe in the first half of the fourteenth century could have been such a group of collective *pronoia*rs. Remarkably, the Cumans on Byzantine territory, during roughly the same epoch, were most likely also settled by the authorities in sorts of colonies.⁷⁴ The compact settlement of military men and their families, both “Persians” and “Scythians,” was a persistent pattern used by the authorities. For instance, as Zachariadou notes, the possessions of the original Turkic families of the Melikai, the Soultanoi, and those linked with the latter Lyzikoi were situated in the region of Berroia and bordered each other.⁷⁵ The distribution of Turks in Macedonia also demonstrates their compact settlement on Byzantine territory.

A considerable decline of the *pronoia* system occurred in the second half of the fourteenth century as a consequence of the Ottoman seizure of the Byzantine Balkans. Byzantine authorities made an attempt to save the *pronoia* system in the interval between the battle of Maritsa in 1371 and the Ottoman conquest of Thessalonike in 1387, conducting a partial secularization of monastic lands. However, the loss of the Macedonian possessions in the 1380s dealt a fatal blow to *pronoia* as a source of financing the army.⁷⁶ As my

pp. 89–97. The Turcoples troops are well known in the armies of the Crusaders from the eleventh century: Smail, Raymond C. *Crusading Warfare, 1097–1193* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 111–12, 179–80.

71 *PLP*, nos 29176–84.

72 Panaretos, Michael. *Μιχαήλ του Παναρέτου περι των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών*, ed. Odysseus Lampides (Athens, 1958), p. 79.28.

73 For joint *pronoia*, see: Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, pp. 341–52.

74 Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 158–59. The settlement of immigrants in colonies was an old Byzantine practice: Litavrin, *Византийское общество*, p. 238.

75 Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Οι χριστιανοί απόγονοι του Ιζζεδίν Καϊκούς Β΄ στη Βέροια,” *Μακεδονικά* 6 (1964–65), pp. 65–66; *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 1:27, 364–69.

76 Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, pp. 550–51.

prosopographical database testifies, this led to the disappearance of the Turkic *pronoïars* from the Byzantine social scene.

6 Imperial Service

Foreign mercenaries and allies entering Byzantine service took an oath (ὄρκος) to the Byzantine authorities according to the customs of their own nation. For instance, Anna Komnene indicates that the Latin knights of the First Crusade, when pledging allegiance to Alexios I Komnenos, took “a customary oath of the Latins.”⁷⁷ According to Anna Komnene, similarly, the Turks, becoming allies (σύμμαχοι) of the emperor, took an oath according to their customs.⁷⁸ The Byzantines were suspiciously well aware of the procedures of specific Turkic oaths such as cutting a dog in half.⁷⁹ Both “Persian” and “Scythian” mercenaries arranged their relationships with the Byzantine supreme power through taking their own customary vows. Most likely the barbarians swore the oath in their own languages. The procedure of adopting supreme allegiance to the Byzantine emperor by Turkic foreigners was perhaps similar to the Russian ritual of *шертование* (*shertovanie*) of the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries, in the course of which the Turks took a vow (*шерть* ← Arabic شرط “vow, oath”) in compliance with their own customs.⁸⁰ Similar to the Russian *шерть*, Muslim mercenaries of Byzantium, who did not change their foreign status, might well have sworn on the Koran, as was the case of

77 Komnene, Anna. *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, ed. A. Kambylis and D.R. Reinsch (Berlin and New York, 2001) VII.6.1.4 (τὸν συνήθη τοῖς Λατίνοις ὄρκον), X.7.5.14 (τὸν τοῖς Λατίνοις συνήθη ὄρκον).

78 Anna Komnene II.6.8.7–8: “τὸ εἰθισμένον αὐτοῖς τὸν ὄρκον.”

79 Krjukov, Aleksej M. “Византийцы и их соседи в проповедях Михаила Хониата,” in *Причерноморье в средние века*, ed. Sergej Karпов, 7 (St. Petersburg, 2009), pp. 33–53. For some additional information on the oaths of the barbarians to the Byzantine emperor, see also: Pohl, Walter. “Ritualized Encounters: Late Roman Diplomacy and the Barbarians, Fifth-Sixth Century,” in: *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou, and Maria Parani (Leiden, 2013), pp. 67–86. Cf. also: Brand, “The Turkish Element,” pp. 16–17.

80 For the term and practice of *шерть*, see: Арапов, Dimitrij Ju. “Присяга мусульман в российских законодательных актах и юридической литературе XIX в.” *IVS ANTIQVVM. Древнее право* 2/10 (2002), pp. 252–62; Konev, Aleksej Ju. “Шертоприводные записи и присяги сибирских «иностранцев» конца XVI–XVIII вв.,” *Вестник археологии, антропологии и этнографии* 6 (2006), pp. 172–77.

Kaykāwus' men before their lord's flight. However, unlike the Russian *верты*, those who wished to fully adopt Byzantine allegiance could not have used the Koran for this purpose but took a Christian oath instead, as was the case of the Seljuk defector Siyāwush who, between 1085 and 1087, first accepted baptism and only afterwards swore to Alexios I (“πίστεις ἐδεδώκει τῷ αὐτοκράτορι”).⁸¹

Most “Persian” and “Scythian” immigrants belonged to the military class, being enlisted as private soldiers and officers into the Byzantine army and performing the functions of light cavalry and horse archers.⁸² Of the Turks listed in the database, 7 percent are directly referred to as high officers and military commanders (ἄρχων, κεφαλή). Noble “Persians” and “Scythians,” as a rule, were immediately incorporated into the Byzantine nobility and court ranks were bestowed upon them. Some were granted the honorary standing of οἰκείος⁸³ and δοῦλος⁸⁴ of the emperor. One of the members of the renowned family of Soultanoi, Ἀλέξιος Σουλτάνος Παλαιολόγος, was called in a source πανευγενέστατος, that is, “the most wholly noble.”⁸⁵

First-generation immigrants were often used by the authorities as envoys and negotiators with Turkic foreigners, due to the commonality of language and “psychology” of Byzantine and foreign Turks. Instances of first-generation immigrants being sent with diplomatic missions to barbarians of the same race and language (ὁμόγλωττος) are quite numerous. Kocabahşı was sent as envoy first to the Golden Horde and later to the Alan and Turkic insurgents. *Prothierakarios* Ἀβράμπαξ accompanied the Seljuk sultan Mas'ūd from Constantinople to Byzantine Anatolia to meet with Andronikos II. In ca. 1305/06, Constantine Melik negotiated with Isaac Melik, a mercenary Turk who defected to the side of Andronikos II. Two Byzantine Turks, brothers called Aqsunqur (أقسنقر) and Bahādur (بهادر), participated in the Byzantine embassy to Egypt in 1326–27.⁸⁶ Likewise, after 1304, the Lady of the Mongols Maria, although she was Byzantine Greek by blood, due to her expertise in

81 Anna Komnene VI.9.4.10–12; Skoulatos, Basile. *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse* (Louvain, 1980), p. 280.

82 Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 257–58, 330.

83 Μαχράμης (PLP, no. 17544), Ἀλέξιος Παλαιολόγος Σουλτάνος (PLP, no. 26338), Ἀλέξιος Ἰαγούπης (PLP, no. 7819), Γεώργιος Ἰαγούπης (PLP, no. 7821), Θεόδωρος Ἰαγούπης (PLP, no. 7822).

84 Νικόλαος Τζυράκης (PLP, no. 28159), Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνός Μασγιδᾶς (PLP, no. 17220), Ἰωάννης Δούκας Μασγιδᾶς (PLP, no. 17222), Δημήτριος Ταλαπᾶς (PLP, no. 27416), Γεώργιος Ἰαγούπης (PLP, no. 7821), Παῦλος Γαζής (PLP, no. 3452).

85 Theocharides, Georgios. *Μία διαθήκη και μία δίκη Βυζαντινή. Ανέκδοτα Βατοπεδινά έγγραφα* (Thessalonike, 1962), p. 27.184–85 (no. 2).

86 Maqrīzī, 3:97.

Asia and with Asians negotiated with the emir Osman, the progenitor of the Ottomans, threatening that she would call upon the Iranian Mongols against him.⁸⁷

Byzantine Turks were often placed at the head of Turkic troops; for instance, Νικηφόρος Ψιψῆς, a Christianized Turk, commanded Byzantine “Persian” troops at the battle of Pelagonia (1259),⁸⁸ while a certain Τζαράπης most likely headed the Turkic garrison of Apros in 1306.⁸⁹ Second- and third-generation Turks might have been placed at the head of Turkic mercenaries as was the case with Ἰωάννης Συργιάννης who was the grandson of Συτζιγάν the Scythian and the commander of barbarian troops from Bithynia in 1322.⁹⁰

A widespread title among the Turks of the first and subsequent generations was that of πρωτοῖερακάριος. Originally, it was the position of chief falconer, which occupied a rather modest place in the list of Byzantine ranks (from 48 to 53).⁹¹ It is unclear whether any specific function was associated with the palace title *protohierakarios*.⁹² In Nicaean and Palaiologan times, the title *protohierakarios* belonged to both noble and relatively insignificant persons, as well as to both military and civil officers, seeming to be an honorary title and not an office with strictly defined functions.⁹³ Curiously, among *protohierakarios*, several persons are found who were either Turkic immigrants and their descendants or Greeks with some connections to them. The title of *protohierakarios* belonged to the first-generation immigrant Ἀβράμπαξ in the 1290s⁹⁴ and the

87 Pachymeres XIII. 35 (4:701).

88 Pachymeres IV.31.18 (2:425); Acropolites, pp. 170.19–171.1.

89 Pachymeres XIII.29.9 (4:697).

90 Gregoras, 1:354.7; Vásáry, István. *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 120–21.

91 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 138.29, 301.7–8, etc. (see Index).

92 Guiland, Rodolphe. *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1967), 1:600–01; Kazhdan, Alexander P. “Protoierakarios,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3:1745.

93 The title πρωτοῖερακάριος was held by Theodore Mouzalon during the reign of Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58), Constantine Chadenos in 1274 (*PLP*, no. 30346), a certain Βουζιγνός in the thirteenth century (*PLP*, no. 3016; Guiland, *Recherches*, 1:601), a certain Leon in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries (Laurent, Vitalien. “Les bulles métriques de la sigillographie Byzantine,” *Ελληνικά* 5 (1932), pp. 111–12, no. 318), a certain member of the noble family of the Sarantenoi, a landlord in Berroia in 1325–38 (*PLP*, no. 24896; Theocharides, *Μία διαθήκη*, pp. 31.16; 34.82; 59.65), the military officer John Synadenos before 1341 (*PLP*, no. 27123), Demetrios Komes in 1344 in Thessalonike (*PLP*, no. 92402; *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. Nicolas Oikonomides (Paris, 1984), pp. 170f.), Theodore Strongylos in 1348 (*PLP*, no. 26952), and Πιτζιάτης Ἀγγελος in 1385/86 (*PLP*, no. 23606).

94 *PLP*, no. 61; Pachymeres x.25 (4:360); for more details on him, see above Chapter 3.7.

fifth generation Ἰαγούπης in 1344.⁹⁵ It is possible that the *prothierakarios* Iagoupes was a civil officer, since in 1344 he was among those invited to a court trial.⁹⁶ One more important immigrant from “Persia,” Βασιλικός, one of two repatriated brothers Basilikoi, was referred to as holding the title of *prothierakarios* before 1300.⁹⁷ In addition, Demetrios Palaiologos, whose sister was married to the first-generation immigrant Soultanos, also held the title *prothierakarios* in the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁹⁸ Therefore, almost one-third of the known holders of the title were immigrants or persons related to them, and it is therefore possible that the title was associated with immigrants from the Orient.

Curiously, some court offices related to the execution of state policy toward immigrants and foreigners were occasionally granted to immigrants or their descendants. This is the case with the title and office of ἐταιρειάρχης. The younger of two Basilikoi was referred to as μέγας ἐταιρειάρχης (1259–61; *PLP*, no. 2452), while Ἀναταυλᾶς was also ἐταιρειάρχης (d. before 1342; see Chapter 5.9, Anza). The position of the title ἐταιρειάρχης is found in the second half of the last dozen in the list of court ranks.⁹⁹ According to Pseudo-Kodinos, in the time of the Palaiologoi, *hetaireiarchai* performed some organizational functions during the ceremony of imperial reception, ushering courtiers into reception hall. *Megas hetaireiarches* (at 23–27 in the hierarchy) always stayed beside the emperor and was charged with reporting urgent news to the emperor during the audience.¹⁰⁰ Of importance, *hetaireiarchai*, in addition to their participation in imperial audiences, were also engaged in refugee affairs along with *megas hetaireiarches* (συνυπηρετεῖ δὲ καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐταιρειάρχῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν προσφύγων).¹⁰¹ On the specific functions of *megas hetaireiarches* we read the following details: “He receives the refugees who arrive from all over. It is for this reason he is called a *hetaireiarches*, as he receives comrades, that

95 See above Chapter 5.8 (no. 1A4 of the Iagoupai family).

96 *Actes de Docheiariou*, p. 170.10.

97 *PLP*, no. 2454, *prothierakarios* Basilikos is identical to either *PLP*, no. 2452, or *PLP*, no. 2458.

98 Philes, Manuel. *Manuelis Philae carmina inedita*, ed. Emidio Martini (Naples, 1900), pp. 69–70; *PLP*, no. 94378; and Chapter 5.5.

99 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 139.8 (65th place), 165.7 (63rd place). In some lists, however, *hetaireiarches* is referred to in even lower positions, in the 80s (*ibid.*, pp. 301, 306, 308, 310).

100 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 176–77. On *hetaireiarches*, see also: Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Macrides et al., p. 91 n. 173.

101 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 186.26–27.

is, companions.”¹⁰² Therefore, *hetaireiarchai*, as well as *megas hetaireiarches*, administered affairs of the “immigration” office of the empire.¹⁰³

Pseudo-Kodinos’ “folk etymology” of the title linking it with “comrades and companions” is not tenable, for the title appeared as early as the ninth century and in former times *hetaireiarchai* performed entirely different functions, being responsible for palace security and heading armies as high officers; at one time the office was granted to state annuitants (ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐτερείας/ἐταιρείας).¹⁰⁴ The folk etymology probably does indicate that the *hetaireiarchai*’s function of immigration officers was brought to the fore in the time of the Palaiologoi, so that it affected the understanding of title’s semantics by contemporaries.

In his article “Hetaireiarches” Kazhdan maintains, with reference to Pseudo-Kodinos, that *hetaireiarches*’ functions were “control over foreigners.”¹⁰⁵ This is not quite accurate. Pseudo-Kodinos talks about refugees, but not foreigners in general. On the other hand, Bartusis doubts Pseudo-Kodinos’ explanation, believing that the “receiving” function related only to the imperial ceremony. It seems, however, that there is no ground for such a reinterpretation of Pseudo-Kodinos’ text.¹⁰⁶

The existence of immigrant officers in the state administration in Palaiologan times is explicable. At that time, Byzantium was undergoing rapid changes in the configuration of its European borders and the complete loss of its Anatolian provinces. Refugees flowing from lands seized by the enemy had become a staple feature of the social life of the time.¹⁰⁷ In addition to refugee

102 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 178.19–23: “Δέχεται δὲ οὗτος καὶ τοὺς προσερχομένους πανταχόθεν φυγάδας· διὸ καὶ ἐταιρειάρχης καλεῖται, ὡς τοὺς ἐταίρους ᾗτοι τοὺς φίλους δεχόμενος.” For an English translation of the passage, see in: Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Macrides et al., p. 95; however, the editors discard this statement of Pseudo-Kodinos without adducing any reason (see p. 95 n. 188).

103 Cf.: Karlin-Hayter, Patricia. “L’Hétériarque. L’évolution de son rôle du De Cerimoniis au Traité des Offices,” *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 23 (1974), p. 108.

104 Oikonomides, Nicolas. “Some Byzantine State Annuitants: *Epi Tes (Megales) Hetaireias* and *Epi Ton Barbaron*,” *Σύμμεικτα* 14 (2008), pp. 9–28; Litavrin, *Византийское общество*, pp. 46–47. See also Kazhdan’s articles “Hetaireia” and “Hetaireiarches” in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2:925–26.

105 This reading of Pseudo-Kodinos was first suggested by Stein: Stein, Ernst. “Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,” *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* 2 (1926), p. 41: *hetaireiarches*’ functions are defined as “fremdenpolizeilichen Agenden.”

106 Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 14, 181.

107 There are no special studies on refugees in the Byzantine world. For some preliminary material on refugees, see below in Chapter 8.14.

Greeks, also Slavs, Albanians, Vlachs, Latins, and, of course, Turks took refuge on Byzantine territory.¹⁰⁸ It is likely not a coincidence that at least two of the twelve *megaloι hetaireiarchai* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries functioned at the same time as official interpreters (διερμηνευτής).¹⁰⁹ The office and rank of *megas hetaireiarches* and *hetaireiarches* were prominent and honorable, stemming from the importance of their functions. In particular, it is confirmed by the fact that among twenty-eight known holders of the titles *megas hetaireiarches* and *hetaireiarches* are found to be noble and influential persons, such as the governor in Mesothynia Leo Mouzalon (ca. 1280–1302; *PLP*, no. 19443), *pansebastos sebastos* and military judge Alexios Diplobatzes (ca. 1307–10; *PLP*, no. 5510), the renowned general Nostongos Doukas (1304; *PLP*, no. 20725), *pansebastos* George Sarantenos (1325; *PLP*, no. 24901), and *kephale* of Lemnos George Philanthropenos Doukas (1346; *PLP*, no. 29759). These five holders of the titles *megas hetaireiarches* and *hetaireiarches* were at the same time οἰκῆτοι of the emperor.¹¹⁰

Taking this into account, immigrant Turks and their descendants might have occupied a specific position in both symbolic and functional roles of the imperial hierarchy. Byzantine Turks were predominantly focused on military service; however, they also acted as a communication link between Byzantines and the outer Turkic world.

7 Slaves, Servants, and Hostages

Not all Turkish settlers were granted *pronoia* and court titles. In the course of hostilities, Greeks captured enemy soldiers and civilians, especially women and children. It was a conscious policy that was aimed at replenishing Byzantine human resources at the expense of “Scythians” and “Persians,” as well as Slavs, Arabs, and others in previous times. The captive men, women, and children, by the law of war (νόμῳ πολέμου), were made slaves.¹¹¹ These slaves, if not sold at markets, as a rule became house slaves and often confident servants, practically family members. The category of domestic servants and slaves from among the captives taken in war or bought in markets has been studied by Helga Köpstein

108 Vryonis, “Byzantine and Turkish Societies,” pp. 125–40.

109 As διερμηνευτής is referred to *megas hetaireiarches* Ἀλέξιος Ὑάλων Λάσκαρις, d. after 1370 (*PLP*, no. 14526); the title μέγας διερμηνευτής belonged also to *megas hetaireiarches* Νικόλαος Σιγγιρός, d. before 1357 (*PLP*, no. 25282).

110 *PLP*, nos 4214, 5537, 21641, 24901, 29759.

111 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 25–56.

and more recently by Youval Rotman. In Byzantine terms, a bought or captured slave was called οἰκέτης and οἰκότριψ, and also, generally, δοῦλος.¹¹² Child slaves were usually appointed to serve the master's children with whom they grew up; after many years, masters and their slaves became almost relatives. Such slave children were also called παιδίσκος, παιδίον, παιδόπουλον, and παῖς.¹¹³

The seizure of captives was an object of military campaigns. Apart from slavery, the prisoners might have been used for captive exchange. Tatikios and John Axouch were captive Turkic children and served as house slaves and playmates to the future emperors Alexios I and John II Komnenos respectively.¹¹⁴ According to Eustathios of Thessalonike in 1178, during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80), the captivity and settling of countless Turkic women caused a huge influx of “Persians” into Byzantine territory. “Persians” were so numerous in the region of Thessalonike that it was called “New Persia or the European land of the Persians” (ὁ νέαν ἐπονομάσας Περσίδα ἢ καὶ γῆν Εὐρωπαϊάν Περσῶν).¹¹⁵ These women, probably, were taken captive in Anatolia in the course of successful Byzantine military raids and settled on Byzantine territory as slave workers. Turkic men, seemingly, were attracted by the opportunity not to pay the bride-price for the women they married. During the last Anatolian campaign of Alexios I Komnenos in 1114, the emperor, returning home and fighting off incessant Turkic assaults, made use of a new order of troops: civilians were placed in the middle of a column flanked on all sides by soldiers. Among the civilians, who were defended in this way, Anna mentions “all the captives with women and children” (τοὺς δορυαλώτους ἅπαντας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίοις).¹¹⁶ A number of similar examples of purposeful captivity of civilians can be found in the twelfth-century military history of the Byzantines.¹¹⁷

The policy of the seizure of civilians during hostilities was not abandoned in later times, although the thirteenth century sources mention civilian captives

112 For other names for slaves, see: Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 82–93, and Table 2; Köpstein, Helga. *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz. Philologisch-historische Untersuchung* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 31–42, 46–48.

113 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 87–89; Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei*, pp. 49–50. See also: Vryonis, “Byzantine and Turkish Societies,” p. 142.

114 Brand, “The Turkish Element,” pp. 15–19.

115 Eustathios of Thessalonike. *Eustathii Thessalonicensis Opera minora*, ed. Peter Wirth (Berlin and New York, 2000), pp. 247.9–248.36; Brand, “The Turkish Element,” p. 13. Cf. with the interpretation of “Persia” in: Kaldellis, Anthony. *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition (Greek Culture in the Roman World)* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 91.

116 Anna Komnene xv.4, xv.7.

117 Brand, “The Turkish Element,” p. 18.

and house slaves only occasionally. Planoudes refers to the seizure by Alexios Philanthropenos of Turkic women and children.¹¹⁸ Köpstein gives some examples of domestic slavery in the houses of the Byzantine aristocracy and wealthy people in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹¹⁹ Some references to specific Turkic slaves can be found in the *Chronicle of Morea* which mentions Turkmen boys who were servants of a Byzantine general and, very likely, were domestic slaves.¹²⁰ Possibly, Γεώργιος Παχατούρ (*PLP*, no. 22168) was initially a domestic slave of *protobestiarios protosebastos* Andronikos Angelos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos. Manuel Philes had a Scythian slave, who, possibly, was obtained in Byzantium or, as Stickler suggests, brought by Philes from his journey to the Golden Horde in 1297.¹²¹ Very likely, some of these domestic slaves were liberated by their masters. As mentioned earlier, such liberated slaves could have been given the name Eleutherios. However, there are no grounds in the thirteenth through the fifteenth century to suggest that any one named Eleutherios was a freedman. This is perhaps due to the lack of detailed information in relevant sources.¹²²

A clear confirmation of the prevalence of domestic slaves and freedmen in Late Byzantium is to be found in anthroponymy. A widespread byname in Late Byzantium, Τζυράκης, designated Turkic house slaves and servants: τζυράκης/τζουράκης derives from Turkic چراق *çırak*, *çıraq* with the meaning “domestic slave, client and dependent, child brought up in a wealthy house.”¹²³ The word existed in nineteenth-century Modern Greek (τζουράκης) and other Balkan

118 Planoudes, Maximos. *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae*, ed. Petrus Aloisius M. Leone (Amsterdam, 1991), no. 120.97–98; Beyer, Hans-Veit. “Die Chronologie der Briefe des Maximos Planudes an Alexios Dukas Philanthropenos und dessen Umgebung,” *Revue des études byzantines* 51 (1993), p. 134.

119 Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei*, p. 47. Köpstein’s reading of Planoudes’ remark mentioned above is incorrect.

120 *The Chronicle of Morea*, p. 318 (v. 4818–4819):

Στριγγὴν φωνίτσαν ἔσυρεν, μεγάλη ὡς ἔδυνάστη,
ἐκείνων τῶν παιδόπουλων, ὅπου ἦσαν μετ’ ἐκείνων
“Μωρέ, φέρε τὸ ἱππάρι μου, μωρέ, τὸν τουρκομάνον . . .”

121 Philes, Manuel. *Manuelis Philae carmina*, ed. Emmanuel Miller, 2 vols (Paris, 1855–57), 1:296–97 (F 109); Stickler, Günter, “Manuel Philes und seine Psalmenmetaphrase,” *Dissertationen der Universität Wien* 229 (Vienna, 1992), p. 29.

122 See, for instance: *PLP*, Index. For liberated slaves, see: Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 120–33.

123 See, for instance: Redhouse, James W. *Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük* (Istanbul, 1997), p. 252; Radloff, Wilhelm. *Опыт словаря тюркских наречий*, 4 vols (St. Petersburg, 1893–1911), 3/1: 2077.

languages (Bulgarian, Serbian, Romanian) with the meaning “worker, servant, client.”¹²⁴ In contemporary Greek, it is found in the form *τιράκι* “pupil, faithful follower” and is still widespread in anthroponyms.¹²⁵

Seven persons having the name *Τζυράκης* are known in Late Byzantine times. All of them seem to have been liberated slaves. Their social standing and occupations are quite indicative. Two of them were intimate servants of noble persons: *Νικόλαος Τζυράκης* who was *δοῦλος* of the emperor and a fiscal officer ca. 1320 (*PLP*, no. 28159), and *Τζυράκης*, described as *οικέτης* of Anna of Savoy who sent him as an envoy to John Kantakouzenos in 1341 (*PLP*, no. 28154). Based on the semantics of the Turkic *çırak* in these particular cases, the appellatives *οικέτης* and *δοῦλος*, which accompany the bynames *Τζυράκης*, most likely, have to be understood in their literal sense: these two were Turkic domestic slaves in the houses of their masters, possibly since childhood, having been either taken captive or bought at the market. One more *Τζουρακίνα* (*PLP*, no. 28048) was a rather wealthy lady whose house and church in Constantinople were sold for 117 *hyperpyra* before 1402. In all probability, she, like the two men, was linked with or belonged to nobility, in her case because the patriarch Matthew I and the city's archons took care of the lady and her property when she became insane.¹²⁶ The remaining four were clerics: the monk *Γερμανός Τζυράκης* (1274–75; *PLP*, no. 28155), the monk *Θεοφύλακτος Τζυράκης* (beg. of the fourteenth century; *PLP*, no. 28157), the priest and *taboularios* of the Great Church in Constantinople *Δανιήλ Τζυράκης* (1357; *PLP*, no. 28156), and, finally, the priest *Νικήτας Τζυράκης* from Constantinople (1357; *PLP*, no. 28158). If these four were first-generation immigrants, and taking into account that a captive *τζυράκης* might have grown up in a wealthy family from childhood, it seems that captive boys acquired a good religious education and chose church careers. Among all the Oriental bynames of my database *Τζυράκης* is the most “religious.”

Curiously, there is one more “slave” sobriquet in Byzantine anthroponymy but it is of Armenian origin. The byname of the priest *Γεώργιος Ἰστουργός* (after

124 Miklosich, Franz. *Die Türkischen Elemente in den südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen (griechisch, albanisch, rumunisch, bulgarisch, serbisch, kleinrussisch, grossrussisch, polnisch)*, in *Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Cl. der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 34–35 (Vienna, 1884–85); 37–38 (Vienna, 1888–90), p. 276 (*čerag*); however, this entry mistakenly combines two different words: the Turkic *çırak* and the Persian *çerağ* “light.”

125 Tompaides, Demetrios E. *Ελληνικά επώνυμα τουρκικής προελεύσης* (Athens, 1990), p. 178, and the names *Τσιράκης*, *Τσιράκος*, *Τσιρακάκης*, *Τσιρακίδης*, *Τσιράκογλου*, *Τσιρακόπουλος*, *Τζιράκης*. See also: Babiniotis, Georgios. *Λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας* (Athens, 2002), p. 1834.

126 *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. Venance Grumel, Vitalien Laurent, and Jean Darrouzès, 2 vols, 8 pts (Paris, 1932–89), 6:474 (no. 3257).

1320; *PLP*, nos 8318 and 1434) probably derives from the Armenian ստրուկ *struk* “slave.”

Slaves sometimes assumed the family names of their aristocratic masters, as Anna Komnene relates concerning the aristocrat Michael Stypeiotes: “hearing [the name] Stypeiotes let no one think of the half-barbarian, for the latter was a bought slave of the person [I am talking about] and was afterwards given as a present to the emperor, whereas this [Michael] Stypeiotes belonged to the nobility.”¹²⁷ It is likely that captive Turks took bynames such as Angelos, Doukas, Gabras, Kantakouzenos, Laskaris, Mouzalon, Palaiologos, Raoul, Tarchaneiotes, Philanthropenos, and less well-known noble names of Laskarid and Palaiologan times though without direct information in the sources concerning the person’s ethnic and social origin they have become persons of “concealed identity.”

Hostage-taking as an ancient tool of diplomacy was practiced throughout Byzantine history. Two basic types of hostages in Byzantium were long-term hostages belonging to barbarian nobility and often to royal blood, and short-term hostages who were guarantors of the implementation of agreements.¹²⁸ For Late Byzantine times, we know of only a few Asian hostages, all of whom were Anatolian “Persians.” Athanasios Soultanos, a son of the Seljuk sultan, was initially possibly a hostage but remained in Byzantium. At the turn of the fourteenth century or earlier, a certain Naṣr al-Dīn (Ναστράτιος) stayed in Byzantium as a hostage.¹²⁹ He was a brother of the emir ‘Alī ‘Umar (Ἀλῆς Ἀμούριος), who controlled the lower flow of the Sangarios in Paphlagonia and in the spring of 1302 occupied Mesonesos.¹³⁰ In approximately the same period, an unnamed daughter of the Seljuk sultan Mas‘ūd was kept in Constantinople as a hostage.

127 Anna Komnene XV.2.3.7–9: “Στυπειώτην δὲ ἀκούων τίς μὴ τὸν μιζοβάρβαρον νοεῖτω, ἀργυρώνητος γὰρ τούτου ἐκεῖνος δοῦλος γεγονώς ἐς ὕστερον τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς δῶρον τί πρὸς αὐτὸν προσενήνεκται, ἀλλὰ τινα τῶν τῆς μείζονος τύχης.”

128 Nechaeva, Ekaterina. *Embassies – Negotiations – Gifts: Systems of East Roman Diplomacy in Late Antiquity* (Stuttgart, 2014), pp. 54–56; see also Index.

129 Pachymeres x. 25 (4:359).

130 Pachymeres x.25, xii.1 (4:363–65, 507); Failler, Albert. “Pachymeriana alia,” *Revue des études byzantines* 51 (1993), pp. 237–48. In all probability, he was identical to Ömer, whose daughter Māl-hatun was the wife of the emir Osman and the mother of the future emir Orhan. Ömer is referred to as Osman’s father-in-law in a *waqf* document: Uzunçarşılı, İsmail H. “Gazi Orhan Bey Vakfiyesi,” *Belleten* 5 (1941), pp. 284–85; Peirce, Leslie. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1993), p. 33. Attempts to link this Ömer to some other persons mentioned in contemporary Oriental sources are questionable: Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, p. 295 n. 16; Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Pachymeres on the ‘Amourioi’ of Kastamonu,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*

Legally it seems she was regarded as a Roman subject, since Andronikos II offered her as a bride to Ἰσαάκ Μελῆς ca. 1305.¹³¹ In 1358, children of the emir of Saruhan were sent to Byzantium as hostages as the terms of a peace treaty concluded that year, although we know nothing of their ultimate fate.¹³² Some noble hostages appeared at the Byzantine court during times of troubles in the Ottoman state. In 1403, in the course of peace negotiations, two children of Bayezid I, one of his younger sons Kâsım and his daughter Φατμάκατου (PLP, no. 29662), were handed over to the Byzantines by the emir Süleyman Çelebi. After spending almost ten years at the Constantinopolitan court, they were returned after 1413 to the Ottoman Bursa.¹³³ Süleyman Çelebi's own children, his son Orhan and an unnamed daughter, were sent to Constantinople in 1410.¹³⁴ The institution of hostage-taking was used extensively as a means of pacification and instilling loyalty to the Byzantine state and way of life. Of these examples, only Athanasios Soultanos and the sultan Mas'ūd's daughter seem to have become Roman subjects.

8 Cultural Adaptation

As Charles Brand noted, in the twelfth century, few Turks of the first and second generations entered the educated strata of society. He mentions two instances: Τζῖκνογλος, who obtained a rhetorical education, and the monk Κουτλουμούσιος, who founded the famous monastery in Athos of the same name.¹³⁵ Others known to Brand were Turks belonging to the military class. One may assume that this trend continued in the following centuries; however, the database indicates that the majority of Turks, both military settlers and captives, occupied the lower stratum of the Byzantine population. The PLP contains as little as 17 percent *paroikoi* of the total number of recorded individuals, while the database of Turkic immigrants lists 31 percent *paroikoi*, twice that in the general Byzantine population. For some periods of time, the

3 (1977), pp. 63–65; Korobeinikov, Dimitri. “The Revolt in Kastamonu, ca. 1291–1293,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004), pp. 103–06.

131 Pachymeres XIII.23 (4: 675) and above Chapter 5.3.

132 Zachariadou, Elizabeth. *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1415)* (Venice, 1983), p. 65.

133 Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman Chronicles,” *Der Islam* 60/2 (1983), p. 270 n. 6; Kastritsis, Dimitris J. *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413* (Leiden, 2007), p. 41.

134 Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, p. 148.

135 Brand, “The Turkish Element,” pp. 15–16.

proportion of Turks in the slave class was very high. It was probably this predominantly low social standing of Turkic and especially “Scythian” immigrants that was alluded to in the poems of Stephanos Sachlikes in the fourteenth century, who assigned to two Cretan prostitutes “Scythian” names: Τατάρα and Ταταρομούτζουνη (“Tatar ugly mug”).¹³⁶ These two women most certainly were brought to Crete as slaves.

The outward similarity between Komnenian times and subsequent centuries is deceptive. The position of Turks in the Laskarid and Palaiologan era radically differed from former times. As with the case of Andronikos and his brother, the sons of Fakhr al-Dīn the “Persian,” second-generation Turks could have been completely Hellenized and could even have impressed a highbrow Byzantine intellectual with their educational level. The patriarch Gregory of Cyprus was surprised by the eloquence of the youngest brother conversing with the brothers, so unusual for a barbarian.¹³⁷ The fact that a good education was no exception for barbarians is confirmed by the instance of the intellectual Simon Atoumanos (Σίμων Ἀτουμάνος), who was first an Orthodox monk and anti-Palamite, but after 1348 became an influential Catholic cleric and author.¹³⁸ Judging by his surname, Ἀτουμάνος (‘Uthmān/Osman), Simon was a descendant of Anatolian Turks.¹³⁹ A Latin document of 1380 unambiguously testifies his Turkic origin: “ipse de Constantinopoli ortus est paterque fuit turcus et mater eius cismatica,”¹⁴⁰ that is, Simon was born in Constantinople to an Orthodox mother and a Turk and, therefore, was a second-generation Turk.¹⁴¹ One may also recall the educated family of the Theodore Gazes (Gazedes II). Theodore was a brilliant intellectual who eventually settled in Ferrara. Although we do not know to which generation he belonged, his success is revealing for how open Palaiologan society was for immigrants. It is

136 PLP, nos 27537, 27538. On Sachlikes, see: Ljubarskij, Jakov N. “Критский поэт Стефан Сахликис,” *Византийский временник* 16 (1959), pp. 65–81.

137 Eustratiades, *Γρηγορίου του Κυπρίου Επιστολαί*, no. 159, p. 119.

138 PLP, no. 1648. See about him also: Fedalto, Giorgio. *Simone Atumano, monaco di Studio, arcivescovo di Tebe, secolo XIV* (Brescia, 1968).

139 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:215.

140 *Diplomatari de l'Orient català (1301–1409)*. *Colleccio de documents per a la historia de l'expedicio catalana a Orient i dels ducats d'Atenes i Neopatria*, ed. Antoni Rubió y Lluch and Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona, 2001), p. 492 (no. CDVI).

141 It is difficult to explain why Weiss has understood “mater eius cismatica” as “einer griechischen, aber nicht orthodoxen Mutter”: Weiss, Günter. *Joannes Kantakuzenos – Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Monch – in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 69. On the contrary, the Catholic author emphasizes her Orthodox affiliation.

likely his Turkic roots that prompted him to compile a treatise on the origin of Turks in his letter to Francesco Filelfo.¹⁴²

Apart from such brilliant intellectuals as Atoumanos and Gazes, eighteen priests, twelve monks, eleven manuscript scribes, four book owners, four *melographoi*, and one book buyer are found in the database. It is not so important whether they were barbarians of the first, second, or subsequent generations. What is important is that the descendants of an immigrant potentially could have achieved intellectual and spiritual superiority. It is possible that most intellectuals were of “Persian” and not “Scythian” stock. The civilization level in Anatolia, due to Islam and the predominance of Iranian culture, was incomparably higher than in the “Scythian” steppes of the Cuman and Mongol North. The Byzantines reflected no particular preference for one or the other species of barbarians; the borders of the Byzantine *oikoumene* around the perimeter were equally permeable. It is obvious, however, that the ability to *understand* and accept the new rules increased the chances for successful adaptation in Byzantine society. For this reason, throughout the history of the Byzantine empire, immigrants from the Middle East entered Byzantine society and culture with greater ease. The prevalence of Christianity and Greek culture in Anatolia certainly played a role as well.¹⁴³ Many Anatolian immigrant Turks had some knowledge of both the Greek language and Christianity before moving to Byzantium, which facilitated their adaptation in Byzantine society.

9 Turkic Minority?

Generally, first-generation immigrants and their descendants were considered, at least legally, to be Romans. According to Niketas Choniates’ definition, Turks of the first generation, and often the second generation, were called “Romans of foreign origin” (ἐξ ἔθνους) as opposed to Romans “descended from Romans” (Ῥωμαίων προήλθοσαν),¹⁴⁴ which raises the question as to whether Turks can be defined as an “ethnic minority” in the Byzantine population. Modern sociology understands “ethnic minority” as a stable group within a community whose cultural traditions differ from those of the main population and who do not assimilate with the cultural majority. Consequently, an ethnic “minority” can

142 Gazes, Theodore. *Theodori Gazae epistolae*, ed. Petrus Aloisius M. Leone (Naples, 1990), pp. 96–103.

143 Shukurov, “Harem Christianity”; Idem. “Christian Elements.”

144 Choniates, Niketas. *Historia*, ed. Jan Louis van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1975), 1:338.2–3.

be regarded as such only in comparison to the “majority.” Specific cultural values that the members of the minority hold in common distinguish them from the majority; however, the minority group is constantly experiencing assimilation. The borders between “minority” and “majority” as a rule are symbolic and imaginary in character: the Otherness of the minority constructs the boundaries of the Self for the dominant majority.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, the imaginary Otherness of minority groups forms the basis for their identity and ethnic solidarity. It is uncertain to what extent the modern definition of “ethnic minority” is applicable to the Byzantine social life, to what extent the Greek majority perceived the otherness of Byzantine Turks.

These notions of ethnic minority and majority did not exist in Byzantine juridical theory and practice. The only legally recognized forms of minority and majority were religious. For Late Byzantine times, Orthodox subjects constituted the majority group, while the local Jews and the monophysite Armenians, as well as Latin and Muslim foreigners, belonged to a “tolerated” minority.¹⁴⁶ The Greek majority, however, sometimes saw compatriot Turks as a sort of a compact homogeneous group, which with certain reservations we might consider an “ethnic minority.” The following are symptoms of the identification of a Turkic minority by the Greek majority:

1. The Greeks continued to refer to naturalized Turks of the first and second generations as barbarians, thus clearly contrasting them with the “Hellenic” majority. The patriarch Athanasios I describes Kocabahşı, who was a first-generation Byzantine, as godless and barbarian (ὁ ἄθεος, βαρβαρώδης), although he had accepted baptism and had become a subject of the emperor.¹⁴⁷ Likewise, Gregoras designated a naturalized

145 For a useful discussion of the problem of minorities, see: Smythe, Dion C. “Minorities in the Cities of the Maeander Valley, c. 610–1100,” in *Ethnische und religiöse Minderheiten in Kleinasien. Von der hellenistischen Antike bis in das byzantinische Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Herz and Jörn Kobes (Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 141–48, and also in his unpublished thesis: Idem. “Byzantine Perceptions of the Outsider in the 11th and 12th Centuries: A Method.” Ph.D. Thesis, University of St. Andrews (1993). For Jews as a minority, see: Prinzing, Günter. “Zu den Minderheiten in der Mäander-Region während der Übergangsepoche von der byzantinischen zur seldschukisch-türkischen Herrschaft (11. Jahrhundert-Anfang 14. Jahrhundert),” in *Ethnische und religiöse Minderheiten in Kleinasien*, pp. 154–57.

146 For the models of settling religious minorities in the Byzantine lands, see: Darrouzès, Jean. “Les réponses canoniques de Jean de Kitros,” *Revue des études byzantines* 31 (1973), pp. 319–34; *PG*, 119:977 (Demetrios Chomatenos); Bowman, Steven. *The Jews of Byzantium, 1204–1453* (University, AL, 1985), pp. 221–22.

147 *The Correspondence of Athanasius I*, p. 116.21–22 (no. 51).

immigrant woman from the Golden Horde as “Scythian” (see Section 4). The Asian roots of a Byzantine subject may also have been pointed out by a set of modifiers such as βαρβαρογενής, τουρκογενής, and περσογενής.¹⁴⁸ The application of the term “barbarian” by the Greeks to second-generation Turks is exemplified by the letter of Gregory of Cyprus, who was astonished by the rhetoric eloquence of a “young barbarian.”¹⁴⁹

References to the “Otherness” of Byzantine Turks were rather rare in the sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and appeared to underscore the foreign origin of a person. Generally, such references to the ethnic origin of a person were pejorative. For the twelfth century, we have a series of Turkophobic statements, in particular, from John Kinnamos, and more violent ones from Euthymios and George Tornikos, discussed in detail by Brand.¹⁵⁰ The most intolerant is the invective of Euthymios Tornikos in his description of the disgusting human qualities of the unsuccessful usurper John Komnenos the Fat: “A Persian is still a Persian – like an ape, according to the proverb, is an ape.”¹⁵¹ The fact that for Late Byzantine times we do not have such explicitly hostile abuse from the Greeks against the naturalized Turks is significant. Byzantine Turks had perhaps become too numerous and too habitually a part of Byzantine society.

2. An additional indication of the Greek majority’s belief that naturalized Turks were genetically linked with foreign Turks and, therefore, differed from the Greeks and other subjects of the empire was the use of Byzantine Turks in diplomatic contacts with the Turkic-speaking foreigners. The Byzantines *de facto* acknowledged special qualities of naturalized Turks and consciously used their capabilities for effective communication with foreigners of the same race, language, and culture. In spite of Byzantine indifference to language, the Turks were distinguished as

148 Kinnamos, John. *Ioannis Cinnami epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. August Meineke (Bonn, 1836), p. 129.20–21 (βαρβαρογενής); Chomatenos, p. 235.14–15 (τουρκογενής). For more instances, see: *TLG*.

149 For an example of similar kind concerning the eleventh-century Pechenegs, see: Kaldellis, Anthony. *Ethnography after Antiquity: Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature. Empire and After* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 121–26.

150 Brand, “The Turkish Element,” pp. 11, 22–24.

151 Darrouzès, Jean. “Les discours d’Euthyme Tornikès (1200–1205),” *Revue des études byzantines* 26 (1968), p. 67.4–5: “Πέρσης δ’ αὖθις ὁ Πέρσης ὢν, – καὶ τοῦτο δὴ πῖθηκος, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ὁ πῖθηκος...” Cf. also: Tornikos, George and Tornikos, Demetrios. *Tornikès, Georges et Démétrios, Lettres et discours*, ed. Jean Darrouzès (Paris, 1970), p. 235 (on the Turkic slaves in the imperial palace).

bearers of a foreign language, and in this sense, even having become Romans, never dissolved completely in the Roman majority.

3. Byzantine authorities assumed the ethnic sameness of the Turks when settling them in compact groups in Macedonia, thus separating them from an autochthonous population. This is confirmed by Zachariadou's and my observation that the possessions of the naturalized Turks in Macedonia represented compact zones.¹⁵²
4. Normally, most Byzantine Turks married local women, and no doubt, authorities saw this as a means of speedy assimilation.¹⁵³ Marriage to locals was not, however, without exception. Some examples indicate that immigrants married other immigrants as well, sometimes with the direct mediation of the authorities. According to the designs of Andronikos II, the daughter of the sultan Mas'ūd who remained in Byzantine territory (a second-generation Byzantine Turk) was intended for marriage to the Turkic chief Isaac Melik (a first-generation Byzantine Turk).¹⁵⁴ It is unclear, however, whether intermarriages of immigrants' descendants was an indication of some preferred practice.
5. It is clear that the explicit and implicit statements on the "Otherness" of Turkic immigrants were made exclusively by representatives of the Greek majority. Any evidence that such "Otherness" was manifested by persons of Turkic origin does not exist. However, in a unique case, we can be confident that we can hear the voice of Byzantine Turks themselves. The fact of preservation of noble family names of Asian descent through many generations indicates that they were considered prestigious, and that they identified themselves this way, contraposing themselves to an extent to other members of the aristocratic elite through this manifestation of their initial ethnicity. If Asian origin had been considered shameful, these names would have disappeared by the second generation. The fact that Christianization and the adoption of Byzantine allegiance did not completely erase the Otherness of Byzantine Turks, that they did not dissolve overnight into the mass of the local population, in some sense made them an ethnocultural minority.

¹⁵² Zachariadou, "Οι χριστιανοί απόγονοι," p. 73.

¹⁵³ For additional observations on the role of such marriages for the naturalization of aliens, see: Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 27–56.

¹⁵⁴ Pachymeres XIII.22 (4:675,2–14).

Asians in the Byzantine Pontos

The demographic and ethnic evolution of the Byzantine Pontos during the reign of the Grand Komnenoi (1204–1461) has been ignored by scholars even more than the demography of the west Byzantine lands. This is due to the fact that the sources for the Empire of Trebizond exist in many languages: Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Turkic, Georgian, and Syriac. The sources, despite representing a broad geographical distribution, are fragmentary and incomplete, particularly with regard to documentary sources that would provide prosopographic data. The Nicaean and early Palaiologan Byzantines avoided writing at length about Trebizond, partly for the ideological desire to commit the arrogant Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond to eternal oblivion. The Byzantine Pontos was also outside the main scope of Persian, Arab, and Armenian historiography, due to its geographical remoteness, isolated as it was by the Pontic Alps and the Black Sea, but also due to its relatively modest military and financial influence. For many periods its history was in an informational gap, as if seen from behind a veil that made its contours and details blurred and imprecise. Also, the ethnic structure of the Pontos was more complex compared to Macedonia or western Anatolia, with a greater social and cultural cohesion of ethnic groups, including both aborigine (Greeks and Kartvelians) and foreigners (Armenians, Turks, and Italians). Unlike west Byzantine regions, where until the end of the Palaiologan empire assimilating and unifying mechanisms remained effective, Greek, Kartvelian, Armenian, and Turkic (especially nomadic) groups in the Pontos coexisted in an unmerged, symbiotic relationship. Additionally, some large and influential ethnic communities such as the Kartvelian and the nomadic Turkic did not tend to generate a written tradition to give firsthand information about themselves.

1 Oriental Names of the Pontos

According to a rough estimate, the surviving Pontic sources mention about 1,600 persons. The sixty-five first names and bynames defined as Oriental cover at least ninety-three persons, sometimes having a similar name belonging to several persons. The Trapezuntine proportion of Asian immigrants and their descendants thus constitutes 5.7 percent, considerably higher than the west Byzantine figures.

Thirty names on my list are Turkic and six names are Turkic-Mongol. Although as many as twenty names derive from Arabic roots and eight names are of Persian origin, it is likely that the majority were of Turkic origin or belonged to Kurds. Some Arabic and Persian names, being standard Muslim ones, are represented in sources in the pronounced Turkic phonetic shapes (such as Γουσμάνος¹ and Παπούτζης),² thus indicating a Turkic origin.

Sources clearly show that a number of Oriental names from the Trebizond part of the database belonged to members of the Georgian aristocracy and Armenians, and their Byzantine descendants. The use of Persian, Turkic, and Mongol names by the Georgian aristocracy is well known.³ Turkic-Mongol names within the Grand Komnenian dynasty can be explained by Georgian blood, such as brothers Μιχαήλ Ἀζαχουτλοῦ and Γεώργιος Ἀχπουγάς, and their sister Ἀννα Ἀναχουτλοῦ, who were the children of Alexios II Grand Komnenos (1297–1330). Their mother (whose name is unknown) seems to have been a daughter of the Samtskhe *atabeg* Beka Jakeli (1285–1309); hence their Asian names were due to their Georgian mother (see Appendix 1 to this chapter). The link between Kartvelian aristocratic roots and a Turkic-Mongol name is also confirmed by the case of the Georgian wife of Manuel III Grand Komnenos (1390–1417), whose maiden name was Κουλκάνχατ (Persian گلکن *gulkan* “picking roses” and Turkic *qat* “woman, maiden”).⁴ On her arrival in Trebizond, she assumed the name Eudokia.⁵ The parents of Κουλκάνχατ-Eudokia were the Georgian king David IX (1346–60) and Sindukhtar (← Persian صید دختر *“Chinese Girl”*), who was the daughter of Qwarqware Jakeli (1334–61), the *atabeg* of Samtskhe-Saatbago. Thus, not only Qwarqware’s daughter but also his granddaughter, who was born at the Bagratid court, bore Asian names.

The use of Asian names by Armenians represents a special case. According to the Acts of Vazelon, the father of Θεριανός Πατρατίνης had the Armenian name Κρηκόρης (a variant of Գրիգոր);⁶ therefore, Therianos was either a pure

1 *AVaz*, nos 115. 21 (τοὺς Γουσμανάντας), 104.9, and 102.17, *PLP*, no. 4403 (Γουσμάνος); *AVaz*, nos 60.48 and 115.36, *PLP*, no. 4404 (Ἰωαννάκης Γουσμάνων).

2 *AVaz*, no. 137.

3 Kuršanskis, Michel. “Relations matrimoniales entre Grands Comnènes de Trébizonde et princes géorgiens,” *Bedi Kartlisa* 34 (1976), pp. 116–17; Cheynet, Jean-Claude. “L’apport arabe à l’aristocratie byzantine des x^e–xi^e siècles,” in Idem. *La société byzantine. L’apport des sceaux* (Paris, 2008), pp. 628–29.

4 For more details on Turkic *qat*, see in Chapter 8.9 and Chapter 9 s.v.

5 Panaretos, Michael. *Μιχαήλ του Παναρέτου περι των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών*, ed. Odysseus Lampsidēs (Athens, 1958), pp. 78.29, 80.3, 81.7; Kuršanskis, “Relations matrimoniales,” pp. 118–21; *PLP*, no. 6231.

6 *AVaz*, no. 106.292; *PLP*, no. 22062.

Armenian or a scion of an Armenian-Greek marriage if his mother was Greek. In a similar example a Grand Komnenian chrysobull explicitly indicates that the *paroikos* Χάνης was Armenian (ἀρμένιον);⁷ this most likely meant that he professed Armenian Gregorian rather than Byzantine Orthodox Christianity. Κύρ θέρ Χοτζᾶ Λουλοῦ, “sir *ter* Kh^wāja Lülū,” in which the Greek θέρ is plausibly the transmission of Arm. տեր “lord,” was also Armenian, being a highstanding courtier of the Grand Komnenoi. According to a note in an *Evangelistarium* of 1330/31, in the days of the emperor Alexios III Grand Komnenos (1349–90) and the metropolitan Barnabas, Χοτζᾶ Λουλοῦ had the manuscript decorated with gold and silver.⁸ We know of at least two more Armenians with Arabo-Persian names in the Byzantine Pontos: Stepanos Shams al-Dīn from Hamadan, who renovated an Armenian church near Trebizond between 1374 and 1382 (catholosate of Paul I), and Kh^wāja Shams al-Dīn from Erzincan, who settled in Trebizond before 1427.⁹ Armenians with Asian names were frequently mentioned in documentary sources of the north Black Sea region.¹⁰ Though Armenians of the time frequently used Asian anthroponymy, unlike the Georgian aristocratic model, the Asian names were common in all social strata of Armenian society.

The holders of Oriental names in the Pontic part of the database could have been Armenians or Kartvelians, even if sources provide no additional evidence. One should not exaggerate this hypothetical possibility because Oriental anthroponymy in the Kartvelian and Armenian milieux, undoubtedly, was less popular than native Georgian and Armenian names. Pontic sources preserve many more native Armenian and Kartvelian names and bynames. Indigenous Kartvelian names¹¹ are represented by Χαλαμάνος (← Laz ჟალამანო

7 Laurent, Vitalien. “Deux chrysobulles inédits des empereurs de Trébizonde Alexis IV-Jean IV et David II,” *Archéion Πόντου* 18 (1953), p. 266.122; *PLP*, no. 30578.

8 Bandini, Angelo Maria. *Bibliotheca Leopoldina-Laurentiana*, 3 (Florence, 1793), cols 488–501 (*Evangelistarium*, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, no. 244); Minns, Ellis. “Big Greek Minuscule, Pembroke College, Cambridge MS 310,” *Annual of the British School of Athens* 46 (1951), p. 215 (with an incorrect reading: θεραπευτής Χοτζᾶ Λουλοῦ); *PLP*, no. 15160.

9 Karpov, Sergej P. *История Трапезундской империи* (St. Petersburg, 2007), pp. 113–14.

10 See, for instance, the list of personal names in: Ponomarev, Andrei L. “Путеводитель по рукописи массарии Каффы 1374 г. (Liber massariae Caffae tempore regiminis egregii viri domini Iuliani de Castro consulis Caffae MCCCXXIV nunc indicatus et a pluribus mendis purgatus),” in *Причерноморье в средние века*, ed. Sergej Karpov, 6 (St. Petersburg, 2005), pp. 43–138.

11 Some Kartvelian names have been discussed and etymologized in: Zhordania, Erekle. “Картвельское население Понта в XIII–XV вв.,” Ph.D. dissertation (Moscow, 2002).

or ქალამანი *qalamani* “bast shoes”),¹² Λάζος (← ethnonym “Laz”)¹³ and Λαζογιάννα (“Yanina the Laz”),¹⁴ Ζιγανίτας and Ζιγανίτης (← Laz ზეგანი *zegani* “upland region”),¹⁵ Τζαλιμός (← probably, Laz ჯაღოში *çalimi* “red clay”),¹⁶ and Χαρμούτας (← probably, Laz ქარმატი *karmate*, and contemporary Georgian ქარმუტა *karmuta* “mill”).¹⁷ Armenian names are also numerous: Ἀπαράκης, Ἀρακέλης, Ἀρτάβαστος, Ἀρταβαστόπουλος, Ἀρμενόπουλος, Βαρδόπουλος, Κρηγόρης,¹⁸ Σαμάταβα (← Σαμάτ “Smbat”), and the like.¹⁹ Evidently, most Oriental names initially belonged to immigrants from Turkic, Mongol, Iranian, and Arab milieux. Therefore, if sources do not contain direct indications of the Georgian or Armenian origin, by default, the name was brought to the Pontos by Asians – Turks, Mongols, Iranians, and Arabs.

Another Pontic peculiarity is that most Oriental names represent normative Oriental personal names transplanted to Greek equivalents with minimal Greek phonetic adaptation, such as Ἀσθλαμπέκης, Ἀλταμούριος, Γιαγούπης, Μαχμούτης, Κασσιμπούρης, and Τουραλῆς. Precise phonetic transmission of Oriental names in Byzantine Pontic sources, to a far greater extent than for west Byzantine regions, indicates the familiarity of these names for the local Greek ear. This may mean that the acquaintance of Pontic Greeks with Oriental languages was more substantial and that Oriental names were much more numerous in the society in comparison to the west Byzantine lands.

For an earlier attempt to analyze Kartvelian names, see: Shukurov, Rustam. “Тюрки на православном Понте в XIII–XV вв.: начальный этап тюркизации?” in *Причерноморье в средние века*, ed. Sergej Karpov, 1 (Moscow, 1995), p. 88.

12 *AVaz*, no. 25.17 and also Index, p. cxxvii; Miklosich, Franz and Müller, Joseph. *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1825–95), 5:279.

13 Laurent, “Deux chrysobulles,” pp. 266.125, 267.135–36.

14 *AVaz*, no. 13.4–6.

15 *AVaz*, Index, p. cxix.

16 *AVaz*, Index, p. cxxiv; cf., however, with alternative etymology: Τσαλίμης ← Turkic *çalım* “proud, snobby”: Tompaides, Demetrios E. *Ελληνικά επώνυμα τουρκικής προελεύσης* (Athens, 1990), p. 171.

17 *AVaz*, p. cxxiv.

18 *AVaz*, no. 16; cf.: nos 105, 36.4, 60.49, 106.205, 10.8, 106.188, 106.293. See also: Shukurov, “Тюрки на православном Понте,” p. 88; Karpov, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 113–14.

19 Laurent, “Deux chrysobulles,” p. 269.199. On Armenians in the medieval Pontos, see: Simonian, Hovann. “Hamshen before Hemshin: The Prelude to Islamicization,” in *The Hemshin: History, Society and Identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey*, ed. Hovann H. Simonian (London and New York, 2007), pp. 19–41.

2 Nations and Tribes

A special segment of the database directly indicates the ethnic or tribal origin of names, perhaps a factor of the Pontic ethnic structure:

Ἀράπης, that is, Arab;
 Κοῦρτος, that is, Kurd;
 Χάζαρος, that is, Khazar;
 Κουμάνος, that is, Cuman;
 Γοζ- in compound names, that is, Oğuz;
 Κουνούκης, that is, the member of the tribe of Qınıq;
 Τουρκο- with subsequent Greek root, that is Turk;
 Μουγούλ(ης), that is, Mongol.

The names Ἀράπης²⁰ and Κοῦρτος²¹ could have indicated ethnic origin. Both sedentary and nomadic Arabs, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, were numerous in Syria, Iraq, and western Anatolia. Kurds inhabited regions relatively close to the southern limits of the Pontos. A powerful principality of the Malkishi Kurds in Çemişgezek (about 150 km to the south of the border of the Empire of Trebizond) ceased to exist during the reign of Uzun Hasan, the sultan of Aqquyunlu in 1452–78, when, by his order, Kharbandalu Turkmens took the city and its neighboring area from the Kurds.²² Kurdish mercenaries were sometimes mentioned in the armies of Pontic Muslim rulers, such as, for instance, the Kurdish warriors of Shaykh Hasan Kuchak b. Timurtaş in 1338, who at that time governed Karahisar and in 1336 attacked Trebizond.²³ It would therefore not be surprising if Κοῦρτος and holders of similar names with the same root, such as Κουρτιστής, Κουρτιστόπουλος, and Κουρτιστάβα,²⁴ were Kurdish by blood.

20 Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles," p. 266.125 (Ἀϋξέντιος Ἀράπης); *PLP*, no. 1224.

21 *AVaz*, no. 100.21–22; *PLP*, no. 13606.

22 Bidlisi, Sharaf-Khān. *Шараф-хан Бидлиси, Шараф-наме*, ed. Elena I. Vasiljeva, 2 vols (Moscow, 1967), 1:220–22; Mustafaev, Shain M. *Восточная Анатолия: от Аккоюнлу к Османской империи* (Moscow, 1994), pp. 18–19. See also: Minorsky, Vladimir. "Kurds, Kurdistan: III. History," *EI*², 5:446b–63b.

23 Sanjian, Avedis K. *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts (1301–1480): A Source for Middle Eastern History* (Cambridge, 1969), 1338 (1); Shukurov, Rustam. "Between Peace and Hostility: Trebizond and the Pontic Turkish Periphery in the Fourteenth Century," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9/1 (1994), pp. 28–29.

24 *AVaz*, Index; *PLP*, nos 13601–05.

The name *Χάζαρος*²⁵ could have belonged to any newcomer from the North, or more precisely from the Dasht-i Qipchaq region, especially Crimea. The term “Chazaros” by that time had become a general denomination of the peoples who inhabited the north Black Sea region. The *Horoscope for Trebizond* of 1336/37 referred to Crimea and the Dasht-i Qipchaq as to ἡ χώρα τῆς Χαζαρίας,²⁶ thus not implying any ethnic meaning to “Chazaros.” Consequently, the denomination could signify a Greek native, Turkic alien, or any other resident of Crimea. At the same time, it is known that Trebizond controlled Cherson and some southwestern regions of Crimea. According to the official title of the Grand Komnenian emperors, they pretended to be rulers of τῆς Περαιτείας (“the Overseas Possessions”), which denoted Crimea including Cherson.²⁷ It is possible that *Χάζαρος* could have signified a Crimean subject of the Grand Komnenoi.

The name *Κουμάνος*²⁸ preserved for the Greeks of the time its precise ethnic meaning denoting a Cuman/Qipchaq newcomer.²⁹ Linguistic evidence of Turkic anthroponymy provides additional information on the presence of Qipchaq ethnic elements in the population of the Pontos. The transformation of *ʿayn* into *g* in the names *Γουσμάνος*, *Γουσμανάνται*, and *Γουσμάνων* (← Arabic ʿUthman/ʿOsman) indicates a Qipchaq language (possibly Cuman), through which this name came to the Pontos. The Cuman presence in the Pontos and neighboring regions can be documented from the 1220s when Cumans first entered the service of the Georgian Kingdom and later joined the troops of *khārazm-shāh* Jalāl al-Dīn (1220–31). It is possible that some of these Cumans found refuge in the Empire of Trebizond after the defeat of the Khārazmians in 1231.³⁰ Consequently, the initial bearers of the names *Κουμάνος*, *Γουσμάνος*, and the like could have been of Cuman origin.

25 *AVaz*, no. 108.6 (*Χάζαρος*); no. 31.1–3 (*Βασίλειος Χάζαρος*); *PLP*, nos 30348–49.

26 Lampros, Spyridon. “Τραπεζουντιακόν ωροσκόπιον του έτους 1336,” *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 13 (1916), pp. 41.22, 48.1.

27 Vasiliev, Alexander. *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA, 1936), pp. 161–62; Bratianu, George. *Recherches sur le commerce Génois dans la mer Noire au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), p. 170. In the late nineteenth century, two Trapezuntine imperial lead seals of the end of the thirteenth century or the first half of the fourteenth century were found in Cherson; this is one more indication of the Grand Komnenian presence there: Bogdanova, Natalja M. “Херсон в X–XV вв. Проблемы истории византийского города,” in *Причерноморье в средние века*, ed. Sergej Karpov, 1 (Moscow, 1991), p. 95.

28 *AVaz*, nos 87.11, 106.215–16 (*Λέων Κουμάνος*); *PLP*, no. 13448 (wrong accent: *Κούμανος*).

29 On Cuman names, see also: Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Noms coumans à Trébizonde,” *Revue des études byzantines* 53 (1995), pp. 285–88.

30 Shukurov, Rustam. *Великие Комнины и Восток (1204–1461)* (St. Petersburg, 2001), pp. 122–23, esp. n. 23.

Two names in the database can be interpreted as Turkic tribal names: Γοζάλπης³¹ and Κουνούκης.³² Γοζ, the first element of Γοζάλπης, possibly comes from the well-known tribal name Oğuz, while Κουνούκης perhaps refers to the tribal name Qınıq.³³ These names indicate that Turkmen nomads left a noticeable trace in the Pontic population. A considerable number of names can be linked with the Oğuzs: Ἰανάνης,³⁴ Καλκανᾶς,³⁵ Κουζουλᾶ(ς),³⁶ Σαρουτζᾶς,³⁷ Σούτος,³⁸ and the like. In the immediate proximity to the empire's border roamed several Turkmen nomadic tribes such as Çepni, Bozdoğanlı, Aqquyunlu, and Duharlu. Nomadic Turks settled within the borders of the empire as is reflected in the prevalence of Oğuz names. Due to the characteristics of the sources, most names in my list belonged not to nomads but to sedentary populations in cities and rural areas.³⁹ Therefore, most names listed were predominantly those of initial nomadic immigrants or their descendants who lived a settled life. Most bearers of Turkic names, with only a few exceptions, were peasants and craftsmen.

The bynames Το(υ)ρκόπουλος, Τουρκοθεόδωρος, and Τουρκοθεριανός⁴⁰ (the two latter meaning "Theodore the Turk" and "Therianos the Turk") consist of two heterogeneous roots: Turkic and Greek. This Turkic-Greek combination may indicate the prevalence of the ethnic name "Turk" among Pontic Greeks in comparison to other tribal denominations of the Anatolian Turkish clans. Indeed, the name *türk* was the most common self-identification of the Turkic peoples at the time. Similar to the west Byzantine case, compound names

31 Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles," p. 267.140; *PLP*, no. 4279.

32 *AVaz*, no. 151.4 (Μακάριος Κουνούκης); *PLP*, nos 13486–87.

33 For Oğuz tribal names in Byzantine sources, see also: Savvides, Alexios. "Byzantines and Oğuz (Ghuzz): Some Observations on the Nomenclature," *Byzantinoslavica* 54/1 (1993), pp. 147–55.

34 *AVaz*, no. 151.7; *PLP*, no. 7944.

35 *AVaz*, no. 106.341.

36 *AVaz*, no. 81.4, 9 (τοῦ Κουζουλᾶ).

37 *AVaz*, no. 56.14; *PLP*, no. 24938.

38 *AVaz*, nos 37.1–2 and 125.12–13 (Θεόδωρος); no. 54.12 (Κώνστας); nos 127.13, 129.10 and 132.20 (Μιχαήλ); nos 109, 126.11 and 131.9–10 (Παῦλος); no. 131.9 (Γεώργιος); *PLP*, nos 26380–85.

39 See also: Shukurov, Rustam. "Eastern Ethnic Elements in the Empire of Trebizond," in *Acts, 18th International Byzantine Congress, Selected Papers: Main and Communications, Moscow, 1991*, ed. I. Ševcenko and G. Litavrin, 2: *History, Archaeology, Religion and Theology* (Shepherdstown, WV, 1996), pp. 79–80.

40 Γεώργιος Το(υ)ρκόπουλος: Millet, Gabriel. "Inscriptions byzantines de Trébizonde," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 20 (1896), p. 497; cf.: Uspenskij, Fjodor I. *Очерки из истории Трапезундской империи* (Leningrad, 1929), p. 142; *PLP*, no. 29098; Νικηφόρος Τουρκοθεόδωρος: *AVaz*, no. 61.4, 12; *PLP*, no. 29172; Βασίλειος Τουρκοθεριανός: *AVaz*, no. 106.185; *PLP*, no. 29173; Νικηφόρος Τουρκοθεριανός: *AVaz*, no. 106.242; *PLP*, no. 29174.

beginning with Τουρκο- were widespread in the Balkans. Actually, this anthroponymic model was common for the entire Byzantine world.

A confirmation for the settling of Turkic immigrants on the empire's lands is found in the toponymics of Matzouka (Maçka), of the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, which reflects the extent of Turkification:

τὸ Καπάνιν,⁴¹ the same as the later place-name Καπάν'; in Ottoman times a series of compound place-names with the element Καπάν' is found in Matzouka – τὰ Καπανόπα, τὸ Καρά-Καπαν' ← Turkic *qara-qapan*, τὸ Καρκαπάν-γιολιν ← Turkic *qara-qapan-yöli*;⁴²

ὁ Καρᾶ(ς),⁴³ could have been the same as Χαρᾶ(ς) according to Fjodor Uspenskij;⁴⁴

ὁ Κουϊᾶ(ς),⁴⁵ probably the same as the later place-name τὸ Κουῖν;⁴⁶

τὸ Τζαπρέσιν,⁴⁷ see byname Τζαπρί(ς)⁴⁸ and later place-names in Matzouka deriving from the same root Τζαπράν', Τζαπρή;

ὁ Χαρᾶ(ς),⁴⁹ possibly the same as Καρᾶ(ς).

These place-names are conclusive evidence for the presence of sedentary Turkic-speaking immigrants in the region of Matzouka, who were numerous and consolidated enough to replace traditional Greek and Kartvelian toponymics.

The name Μουγούλ(ης), which was mentioned twice by the Acts of Vazelon and the imperial chrysobull of 1371,⁵⁰ is identical to مغول *mughūl*, the well-known Persian and Arabic name for Mongols, signifying that the ethnic name

41 AVaz, no. 129.3, second half of the fourteenth c.: μέρους τοῦ Καπανίου; no. 134.5, 1415: εἰς τὸ Καπάνιν; no. 145.6, the fifteenth-sixteenth c.: στὸ Καπανιστόν.

42 Zerzelides, Georgios. "Ερμενευτική του τοπωνυμικού της Ἀνω Ματσούκας," *Αρχεῖον Πόντου* 24 (1961), p. 262.

43 AVaz, no. 106.36, end of the thirteenth c.: ἐκ τοῦ Καρᾶ.

44 AVaz, Index, p. cxlii; for other words with the root *qara* in Byzantine texts, see: Moravcsik, Gyula. *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1983), 2:150–53.

45 AVaz, no. 32.8, 1264: τόπον . . . εἰς τοῦ Κουϊᾶ; no. 33.6, 1264: τόπον . . . εἰς τοῦ Κουϊᾶ; no. 52.17, second half of the thirteenth c., probably 1269: χωροφωτόπιον εἰς τοῦ Κουϊᾶ.

46 Zerzelides, "Ερμενευτική του τοπωνυμικού," p. 265.

47 AVaz, no. 175.5, 1449: τὸ Τζαπρέσιν.

48 AVaz, no. 106.135–36, end of the thirteenth c.

49 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 5:278.2 (1364): ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ Χαρᾶ.

50 AVaz, no. 105.38, and Lampros, Spyridon. "Ανέκδοτον χρυσόβουλλον Αλεξίου του Μεγάλου Κομνηνοῦ αυτοκράτορος Τραπεζούντος," *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 2 (1905), p. 198.8; *PLP*, nos 19417–18.

Μουγούλ(ης) was borrowed by the Greeks from the Persian- or Arabic-speaking Orient. The name was known throughout the Byzantine world and one that was phonetically the same was found in west Byzantine sources. Concurrently, the standard and more frequent name for Mongols in both Pontic and west Byzantine narrative sources was Τάταρις, Τάταροι, also borrowed from the Arabo-Persian Orient (تاتار *tātār*). Τάταροι entered into the literary language of both the Pontos and the Balkans. Panaretos referred to Timur of Samarqand as ἀμνηρᾶς τις Τάταρις,⁵¹ while several decades earlier the Mongol animal calendar was designated as that of the Tatars (τῶν Τατάρων) by the anonymous author of the *Horoscope for Trebizond* (1336/37).⁵² Μουγούλοι was mostly employed in spoken language and in “technical” genres such as documentary texts.

Sources from the mid-thirteenth through the fourteenth centuries contain numerous indications of the influence of the Ilkhāns of Iran on the Empire of Trebizond. Trebizond acknowledged its subjugation to the Iranian Mongols as early as 1246.⁵³ A unique indication of direct Mongol control over the Empire of Trebizond, represented by the name Κότζαπα, can be found in my database.⁵⁴ Κότζαπα was likely pronounced by Pontic Greeks as *koçapa*, which corresponds to the phonetics of the Tk.-Mong. *koçapa* “nomad.” One of the Acts of Vazelon of the late thirteenth century mentioned a person: ἀπὸ Τραπεζοῦν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεριανοῦ τοῦ σωματοφύλακος τοῦ Κότζαπα ὁ Γεώργιος (“George from Trebizond, son of Therianos, of the bodyguard of Kotzapa”). The Seljuk historian Karīm al-Dīn Aqsarāyī also referred to Κότζαπα, transmitting his name in Arabic script as كُوحَبَه *kūchaba* or *kūchapa*, an accurate transcription of the phonetic *koçapa*. Thus, the Greek and Arabic written variants of the name reflected a slightly different phonetic form of the same word: *koçapa/koçaba*. Aqsarāyī’s *Kūchaba/Koçapa* was a Mongol judge (*yarğuçi*) and representative of the Ilkhān fiscal department (*elçi*)⁵⁵ who in 1291 (690 H) came to the Sultanate of Rūm with a group of tax collectors on behalf of the vizier Sa’ad al-Dawla Yahūdī. Sa’ad al-Dawla Yahūdī had ordered *Koçapa* to arrest two Seljuk officials who were suspected of financial mismanagement and to bring them to the Ilkhānid

51 Panaretos, p. 80.20.

52 Lampros, “Τραπεζουντιακόν ωροσκόπιον,” p. 42.

53 Bryer, Anthony A.M. “The Grand Komnenos and the Great Khan at Karakorum in 1246,” *Res Orientales* 6 (1994), pp. 257–61.

54 *AVaz*, no. 106.52–53; *PLP*, no. 13332 (wrong identification).

55 On *yarğuçi* and *elçi*, see: Lambton, Ann Katharine Swynford. “Yārghū,” in *ET*², 11:284b; Lewis, Bernard. “Elçi,” in *ET*², 2:694a.

court.⁵⁶ Aqsarāyī noted that Koçapa “lacked the light of the faith [i.e., he was a pagan]; however, despite his unbelief, his personality possessed virtues of good character.”⁵⁷ Trebizond’s Koçapa, as we have seen in the Greek document, had Greek bodyguards and, consequently, was a prominent person. It is clear that the Trebizond Koçapa and the Seljuk Koçaba are one and the same person; the name was too rare to belong in the same region to two noble namesakes. It is difficult to say when Koçapa stayed in Trebizond. Presumably, he visited the Pontos at the turn of the fourteenth century during his stay in Anatolia as a representative of the Ilkhāns in the capacity of *elchī* (“messenger”), that is, judge and/or tax collector. It is equally plausible that he stayed in Trebizond for a considerable time and had at his service local bodyguards, one of whom was called Therianos. Therianos’ service in Koçapa’s guard was not short-term because, in a juridical document, it identified not him but his son. Thus, it is possible that Κότζαπα was a permanent Mongol emissary in Trebizond.

Indications of good relations between the Grand Komnenoi and the Ilkhāns are numerous in contemporary sources, albeit somewhat incomplete. Trebizond played the role of a bridge via which Christian diplomatic missions on their way to Tabriz, and Mongol ambassadors heading to the West, passed. In 1287, the Nestorian patriarch Rabban Bar Sauma who was head of the Ilkhānid embassy to Europe found passage through Trebizond; in 1292, the English embassy of Geoffrey Langley to Tabriz stopped at Trebizond on its way to and from Iran; and ca. 1294 Nicolo, Matteo, and Marco Polo passed through Trebizond from Iran to Europe, probably having a commission from the Ilkhāns to the pope and Western rulers.⁵⁸ We also know that, in the 1330s, a Trapezuntine *protobestiarios*, an official who had weight in the Mongol capital, interceded on behalf of Venetian merchants who had been robbed in Tabriz. The intermediation of the *protobestiarios* had also resulted in the conclusion of a trade treaty between Venice and the Ilkhāns in 1331/32.⁵⁹ In the same period, trade relations flourished between Tabriz and Pontic Greeks and Italians who

56 Aqsarāyī, Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd. *Kerimuddin Mahmud Aksaraylı, Mūsameret ül-ahbār. Moğollar zamanında Türkiye selçukluları tarihi*, ed. Osman Turan (Ankara, 1944), pp. 156–57.

57 Aqsarāyī, p. 160: نور ایمان نداشت اما بوجود کفر طبعش بر مکارم
اخراج مجبول بود

58 *History of Yaballaha III*, transl. James A. Montgomery (New York, 1927), p. 52; Larner, John. *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven and London, 1999), p. 39; Karpov, *L'impero di Trebisonda, Venezia, Genova e Roma*, pp. 236–37; Bryer, Anthony A.M. “Edward I and the Mongols,” *History Today* 14 (1964), pp. 696–704.

59 For more details, see: Karpov, Sergej P. *L'impero di Trebisonda, Venezia, Genova e Roma. 1204–1461* (Rome, 1986), p. 80.

were based in Trebizond.⁶⁰ At the turn of the fourteenth century, a joint, and relatively successful, fight against the nomads pulled the Grand Komnenoi and the Ilkhāns together. As a result, the rule of the emperor Alexios II Grand Komnenos (1297–1330) was one of the most peaceful in the history of the Empire of Trebizond.

Relations between the Grand Komnenoi and the Ilkhāns, however, were not equal, as the former was subordinate and depended on the Mongols of Iran. Sources, unfortunately, are too vague concerning the nature of that dependence, as well as about the level of Mongol control over the Empire of Trebizond. At our disposal is only an indirect indication of the empire's paying a *jizya* to the Mongols.⁶¹

Pontic anthroponymics suggests that Mongols settled as immigrants on the territory of the empire. Three more names, Μουγαλτᾱς(ς),⁶² Σαμούχης,⁶³ and Τζαμουχί(ας),⁶⁴ could have belonged to newcomers of Turkic-Mongol origin. Most of these appeared in Pontic sources in the late thirteenth century and were occasionally still referred to in the second half of the fifteenth century. A Mongol ethnic presence in the Byzantine Pontos should not be surprising. As 'Azīz Astarābādī recorded, the Turkic-Mongol tribes of *eli Samaghar* and *eli Babuk* roamed along the southern limits of the Pontos as late as the end of the fourteenth century.⁶⁵ Oriental sources designate these tribes as Mongols (مغول *mughūl*), although considerable numbers were likely to have been eastern Turks rather than Mongols, probably Uighurs.⁶⁶ The Sivas ruler *qāḍī* Burhān al-Dīn (1381–98) used these excellent fighters in his struggle against hostile Pontic emirs.⁶⁷ The Mongols of Pontic Greek sources perhaps originated from these Turkic-Mongol nomads of northern Anatolia. Anthroponymic data

60 Karpov, Sergej P. *Итальянские морские республики и Южное Причерноморье в XIII–XV вв.: проблемы торговли* (Moscow, 1990), pp. 291–96.

61 Aqsarāyī, pp. 257–59ff.; Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 196–97.

62 *AVaz*, no. 117.10 (Κυριαζῆς, second half of the thirteenth c.); no. 28.7–8 (Κωνσταντῖνος, second half of the thirteenth c.); no. 163.13 (. . . αρον, second half of the fifteenth c.); *PLP*, nos 19411–12.

63 *AVaz*, no. 59.22 (Μιχαήλ, ca. 1265); *PLP*, no. 24779.

64 *AVaz*, nos 27.8, 28.2, 108.4–5 (τοῦ Τζαμουχί, Τζαμουχίου, second half of the thirteenth c.).

65 Astarābādī, 'Azīz b. Ardashīr. *Bazm-u razm*, ed. Muallim Rif'at Kilisli and Mehmed Fuad Köprülü-zade (Istanbul, 1928), pp. 108, 147, 190, 249, etc.

66 Sümer, Faruk. "Anadolu'da Moğollar," *Selçuklu araştırmaları dergisi* 1 (1969), pp. 2–29; Sümer, Faruk. *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler). Tarihleri, Boy teşkilatı, Destanları* (Istanbul, 1992), pp. 163–64.

67 Astarābādī, p. 150.

correct the generally accepted thesis that it was the Oğuz Turkmens who completely surrounded the empire toward the end of the thirteenth century.

A 1260 act of Vazelon and two from 1264 contain the byname Χουρτζιριώτης,⁶⁸ which derived from Tk.-Mong. *qurçi/qorçi*. The Grand Komnenian court borrowed from the Mongols the title χουρτζής, which derived from the same *qurçi* and was a variant for the Greek court officer ἀκόλουθος, commander of emperor's bodyguards.⁶⁹ The official rank of χουρτζής was mentioned by de Clavijo, a Spanish traveler of the early fifteenth century, who apparently was unaware of its Greek variant. Clavijo explained that the "horchi" was an imperial official who carried the emperor's bow before his sovereign.⁷⁰ This explanation corresponds to the meaning of the Tk.-Mong. word *qurçi*, which, in particular, means "archer." The title χουρτζής had become known to Pontic Greeks early, probably as early as the 1240s. For instance, the Mongol conqueror of Anatolia *noyon* Bayju held the title of *qurçi*.⁷¹ Those bearing the name Χουρτζιριώτης in the Acts of Vazelon, however, were not noble and would not have had kinship ties to one of the most important officers of the empire. The connection of this byname with the Mongol *qurçi* should rather be with that of the Mongols' special troops, قورچیان *qūrchīyān*, who were bodyguards of Mongol rulers.⁷² Χουρτζιριώτης accords with other Byzantine denominations for members of military detachments such as στρατιώτης or paramilitary groups such as στασιώτης, and meant a soldier of special elite troops, χουρτζιριώται, who were headed by χουρτζής/ἀκόλουθος. In two cases, the "stratiotic" byname

68 *AVaz*, no. 79.41–42 (Εὐστάθιος, ca. 1260); no. 46.1–3 (Νικηφόρος, October 1264); no. 34.1–3 (Νικόδημος/Νύμφων, ca. 1264); *PLP*, nos 30971–73. There is a misprint in the Index of *AVaz*: one of the references to the name is dated to 1214 instead of the correct 1264.

69 Guiland, Rodolphe. *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1967), 1:531 n. 22; Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Les janissaires de l'empereur byzantin," *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dedicata. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici. Series Minor* 19 (1982), p. 594; Savory, Roger M. "Kürçī," in *EI*², 5:437a–b. Χουρτζής is referred to as a word of unknown origin in: *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*, ed. Ruth Macrides, J. Munitiz and D. Angelov (Farnham, 2013), p. 282.

70 Clavijo, Ruy González de. *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego (Madrid, 2006), p. 69.

71 *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure d'après l'abrégé du Seldjoucnameh d'Ibn-Bibi*, ed. M.H. Houtsma (Leiden, 1902) (hereafter Ibn Bibi, ed. Houtsma, p. 234).

72 For *qurçi* guards, see: Doerfer, Gerhard. *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, 4 vols (Wiesbaden, 1963–75), 1:429–32; Nakhčiwānī, Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh. *Дастур ал-кутаб фи та'йин ал-маратиб*, ed. Aydın A. Alizade, 2 vols (Moscow, 1964–76), 2:172–73, 183.

Χουρτζιριώτης belonged to clergymen: a priest (Εὐστάθιος, 1260) and a monk (Νικόδημος/Νύμφων, ca. 1264). It indicates an older borrowing of the title by the Greeks, even if both Εὐστάθιος and Νικόδημος had formerly served in χουρτζιριῶται troops, and plays the role of byname or sobriquet. In the case of Νικηφόρος Χουρτζιριώτης (1264), it is possible that the name was a designation of his occupation and that Nikephoros was indeed a χουρτζιριώτης soldier. Χουρτζιριῶται soldiers could have been ethnically Greek.

The case of the Trapezuntine title ἀμυρτζαντάριος/ἀμυρτζαντάριος, which was qualified as a “Persian” court title synonymous with πρωτοσπαθάριος, may confirm this reconstruction. Ἀμυρτζαντάριος derives from the Oriental *amūr-jāndār* “commander of bodyguards” and came to the Pontos from the Seljuk sultanate or its fourteenth-century successor states in eastern Anatolia and, by the fourteenth century, replaced the old Greek πρωτοσπαθάριος.⁷³ In its plural form, ἀμυ(ρ)τζανταράνται, it also designated soldiers who were subordinate to the court dignitary ἀμυρτζαντάριος/πρωτοσπαθάριος.⁷⁴

The fact that there are diverse instances of Turkic-Mongol presence on Trapezuntine territories is explicable: lands along the southern border of the empire had been well assimilated by Iranian Mongols. In the thirteenth century, the main road, which lay across Erzincan (about 70 km south of the Trapezuntine border), was employed by Iranian Mongols to deliver troops to Anatolia, as well as by Mongol administrators, tax collectors, and merchants.⁷⁵ Erzincan at the time was a gateway to Anatolia from Iran. When the Ilkhāns needed to demonstrate their force to Anatolian vassals, the Mongol troops would concentrate in Erzincan, close to the Trebizond border. A huge Mongol army under the command of Kaighatu (Gaikhatu) and Hulaju stayed in the area of Erzincan for almost a year in 684 until the beginning of 685 AH

73 The presence of the court title *amūr-jāndār/amūr-i jāndār* in the Seljuk sultanate is attested by Ibn Bibī: Ibn Bibī (AS). *El-Evāmīrū'l-Ala'īyye fi'l-umūrī'l-Ala'īyye*, ed. Adnan S. Erzi (Ankara, 1956), pp. 134, 267, etc.

74 For ἀμυρτζαντάριος as a title and stratiotic denomination, see: Panaretos, pp. 65.21, 67.14; Lazaropoulos, John. *Synopsis miraculorum sancti Eugenii*, in *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Indexes*, ed. Jan O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala, 1996), p. 134.16; Laurent, “Deux chrysobulles,” pp. 261.54, 267.151, 269.202; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Jean Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), pp. 341–43, 348.36–37; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:67–68; Bryer, Anthony A.M. “The Faithless Kabazitai and Scholarioi,” in *Maistor: Classical, Byzantine, Renaissance Studies for R. Browning*, ed. Ann Moffatt (Canberra, 1984), p. 312 nn. 11, 12; *PLP*, no. 830, gives a wrong interpretation of ἀμυ(ρ)τζανταράνται as “Familiennamen.”

75 For more details, see: Shukurov, “Eastern Ethnic Elements in the Empire of Trebizond,” pp. 77–78.

(9 March 1285–27 February 1286).⁷⁶ The Iranian Mongol and Greek Pontic worlds were in direct contact and occasional cooperation with each other.

3 Social Standing

Owners of Asian names, excluding those who acquired them due to Armenian and Kartvelian origin or ancestry, differed in wealth and social standing.⁷⁷

In comparison to the west Byzantine material, the number of *paroikoi* is exceedingly low. The *paroikoi* from among Asian immigrants or their descendants are mostly found in agricultural areas:

Trebizond – Αὐξέντιος Ἀράπης (1432);⁷⁸
 the *bandon* of Matzouka – Ζεέτης (1364, Doubera),⁷⁹ Τζαμάς (1364, Doubera),⁸⁰ Χουμαίας (1364, Doubera);⁸¹

TABLE 12 *The social standing of the Pontic Asian immigrants*

Social status	Number of persons	Percentage
High officials and nobility	9	8 percent
Large landowners	3	3 percent
Clerics and monks	9	9 percent
Middle-class landowners	45	50 percent
<i>Paroikoi</i>	11	11 percent

76 Aqsarāyī, pp. 145–46. It is likely that, in 1285, this Mongol army helped to depose the empress Theodora and to prevent her supporters from eliminating the Ilkhānid control over Trebizond (cf.: Karpov, *История Трапезундской империи*, p. 171).

77 The lists of the holders of Oriental names in the Pontos have been published in: Shukurov, “Тюрки на православном Понте”; Idem. “The Byzantine Turks of the Pontos,” *Mésogeios. Revue trimestrielle d'études méditerranéennes* 6 (1999), pp. 7–47; with some additions in: Idem. “Foreigners in the Empire of Trebizond (the Case of Orientals and Latins),” in *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th–15th century Eastern Anatolia: Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Istanbul, 4th–6th May 2007*, ed. Deniz Beyazit with Simon Rettig (Paris, 2012), pp. 71–84.

78 Laurent, “Deux chrysobulles,” p. 266.125; *PLP*, no. 1224.

79 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 5:279; *PLP*, no. 6512.

80 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 5:279.16: τοῦ Τζαμῆ; *PLP*, no. 27730.

81 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 5:279.25; *PLP*, no. 30930.

the *bandon* of Rhizaion – Κατζίκης (1432, Mapavri)⁸² and Μαχμούτης (1432, Syphlas);⁸³

the *bandon* of Trikomia – Ἀναστάσιος Γαζέας and his unnamed brothers (1432, Magere),⁸⁴ Γοζάλλης (1432, Magere),⁸⁵ Μουγούλης (1371, Chorobe),⁸⁶ and Τζακάς (1371, Chorobe).⁸⁷

Most of the *paroikoi* are referred to only by their Oriental bynames, thus confirming a common practice for Byzantium to designate persons of low social standing by a single name, either baptismal or byname. Ethnically, the *paroikoi* represent the immigrants discussed above: the names Ἀράτης, Ζεέτης, Μαχμούτης, and Τζαμής are of Arabic origin and probably refer to a former Muslim identity; Γοζάλλης, Κατζίκης, and Τζακάς are of Turkic origin; Μουγούλης refers to Mongols; and, finally, the name Χουμαίας is purely Iranian.

Most Asian immigrants who lived in sedentary agricultural areas belonged to the middle-class free γεωργοί. The major proportion of those who were described in the sources as landholders, former landholders, donators, and witnesses should be included in the stratum of small and medium peasants, if their standing was not otherwise defined. Asian immigrants or their descendants were involved in small and medium transactions. For instance, Ζαγάνης sold copper for 7 *aspra* (ca. 1260, Matzouka).⁸⁸ The nun Γαγούπενα bought a plot of 8 *psomiaria*, that is, approximately 1 and 1/3 *modioi*, a cow, and some barley for 28 *aspra* (ca. 1260, Matzouka).⁸⁹

The majority of registered holders of Oriental names were residents of the *bandon* of Matzouka. The bearers of Turkic names in Matzouka are Ξένος Ἀτιλαντζής (ca. 1432, witness),⁹⁰ Ἰανάκης (fifteenth c., landholder),⁹¹ Καρὰς (end of thirteenth c., landholder),⁹² Κουζουλᾶς (ca. 1397, former owner of a plot),⁹³ Λέων Κουμάνος (ca. 1284 and later, landholder, witness),⁹⁴ Λέων

82 Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles," p. 269.206; *PLP*, no. 11518.

83 Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles," p. 268.162; *PLP*, no. 17540.

84 Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles," p. 267.133; *PLP*, no. 3440.

85 Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles," p. 267.140; *PLP*, no. 4279.

86 Lampros, "Ἀνέκδοτον χρυσόβουλλον," p. 198.8; *PLP*, no. 19418.

87 Lampros, "Ἀνέκδοτον χρυσόβουλλον," p. 198.8: τὸν Τζακᾶν; *PLP*, no. 27695.

88 *AVaz*, no. 79.35; *PLP*, no. 6414.

89 *AVaz*, no. 37.6; *PLP*, nos 4148, 7812. For the value of *psomiarion*, see: Schilbach, Erich. *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), p. 92.

90 *AVaz*, no. 141.9; *PLP*, no. 1637.

91 *AVaz*, no. 151.7; *PLP*, no. 7944.

92 *AVaz*, no. 106.36; *PLP*, no. 11128.

93 *AVaz*, no. 81.4, 9 (τοῦ Κουζουλᾶ).

94 *AVaz*, nos 87.11, 106.215–16; *PLP*, no. 13448.

Σαρουτζᾶς (ca. 1300, witness),⁹⁵ Ἰωάννης Τζακαρόπουλος (1440, donator of a plot to the Vazelon monastery),⁹⁶ Ἀντρόνικος Τζακέρης (1432, witness),⁹⁷ Μαρούλα Τζιληπηνόπουλος (fifteenth c., donator of a plot to the Vazelon monastery),⁹⁸ Τιλαντζῆς (fifteenth c., donator?),⁹⁹ Φουρνουτζιώτης (1245, landholder),¹⁰⁰ another Φουρνουτζιώτης (1292, seller of a plot),¹⁰¹ the above-mentioned Γεώργιος Το(υ)ρκόπουλος (1306, witness), Νικηφόρος Τουρκοθεόδωρος (end of thirteenth c., sold and donated lands to the Vazelon monastery), Βασίλειος Τουρκοθεριανός (end of thirteenth c., landholder), Νικηφόρος Τουρκοθεριανός (second half of thirteenth c., landholder), Χάζαρος (second half of thirteenth c., former owner of a plot), and Βασίλειος Χάζαρος (ca. 1301, donator).

Arabic Muslim names belonged to the following residents of Matzouka: Θεριανός Γιαγούπης¹⁰² (end of thirteenth c., landholder), Γουσμάνος (end of thirteenth c., landholder and witness),¹⁰³ Ἰωαννάκης Γουσμάνων (ca. 1275, witness),¹⁰⁴ another Γουσμάνων (1292, landholder),¹⁰⁵ Θωμᾶς Ἰσάχας (end of thirteenth c., landholder),¹⁰⁶ Θεόδωρος Μουχουδενός (ca. 1260, witness),¹⁰⁷ and Θεόδωρος Τζαμιώτης (1381, landholder).¹⁰⁸

Iranian names among the Matzoukan peasants are represented by Κοῦρτος (1344, sold a plot to the Vazelon monastery)¹⁰⁹ and Κωνσταντῖνος Πητζαρᾶς (ca. 1302, witness).¹¹⁰ Finally, owners of Mongolian names were Μουγούλης (end of thirteenth c., landholder), three Μουγαλτᾶς (all witnesses), and Τζαμουχίας (second half of thirteenth c., former owner of a plot).

For other regions of the empire beyond Matzouka, sources register surprisingly few middle-class landholders with Oriental names: Θεόδωρος Χατζῆ

95 *AVaz*, no. 56.14; *PLP*, no. 24938.

96 *AVaz*, no. 152.4; *PLP*, no. 27693.

97 *AVaz*, no. 168.12–13; *PLP*, no. 27698.

98 *AVaz*, no. 3; *PLP*, no. 27937.

99 *AVaz*, no. 6.4.

100 *AVaz*, no. 49.12; *PLP*, no. 30050.

101 *AVaz*, no. 115.21, 31.

102 *AVaz*, no. 106.250, 254; *PLP*, nos 4150 and 7823.

103 *AVaz*, nos 104.9, 102.17; *PLP*, no. 4403.

104 *AVaz*, no. 60.48; *PLP*, no. 4404.

105 *AVaz*, no. 115.36; *PLP*, no. 4403.

106 *AVaz*, no. 106.287; *PLP*, no. 8291.

107 *AVaz*, no. 24.12; *PLP*, no. 19598.

108 *AVaz*, no. 133; *PLP*, no. 27733.

109 *AVaz*, no. 100.21–22; *PLP*, no. 13606.

110 *AVaz*, no. 97.8; *PLP*, no. 23169.

in Trebizond (1306, witness),¹¹¹ Γεώργιος Καρατζίας in Ἀλασών/Τζερνίτζα near Trebizond (fourteenth c., landholder),¹¹² and, finally, Χασάν(ης) formerly a landholder in Herakleia in the *bandon* of Sourmaina whose name became a place identifier (before 1432).¹¹³

Such uneven geographical distribution of Asian immigrants on the territory of the empire cannot be explained merely by the insufficiency of sources, since it is in sharp contrast with the rather even distribution of *paroikoi* throughout most agricultural areas of the empire. It seems that Matzouka was where most middle-class immigrants were settled, while in other regions of the empire the influx of foreigners was either on a lesser scale or insignificant. This is understandable considering Matzouka's geographical location. The main roads including caravan routes connecting the Pontic coast with inner Anatolia passed through Matzouka.¹¹⁴ The region of Matzouka, bordering territories populated or controlled by Turks, became in the first half of the fourteenth century the theater of frequent military clashes and devastating Turkic raids. Only starting in the 1350s did hostilities shift further south to neighboring Chaldia and Cheriana.¹¹⁵ Most Asian immigrants had to pass through Matzouka when entering the empire's territory. These newcomers predominantly settled in Matzouka due, in particular, to the presence of available land and relatively more security in comparison to the southern frontier regions. It is unclear whether the settling of Asian immigrants specifically in Matzouka was a deliberate policy of the imperial authorities (see Fig. 19). The low percentage of lower-class Asians indicates few slaves among them and that, from the beginning, immigrants who were endowed with land obtained a relatively high status.

A curious feature concerning middle-class Asian immigrants in Matzouka, atypical for Macedonia and generally the west Byzantine lands, is that the area provides several examples of sorts of "peasant dynasties" of Asian immigrants and their descendants who kept their bynames throughout generations. For instance, the Acts of Vazelon in one case refer to a group of people having the same byname: sometime before 1292, οἱ Γουσμάνάνται along with Φουρνουτζιώτης

111 Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Trébizonde," p. 497.7 (Λατζής); correction in the reading of the name: Uspenskij, *Очерки из истории Трапезундской империи*, p. 148.

112 Trapp, Erich. "Probleme der Prosopographie der Palaiologenzeit," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 27 (1978), p. 200; *PLP*, no. 11134.

113 Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles," p. 264.98: τοῦ Χασάνη; Bryer, Anthony A.M. "The Estates of the Empire of Trebizond: Evidence for their Resources, Products, Agriculture, Ownership and Location," *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 35 (1979), p. 438 no. 96.

114 Bryer, Anthony A.M. and Winfield, David. *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols (Washington, DC, 1985), 1:251–65.

115 Shukurov, "Between Peace and Hostility," pp. 62–66.

and Σαπούας collectively sold a rather modest plot of 5 *modioi* (approximately ½ ha)¹¹⁶ in Rhachin to the large landowner and priest Nikephoros Kromides.¹¹⁷ The use of the byname in plural (οἱ Γουσμάννται) implies a family that acted as a collective owner. The same document mentions another plot owned by Kromides, also in Rhachin, which was farmed by a certain ὁ Γουσμάνων, seemingly as a tenant farmer. Γουσμάνων was probably one of the οἱ Γουσμάννται, or at least a relative. One more Γουσμάνος is referred to at the end of the thirteenth century as a tenant farmer on the imperial lands in Therisa and as a witness from the same locality.¹¹⁸ It is uncertain whether this Γουσμάνος had kinship relations with Γουσμάννται and Γουσμάνων, as he lived far away from Rhachin in Therisa.¹¹⁹

The group bearing the byname Κανζίκης could also be relatives: Γεώργιος (witness),¹²⁰ Θεριανός (witness),¹²¹ Ἰωάννης (landholder),¹²² and Χριστόδουλος (landholder).¹²³ All four lived in Matzouka, most likely in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Only the plots of Ἰωάννης and Χριστόδουλος can be located in the areas of Pontyla and Chamourin.¹²⁴ The degree of relation between them remains hypothetical. The same is the case with two Matzoukan residents Κυριαζής¹²⁵ and Κωνσταντίνος¹²⁶ having the same byname Μουγαλτᾶ(ς), acting as witnesses, and living in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Of interest is the case represented by the name Σούτος, belonging to six persons since ca. 1260 until the turn of the fifteenth century. In ca. 1260, a certain Σούτος, whose baptismal name is not known, sold a plot situated in Matzouka,

116 For possible values of *modios*, see: *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, 3 vols (Washington, DC, 2002), 1:243 (Jacques Lefort); *Géométries du fisc byzantin*, ed. Jacques Lefort et al. (Paris, 1991), p. 263.

117 *AVaz*, no. 115.21 (τοὺς Γουσμάνντας).

118 *AVaz*, nos 102.17, 104.9; *PLP*, no. 4403.

119 On these two localities in Matzouka, see: Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, 1:257, 260–62, 295 (Rhachin/Staman), 257, 280, 294 (Therisa).

120 *AVaz*, no. 42.11–12 (ca. 1300); no. 61.16 (second half of the thirteenth c.); no. 83.13 (between 1261 and 1276); *PLP*, nos 10907–08.

121 *AVaz*, no. 91.16 (1274); *PLP*, no. 10909.

122 *AVaz*, no. 106.43 (second half of the thirteenth c.); *PLP*, no. 10910.

123 *AVaz*, no. 47.1 (second half of the thirteenth c.); no. 106.338–39 (second half of the thirteenth c.); *PLP*, no. 10911.

124 On Pontyla and Chamourin, see: Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, 1:261, 294–95 and 1:257, 286 respectively.

125 *AVaz*, no. 117.10 (second half of the thirteenth c.); *PLP*, no. 19411.

126 *AVaz*, no. 28.7–8 (second half of the thirteenth c.); *PLP*, no. 19412.

probably in the area of the monastery of St. Theodore in Genakanton.¹²⁷ In ca. 1260–70, approximately in the same area, a certain Κώνστας Σούτος was referred to as a witness in a deal donating lands to the monastery of Vazelon located in Palaioimatrouka, in south Matrouka.¹²⁸ One cannot exclude that these two were relatives and belonged to two different generations; if Soutos from Genakanton, judging by his function as “elder,” was elderly in ca. 1260, he could have been the father or uncle of Konstas Soutos. These Σούτοι could have had kinship links with the four fourteenth-century Σούτοι, Θεόδωρος, Μιχαήλ, Γεώργιος, and Παῦλος, who were residents of the *bandon* of Matrouka and prominent in local administration. Θεόδωρος Σούτος (1382)¹²⁹ was a “venerable elder” (ἀξιοτίμων γερόντων) who probably constituted an arbitrator in local peasant societies.¹³⁰ Μιχαήλ Σούτος (1384–88)¹³¹ is referred to as ἄρχων, probably an official of the local administration. Since the role of local archons in Pontic rural societies remains unstudied it is difficult to determine the exact functions of Μιχαήλ Σούτος. Finally, Γεώργιος Σούτος (second half of fourteenth c.)¹³² and Παῦλος Σούτος (second half of fourteenth c. to 1415)¹³³ are referred to as judges of the *bandon* (κριτῆς τῆς ὑποθέσεως).¹³⁴ They were contemporaries and knew each other: they signed a document together as witnesses. Their degree of kinship is impossible to know; however, it is plausible that they belonged to the same family as all were persons of prominence. The Soutoi belonged to the rural upper class but were not in the circles of Pontic noble archons or the patrimonial aristocracy that were so influential in the empire’s politics.¹³⁵ In the Pontos, unlike the Byzantine West, even peasants may have preserved their surnames for generations.

127 AVaz, no. 37.1–2; PLP, no. 26380. On Genakanton, see: Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, 1:261–2, 295.

128 AVaz, no. 54.12; PLP, no. 26382.

129 AVaz, no. 125.12–13; PLP, no. 26381.

130 Bryer, Anthony A.M. “Rural Society in Matrouka,” in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham and Washington, DC, 1986), p. 77; Bryer, Anthony A.M. “Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic Exception,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), p. 121; Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, p. 165.

131 AVaz, nos 127.13, 129.10, 132.20; PLP, no. 26383.

132 AVaz, no. 131.9; PLP, no. 26385.

133 AVaz, nos 109.1–2, 126.11, 131.9–10; PLP, no. 26384.

134 The judicial system of the Empire of Trebizond still awaits its proper exploration: Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, p. 165; Bryer, “Rural Society,” pp. 75–78.

135 For the noble archon class in the Empire of Trebizond, see: Bryer, “The Estates,” pp. 414–16; Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, p. 161. For the role of patrimonial aristocracy in Trebizond, see: Men’shikova, Maria S. “Понтийская знать,” in *Византия и Запад*

Sources do not explicitly indicate whether Asian immigrants in rural agricultural areas such as Matzouka, Palaiomatzouka, Trikomia, Sourmaina, Rhizaion, and Gemora were nomadic or settled; however, there is no evidence of nomadic groups in densely populated agricultural areas. Some Asian bynames in these areas do relate to handicraft. Oriental names ending in *âs* often signified workmanship and profession: Καλκανᾶς or “shield-maker,”¹³⁶ Τζακᾶς or “fireplace-maker,”¹³⁷ and also Φουρνουτζιώτης or “baker,”¹³⁸ Παπούτζης or “shoemaker.”¹³⁹ The names Καλκανᾶς, Τζακᾶς, Φουρνουτζιώτης, and Παπούτζης did not exist in Oriental anthroponymy and could not have been brought directly from the Orient. Two names consist of an Oriental root and the Greek formative suffix *âs*. The Greeks may have at first borrowed the Oriental roots *kalkan*, *ocak/cak*, *furuncu*, and *papuş* and only afterwards constructed the respective names using Greek suffixes. As early as during Grand Komnenian times, the Pontic Greeks must have used the Turkic *kalkan* for “shield,” *furuncu* for “baker,” *ocak/cak* for “fireplace,” and *papuş* for “shoes.” On the other hand, these names perhaps indicate that a fraction of the Asian sedentary population were Oriental craftsmen and merchants who had settled on the territory of the empire. These immigrant craftworkers were possibly involved in the construction of the church of St. Sophia in Trebizond, which was lavishly decorated with Orientalizing motifs.^{139a}

Although high officials and large landowners are relatively few in the database, they are of the greatest interest for understanding the particularity of the Pontic model for the accommodation of Asian immigrants. As few as seven persons bearing Oriental names represent members of the Trapezuntine upper class (high officials and court dignitaries): Ἀμιρούτζης,¹⁴⁰

(950-летие схизмы христианской церкви, 800-летие захвата Константинополя крестоносцами). Тезисы докладов XVII Всероссийской научной сессии византинистов (Moscow, 2004). pp. 124–26; Каргов, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 165, 184–85; Bryer, “Faithless Kabazitai.”

136 *AVaz*, no. 106.341 (στάσις τοῦ Καλκανᾶ), Matzouka, end of the thirteenth c.

137 Lampros, “Ἀνέκδοτον χρυσόβουλλον,” p. 198.8: τὸν Τζακᾶν, paroikos in Chorobe (Trikomia) in 1371; *PLP*, no. 27695.

138 *AVaz*, no. 49.12 (landowner, Matzouka, 1245), no. 115.21,31 (seller of a plot, Matzouka, 1292); *PLP*, no. 30050 (*PLP* considers these two as one and the same person).

139 *AVaz*, no. 137 (Ἀγάπης Παπούτζης, scribe, Matzouka, 1431).

139a Eastmond, Antony. *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 77–96.

140 *PLP*, nos 782–88 (before 1437, fifteenth c.).

Ἀζατίνης (Aziathim),¹⁴¹ Ἀλταμούριος,¹⁴² Ἀσθλαμπέκης,¹⁴³ Κασσιμπούρης,¹⁴⁴ Τουραλῆς, and Πακτιάρης.¹⁴⁵

Anthony Bryer linked Ἀλταμούριος with the lineage of the emir of Jānik Tāj al-Dīn.¹⁴⁶ As Zachariadou has shown, Bryer's suggestion was based on a disputable reading of Clavijo's narration, and therefore Ἀλταμούριος cannot be considered one of Tāj al-Dīn's descendants.¹⁴⁷ All we know of Ἀλταμούριος is that he was *mezas mesazon*, one of the highest officials of the Trapezuntine government. After the collapse of the empire in 1461, he was forcibly resettled by the Ottomans in Constantinople along with other Trapezuntine aristocrats and persons of rank.¹⁴⁸ Judging by his name, he was most likely Oğuz Turk, not Cuman or Mongol.

Another prominent immigrant from the Orient was Γεώργιος Ἀμιρούτζης, *protobestiarios* and *mezas logothetes* during the last years of the empire's existence. George Ameroutzes, being a capable theologian and prolific writer, participated in the Council of Ferrara in 1438 and negotiated Trebizond's submission with the Ottomans in August 1461.¹⁴⁹ His father, Ἀμιρούτζης, was an envoy to Constantinople in the beginning of the fifteenth century (before 1437), and in all probability a first-generation immigrant and ancestor of the noble family. Judging by the root ἀμίρ/ἀμήρ in his name, George Ameroutzes' father belonged to a prominent Muslim lineage of Anatolian "emirs," either military commanders or rulers of an Anatolian Muslim principality. The latter is more probable given the position of the family in Byzantine Pontic society. The root ἀμίρ in the name is followed by the suffix ούτζης, giving the diminutive sense of the name as "little emir." The ancestor of the family most likely appeared on Greek Pontic territory when he was a child as captive or hostage. To what extent Turkic roots influenced the behavior of George Ameroutzes

141 *Senato, Misti*, Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, 15–60 (1332–1440), XLVII, fol. 127r (24 June 1407).

142 Philippides, Marios. *Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373–1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century* (Brookline, MA, 1990), p. 70.7 (1461); *PLP*, no. 704.

143 Laurent, "Deux chrysobulles," p. 269.181; *PLP*, no. 1543.

144 *AVaz*, nos 36.5–6 (1270), 88.12 (1273 or 1288, August), 116.19 (ca. 1270); *PLP*, no. 11369.

145 Lazaropoulos, *Synopsis miraculorum*, lines 1162f. (τοῦ Πακτιάρη) and 1178.

146 Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," pp. 130, 149.

147 Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Trebizond and the Turks (1352–1402)," *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 35 (1979), p. 344 n. 4.

148 Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 161, 163.

149 Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 300–01, 429–39, 467–73, etc.

and his descendants at the Ottoman court in Constantinople after 1461 when some of them converted to Islam would be of great interest.

Ἀνδρόνικος Τουραλῆς, who resided in Gemora, was most probably a Trapezuntine elite who joined the Grand Komnenoi and a large group of Trapezuntine high officials and nobles in their exile to the Balkans after the Ottoman conquest of 1461.¹⁵⁰ The name is found in an Ottoman *defter* in the form اندرنيقوس توراليس *Andranikūs Tūrālīs*. It is possible that Ἀνδρόνικος Τουραλῆς, as his family name indicates, was one of the descendants of the Aqquyunlu emir Tur-ʿAlī b. Pahlawān-bek, the leader of the Aqquyunlu tribe, who spent some time around 1348 in the frontier regions of the Empire of Trebizond. The emir Tur-ʿAlī was well known to the Greeks of Trebizond,¹⁵¹ and a mere coincidence in the names of the Aqquyunlu emir and the family name of Ἀνδρόνικος Τουραλῆς seems improbable. Most likely, the name first belonged to a close relative of Tur-ʿAlī who settled in the empire, and was later adopted as a surname by his descendants as a conspicuous symbol of the nobility of their lineage, a common function of Byzantine family names.

The case of Ἀνδρόνικος Τουραλῆς sheds light on a similar instance of a certain Ἀσθλαμπέκης. The imperial chrysobull of 1432 gives details of an escheat in the *bandon* of Sourmaina that was bought by a monk Gerasimos Poupheos from Ἀσθλαμπέκης.¹⁵² The element πέκης ← Turkic *beg* in the name indicates the standing of its bearer, his being a *beg*, that is, an emir. The only prominent emir with a similar name in the neighboring Muslim regions in this period was Aslan-beg (variants: Arslan-beg Alp-Aslan-beg, Alp-Arslan-beg), the emir of the Taceddinoğulları principality in 1386–93 who was the son of the principality's founder Tāj al-Dīn. The emir Tāj al-Dīn was an old and faithful ally of the empire and the husband of the Grand Komnenian princess Eudokia.¹⁵³ It is probable that the Trapezuntine Ἀσθλαμπέκης who settled on imperial land was a descendant of the emir Aslan-beg. Chronologically this identification is plausible: the emir Aslan-beg was murdered in 1394 and his probable descendant Ἀσθλαμπέκης, some years or decades later, sold the plot to Gerasimos Poupheos, who died some time before 1432 leaving no heirs, and the land was escheated. There could, however, be another interpretation, that the plot of land was possessed by the emir Aslan-beg himself who was the son or, more

150 *Maliyeden Müdevver* 828, Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, pp. 541–42, Beldiceanu, Nicoară and Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène. “Biens des Amiroutzès d’après un registre ottoman de 1487,” *Travaux et mémoires* 8 (1981), p. 76.

151 Panaretos, p. 68.16.

152 Laurent, “Deux chrysobulles,” p. 269.180–83.

153 Shukurov, *Ближние Комнины и Восток*, p. 217.

probably, the stepson of the princess Eudokia, his father's Greek wife since 1379. As a relative of the Grand Komnenoi, Aslan-beg was able to possess property on the empire's territories. A similar case is that of Theodora, the daughter of Alexios IV Grand Komnenos and wife of Uzun Hasan of Aqquyunlu, who owned lands in the empire as her dowry.¹⁵⁴

A special case is represented by two bynames or family names of pure Iranian origin. The first is Ἀλέξιος Πακτιάρης (1225), whose byname very likely derived from Persian *باختیار* *bakhtiyār*. The second is Μιχαήλ Κασσιμπούρης (1270–88), whose byname had in its composition the ancient Iranian word *pūr* “son,” which went back to the Parthian *pwhr*. *Pūr* in Iran in pre-Islamic times was a determinative for masculine names, which subsequently passed into Medieval and Modern Persian. The Persian name Bakhtiyār and, especially, the determinative *pūr* are notably archaic. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both Bakhtiyār and *pūr* were relatively out of use in Persian Muslim anthroponymics of Azerbaijan and western Iran. In this connection, the initial names may well have belonged either to Kurds or Zoroastrians of Iran or Iraq, where the anthroponymic patterns of the ancient Iranian tradition were still in use. Both persons occupied high positions in the imperial fiscal office, which could reflect a certain tendency, at least in the thirteenth century, to take immigrants from the learned Iranian milieu into service in fiscal office. Persians of the same period of time were actively used as experienced administrators by neighboring Turkic Anatolian rulers and Mongol khans. The first Grand Komnenoi undoubtedly experienced a certain deficiency in qualified officers in the distant Pontic backwoods. The immigration of native Greeks from west Byzantine regions to Grand Komnenian possessions, known only from vague sources,¹⁵⁵ was apparently not sufficient to change the cultural atmosphere of the new state. The need for professional administrators would

154 Barkan, Ömer Lütfi. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15 (1953–54), p. 219 n. 90; Beldiceanu, Nicoară. “L’empire de Trébizonde à travers un registre ottoman de 1487,” *Archéion Πόντου* 35 (1979), p. 182 n. 37; Bryer, “Greeks and Türkmens,” p. 150 n. 146.

155 Bryer, “Rural Society,” pp. 65, 78. For refugees to Trebizond from Constantinople after 1204, see: Heisenberg, August. “Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion,” *Sitzungsberichte Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 1–3 (1922–23), p. 62; Vasiliev, Alexander. “Mesarites as a Source,” *Speculum* 13 (1938), p. 180. According to Varzos, Alexios I Grand Komnenos’ wife was Theodora, the daughter of John Komnenos Axouch the Fat who rebelled in 1200; it is not impossible that after that date some or most members of the Axouch family fled to Trebizond: Varzos, Konstantinos. *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, 2 vols (Thessalonike, 1984), pp. 752, 886; Idem. “Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνός – Ειρήνη η Ρωσική και οι άτυχοι απόγονοί τους,” *Βυζαντινά* 7 (1975), p. 173.

be filled by experienced Iranians who were ready to assume Christianity in exchange for positions in the state hierarchy.¹⁵⁶

Another such official, Ἀζατίνης/Aziathim of Asian stock, was mentioned in a Venetian source of 1407. The Venetians in Trebizond described him as an “*official o baron*,” that is, a high-status Trapezuntine officer, who was powerful enough to have caused offense to the Venetian *bailo*.¹⁵⁷

The social standing of a certain Σαχμελίχ(ης)¹⁵⁸ and a lady Ἀμυρτζαίνα,¹⁵⁹ who were referred to in the chrysobull of 1432, is not known, although it appears that both were quite wealthy. Ἀμυρτζαίνα sold her property in Moutzoura (Trikomia) for a substantial sum of money: 2,500 *aspra*. Evidently, it was an estate large enough to equal the yearly income of a Genoese treasurer in Kaffa.¹⁶⁰ Σαχμελίχης possessed a pasture and hereditary land (νομὴν καὶ γονικεῖαν) in Mapaureos (Mapavri) in the *bandon* of Rhizaion and three workshops (ἐργαστήρια τρία) in Trebizond, which were later donated by the imperial treasury to the monastery of Christ Pantocrator in Pharos. Laurent believed that Σαχμελίχης¹⁶¹ and Σαχμελίς¹⁶² who was referred to earlier in the chrysobull, were different persons. However, it seems as though Σαχμελίς was a variant of Σαχμελίχης resulting from a slip of pen or the negligence of a copyist. Besides the similarity of names, the chrysobull, discussing the transfer of the possessions of Σαχμελίχης to the monastery of Christ Pantocrator, does not mention their transition to the state treasury, whereas the chrysobull explains that Σαχμελίς’ property was escheated by the state because Σαχμελίς was childless (ἐξ ἀπαιδίας) and died leaving no heirs. Consequently, the property of Σαχμελίχης would have been escheated by the emperor because of his having no heirs at the moment of his death, which was already stated in the chrysobull. Σαχμελίχης/Σαχμελίς, also had a pasture in Moutzoura in *bandon* Trikomia

For emigration from Constantinople to Trebizond in the 1270s, see: Karpov, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 88, 190–91, 317.

156 For the administrative system of the Empire of Trebizond and its connection with the old Komnenian tradition, see: Karpov, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 156–65; Oikonomides, Nicolas. “The Chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: Imperial Tradition and Political Reality,” *Архивон Πόντου* 35 (1975), pp. 310–13; Bryer, “Greeks and Türkmens,” p. 141.

157 Karpov, Sergej P. *Латинская Романия* (St. Petersburg, 2000), p. 129.

158 Laurent, “Deux chrysobulles,” pp. 265.110, 117–18, 262.59; *PLP*, no. 24977.

159 Laurent, “Deux chrysobulles,” p. 269.188–89; *PLP*, no. 829.

160 Karpov, Sergej P. “Регесты документов фонда Diversorum Filze Секретного архива Генуи, относящиеся к истории Причерноморья,” in *Причерноморье в средние века*, ed. Sergej Karpov, 3 (St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 10 no. 77: 2 *sonno* per month = 340 *aspra*.

161 Laurent, “Deux chrysobulles,” p. 265.110 (τοῦ Σαχμελίχου), 118 (τοῦ Σαχμελίκου).

162 Laurent, “Deux chrysobulles,” p. 262.59: τῷ Σαχμελίῳ.

which was mentioned by the chrysobull as escheated from Σαχμελίας. He was a truly wealthy person, having property in metropolitan Trebizond and in the two *banda* of Rhizaion and Trikomia.

The distribution of selected Oriental names in Matzouka, Trikomia, and Gemora is represented on Figure 19. The density of Asian immigrants increases toward the southern border of the empire. This is in accord with general Byzantine tactics of settling Asian newcomers away from strategic centers and closer to marginal areas. It seems that the Trapezuntine authorities used immigrants as a buffer against Muslim and nomadic raiders from inner Anatolia.

Asians, in contrast to Italians, occupied a lower position in the social hierarchy of the empire. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Italians, especially Venetians and Genoese, were frequently to be found in the empire with trade stations and property in Trebizond. Italians were sometimes commissioned by the Grand Komnenoi to act as ambassadors to Italy. In 1314, Gavino de Mare and Sorleone Spinola were ambassadors of the emperor Alexios II in Genoa. In 1460, the Florentine nobleman Michele Alighieri was the representative in the West of the last emperor of Trebizond, David Grand Komnenos.¹⁶³ Italians evidently became deeply involved in the political and economic life of the empire, perhaps becoming subjects of the Grand Komnenoi. In 1291, Niccolosio de Aria the Genoese (possibly Nicolò Doria) held the position of head of the imperial mint in Trebizond. During the reign of Alexios IV Grand Komnenos (1417–29), a certain imperial office (*curia*) was occupied by the Genoese Tommaso Trotti. In 1429, Domenico D'Allegro, another Genoese and former pirate, was promoted by the emperor John IV Grand Komnenos to the rank of *protostrator*, commander-in-chief of the imperial fleet. And in 1424, another Genoese by the name of Girolamo di Negro was mentioned in an Italian document as the *megas mesazon* of the emperor Alexios IV Grand Komnenos. In 1437, as a Trapezuntine officer he headed the attack of the imperial fleet against Genoese pirates, his compatriots. He seized a Genoese vessel, confiscated the cargo, arrested its captain, and imprisoned him in Trebizond.¹⁶⁴ The Italians in imperial service were mercenaries and merchants whose trade interests often

163 Карпов, *Латинская Романия*, p. 131; Карпов, Sergej P. "Итальянские 'бароны' трапезундских императоров," *Византийский временник* 56 (1995), p. 146; Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 283, 305, 336–37, 351–53.

164 Карпов, *Латинская Романия*, pp. 130–52; Карпов, "Итальянские 'бароны,'" pp. 145–51; Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 182, 293–94, 296–97, 301, 347, 305–06. See also: Shukurov, Rustam. "Латиняне в сельской Мацуке (13–15 вв.)," in *Mare et litora: Essays Presented to Sergej Karпов for his 60th Birthday*, pp. 627–42.



FIGURE 19 Central regions of the Empire of Trebizond (cartography: Oyat Shukurov).

expanded into political involvement. No registered Italian is found among the lowest social stratum of *paroikoi*.¹⁶⁵

Although Asians numerically exceeded Italians, they rarely attained the highest ranks in the state hierarchy. The prominent positions of *meḡas mesa-zon*, *protobestiarios*, and *meḡas logothetes* were held by Asian immigrants or their descendants only at the very end of the empire. The low percentage of

¹⁶⁵ For more details, see: Shukurov, "Foreigners"; Shukurov, "Латиняне."

emigrants among the aristocracy can be explained by the clannish character of Trapezuntine elite, which was dominated by Greek and Kartvelian noble clans, a tight circle for newcomers to enter.¹⁶⁶

4 The Pontic Nomads

The Asian immigrants described above were sedentary settlers, but it is probable that groups of nomads were also incorporated in Pontic Byzantine society. Byzantine Pontos, unlike west Anatolia, remained almost unaffected by Turkic nomadic migration until the last decades of the thirteenth century. In the Pontos, nomadic migration was directed not from east to west, as it was in most parts of Anatolia, but from *west to east*.

On entering Anatolia in the first half of the thirteenth century, most Turkmen newcomers moved to the west as far as the Seljuk-Nicaean border in the course of a generation. This westward movement in the 1240s and 1250s affected the Pontic region very little. The nomads passed through the territories located farther south from the seacoast. As late as the 1260s–70s, nomads began a reverse movement to the east, passing closer to the Black Sea coast. This reverse movement was caused by a number of large-scale Mongol military operations against Turkmen *uc* on the Seljuk-Byzantine frontier, prompting nomads to search for more peaceable areas.¹⁶⁷ Turkmens started leaving the former province of Paphlagonia roaming eastwards for the Pontos. Karīm al-Dīn Aqsarāyī wrote that “after the death [of Mu‘īn al-Dīn Parwāna] diabolically tempered Turks tore themselves away from the bottle of restraint, and the flame of sedition inflamed because of the raids of *uc*’s heretics.”¹⁶⁸ Mu‘īn al-Dīn Parwāna died in 1277; therefore the nomadic *uc* was set into motion by the end of the 1270s.

Only as late as the 1290s, Turkmens had reached areas under the control of the Grand Komnenoi and adjacent regions up to the borders of Greater Armenia and Georgia. The mass of nomadic raids here was precipitated in ca. 1290 by the revolt of the “Taghāchār emirs” against the Seljuk and Mongol authorities. The rebels devastated a vast region around Tokat and Sivas.¹⁶⁹

166 Cf.: Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 160–61, 173–83.

167 Lippard, Bruce G. “The Mongols and Byzantium, 1243–1341,” Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University (1984), pp. 24–33.

168 Aqsarāyī, p. 118.

169 Aqsarāyī, pp. 190–95, 239–47. On the unrest in the region of Kastamon around the same date and later, see: Korobeinikov, Dimitri. “The Revolt in Kastamonu, ca. 1291–1293,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004), pp. 87–117.

In the mid-1290s, sources reported the exceptional strength of “Turkmen robbers,” apparently nomads, in the area surrounding Turhal.¹⁷⁰ In the mid-1290s the Turkmens may also have occupied Chalybia, an inland district belonging to the Grand Komnenoi, situated to the northeast of Niksar.¹⁷¹

By 1298 the Turkmens moved as far to the east as the Georgian border, devastating Ispir and Bayburt. One of the leaders of these Turkmen hordes was a certain Azat Mūsā.¹⁷² In 1298/99, Rashīd al-Dīn reported that the nomadic Turkmens had flooded “the mountains of Trebizond” (apparently the Pontic Alps in Cheria and Chalybia) and the regions of Erzincan and Bayburt. Rashīd al-Dīn also maintains that the Turkmens recognized neither the supreme power nor the authority of the Muslim *‘ulamā*. Their leader was a certain Shams al-Dīn Turkmānī.¹⁷³ One can trace here reference to a general eastward movement. Further on, Rashīd al-Dīn, writing from Erzincan, expressed gratitude at the arrival of Mongol troops under the command of Tūqī-Nūyān.¹⁷⁴ With this nomadic migration the Mongols made an attempt to defend zones of sedentary agriculture. The nomads must have constituted a serious problem for the Empire of Trebizond as well. The emperor John II Grand Komnenos (1280–97) abruptly changed the political orientation of the empire by normalizing relations with the Mongols of Iran, which had been spoiled in the 1260s–70s by his predecessors.¹⁷⁵ Obviously, John II Grand Komnenos, like Michael VIII Palaiologos some decades before, wanted to use Mongol military strength in his fight with this nomadic offensive. In the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, Mongol military expeditions in the Pontic region were the main factor curbing the Pontic nomads.¹⁷⁶

170 Aqsarāyī, pp. 219–20.

171 Panaretos, p. 63.6–8; Bryer, “Greeks and Türkmens,” p. 143 (an English translation of the relevant passage of Panaretos).

172 Kaukhchishvili, Semen G. *Грузинские источники по истории Византии*, 1 (Tbilisi, 1974), p. 162; Cahen, Claude. *La Turquie pré-ottomane* (Istanbul, 1988), pp. 291–93; Kuršanskis, Michel. “L’empire de Trébizonde et les turcs au 13^e siècle,” *Revue des études byzantines* 46 (1988), p. 123.

173 Rashīd al-Dīn, Faḡl- Allāh. *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafī‘ (Lahore, 1947), pp. 275–76.

174 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, p. 277.

175 Shukurov, Rustam. “Trebizond and the Seljuks (1204–1299),” *Mésogeios. Revue trimestrielle d’études méditerranéennes* 25–26 (2005), pp. 124ff.; for more details, see: Idem. *Белукие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 159–87.

176 Vryonis, Speros. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), p. 245; Cahen, Claude. “Notes pour l’histoire des Turcomanes d’Asie Mineure au XIII^e siècle,” *Journal asiatique* 239 (1951), pp. 335–54.

In this, the events of 1300/01 remarkably demonstrate a direct collaboration between the Grand Komnenian and Mongol authorities. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the Mongols ca. 1301 launched a massive military operation against the Turkmens, who covered the entire Pontic region from Samsun up to Abkhazia (“at the mountain tops and the slopes of the hills of Samsun, Abkhazia, and Trebizond”).¹⁷⁷ A Georgian source confirms this information and its dating, reporting that, in the spring of 1301, Georgia was flooded by Mongol troops.¹⁷⁸ The Grand Komnenoi joined the Mongol operation. In September 1301, the emperor Alexios II Grand Komnenos was reported to have gained an important victory over the Turkmens in Kerasous (modern Giresun), in the result of which “many Turks were slaughtered” and their chief Κουστουγάνης (Küç-Tuğan, “Mighty Falcon”) was captured.¹⁷⁹

The Greeks attached great importance to this victory over Güç-Tuğan at Kerasous. In addition to the chronicle of Panaretos, this victory has been referred to in the writings of John Lazaropoulos (fourteenth century), Stephen Sgouropoulos (fourteenth century), Gregory Chioniades (fourteenth century), and Bessarion (fifteenth century).¹⁸⁰ These Greek sources, apart from mentioning the deaths of many Turks and the capture of their leader, did not explain its significance. It is possible that it was that battle that saved the adjacent Kerasous valleys and the city itself from the threat of the Turkmen occupation and probably stopped the further advance of the Turks to the northeast.¹⁸¹

Küç-Tuğan, who had been captured in Kerasous in 1301, might have been the earliest known leader of the Chalybia Turkmens, known from later sources

177 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, p. 263. Rashīd al-Dīn's information was briefly discussed in: Bryer, Anthony A.M. “The Fate of George Komnenos Ruler of Trebizond (1266–1280),” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 66 (1973), p. 347 and n. 73.

178 Salia, Kalistrat. *Histoire de la nation géorgienne* (Paris, 1980), p. 241.

179 Panaretos, p. 63.15–17.

180 Lazaropoulos, John. *Synopsis miraculorum*, pp. 218–20; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios. *Ανάλεκτα Ιεροσολυμιτικής σταχυολογίας*, 5 vols (St. Petersburg, 1891–98), 1:431–34; Oikonomides, Nicolas. “Σημείωμα περί των επιστολών Γρηγορίου του Χιονιάδου,” *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 20 (1955), pp. 40–41; Lampsides, Odysseus. “Zu Bessarions Lobrede auf Trapezunt,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 35 (1935), p. 17.

181 Some scholars consider this evidence of Greek sources as an indication of the occupation of the city by the nomads in 1301 (see, for instance: Emecen, Feridun M. “Giresun tarihinin bâzı meseleleri,” in: *Giresun tarihi sempozyumu 24–25 Mayıs 1996. Bildiriler* (Istanbul, 1997), pp. 21–22). However, such interpretations seem implausible: it is most likely that Panaretos' reference “the emperor Lord Alexios . . . captured Κουστουγάνης in Kerasous” in fact meant the vicinity of the city.

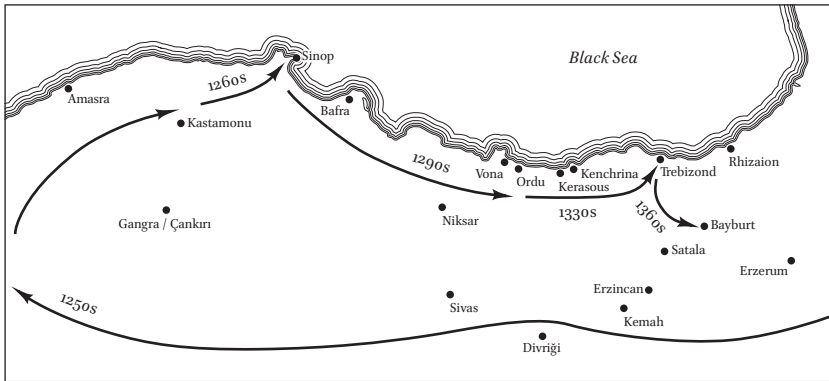


FIGURE 20 Two waves of nomadic migration in the Pontos (cartography: Oyat Shukurov).

as Hâcimiροğulları.¹⁸² The first explicit reference to Hâcimiροğulları is found in the chronicle of Panaretos who relates that, in 1313, Bayram, the father of Hâcimir, attacked pastures in Matzouka. And in 1332, Bayram's Turks raided, once again in Matzouka, up to Asomatos.¹⁸³

The decline of the Ilkhānid military control over Asia Minor in the 1330s resulted in a rapid increase in the pressure of the nomads on sedentary zones in northeastern Anatolia. Thus began, in the 1330s, the second wave of nomadic migration in the Pontic region (Fig. 20). The second wave was directed again from west to east along the Black Sea coast. At least four Turkmen tribes – the Çepni, Aqquyunlu, Bozdoğan, and Duhar – chose the most northerly route through the coastal areas. All four tribes had moved to Anatolia during the Mongol invasion in the first third of the thirteenth century. They could have formed a sort of tribal confederation, which later disintegrated as the result of military and diplomatic countermeasures by the Grand Komnenoi.

The most numerous and powerful among these four tribes was the Çepni. The earliest reference to Çepni I know of can be found in Anatolian and Mamluk sources. According to Aqsarāyī and Qalqashandī (d. 1418), in 1262–63 some Turkmens (*tarākima*) participated in Mu'īn al-Dīn Parwāna's conquest of Sinop, which had been in the hands of the Grand Komnenoi since

182 Zachariadou, "Trebizond and the Turks," pp. 342–43. Cf.: Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," p. 133.

183 Panaretos, pp. 63.24–25, 64.12–15; Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," pp. 143–44; Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, 1:163 n. 38, p. 263; Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, p. 219.

1254.¹⁸⁴ There is little doubt that the sources imply Çepni Turkmens. Qalqashadī (following al-ʿUmārī who died in 1348) noted in connection to Sinop's siege that "there occur wars between him [i.e., the emperor of Trebizond] and the emirs of the Turks, in most of which he suffers defeat."¹⁸⁵ How far from the coast the power of the Grand Komnenoi in 1254–62/63 extended is unknown, as is how close to the seashore the Çepni resided. It seems that Trapezuntine authorities had encountered pressure from the nomadic Çepni on their Sinop possessions prior to 1262–63, during the reign of Manuel I (1238–63). According to Ibn Bibī, in 1277 (before 20 June) the Çepni were again engaged with the Greeks, thwarting a naval attack on Sinop.¹⁸⁶ Thus the Çepni appear to have been in the region of Sinop as early as the 1260s and at least until the late 1270s. Probably the Çepni, as well as other tribes, had been driven by Mongol military expeditions to marginal areas closer to the Black Sea.

Çepni began a slow movement from Sinop to the east toward the borders of the Empire of Trebizond. Approximately seventy years later, having covered the distance of more than 400 km, they approached Trebizond's neighborhood. The first reference to Çepni's presence in the Byzantine Pontos is from Panaretos and dates to 29 June 1348, when the Çepni, in alliance with Akhī Ayna-bek from Erzincan and the Turkmens of Aqquyunlu and Bozdoğan, attacked the city of Trebizond. Panaretos, as usual, was extremely accurate in his transcriptions of Oriental words. He called them Τζιαννίδες (pronounced in Pontic Greek as *çapnides*, sing. Τζιαννίς, *çapnis*), an exact Greek counterpart of the phonetic Turkish *çapni*. The Greeks won the battle after three days and the Turkmens retreated, "losing on their way many Turks."¹⁸⁷ As Bryer has shown, in subsequent decades the Çepni settled in the valley of the Philabonites River (Harşit) some 70 km west of Trebizond, where they had driven out the local

184 Aqsarāyī, p. 83 (Aqsarāyī writes that Muʿīn al-Dīn Parwāna's army included cavalry summoned in the region of Danishmandiya; it is not impossible that these cavalry detachments in fact were neighboring nomads); Qalqashandī, Abū al-Abbās Aḥmad. *Kitāb subḥ al-aʿshā fī kitābat al-inshāʾ*, 14 vols (Cairo, 1913–19), 8:48–49. For an English translation of Qalqashandī's text, see: Shukurov, "Trebizond and the Seljuks," pp. 125–27. For more details, see: Idem. *Великие Комнины и Восток*, p. 166. For the date of the Seljuk conquest of Sinop, see: Peacock, Andrew C.S. "Sinop: A Frontier City in Seljuq and Mongol Anatolia," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16 (2010), pp. 103–24, 537.

185 ʿUmārī, Ibn Faḍl-Allāh. *al-Taʿrīf bi-l-muṣṭalah al-sharīf* (Cairo, 1312/1894–95), p. 58; Qalqashandī, 8:48–49; Shukurov, "Trebizond and the Seljuks," p. 125. For more details, see: Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 172–73, 177, and esp. 185.

186 Ibn Bibī, ed. Houtsma, pp. 332–33; Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 184–85.

187 Panaretos, p. 68.13–19.

Greeks. Having sacrificed the valley, the Grand Komnenoi put limits on the further spread of the Çepni through agricultural zones.¹⁸⁸

We do not know the relations between the Çepni and the imperial authorities, whether they acknowledged the supreme power of the Grand Komnenoi and whether they paid tax or tribute. We do know of two Trapezuntine punitive expeditions in 1370 and 1380 to clear the valley of the Philabonites of the Turkmens. Although both military operations were temporarily successful, according to later Ottoman sources of the second half of the fifteenth century, the Çepni continued to control the valley.¹⁸⁹ The Greeks did, however, succeed in redirecting the expansion of the Çepni to the south, outside the borders of the empire. Due to Greek military pressure, by the end of the fourteenth century the Çepni Turkmens began to settle in Cheriana from where they subsequently moved eastwards. In the eighteenth century, they were found in Lazistan; by 1915, they had reached the border of the Russian empire.¹⁹⁰

Certain Çepni Turkmens had accepted allegiance to the Grand Komnenoi after 1348 at the time of their settling in the valley of the Philabonites. As Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr has shown, in the sixteenth century some Çepni nomadic groups in north Cappadocia, a few hundred kilometres from the former border of Trebizond, professed Christianity.¹⁹¹ Their Christian identity was likely the result of the length of their stay on the territory of the Empire of Trebizond and their Christianization by the Pontic Greeks. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Empire of Trebizond was the only place in central Anatolia where they could have been converted to Orthodox Christianity.

188 Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," pp. 132–33.

189 Panaretos, pp. 77.10–16, 79.12–29; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios. "Τραπεζουντιανά," *Византийский временник* 5 (1898), p. 680; Bryer, Anthony A.M. "Some Trapezuntine Monastic Obits (1368–1563)," *Revue des études byzantines* 34 (1976), pp. 136–37, n. 25; Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," p. 133; Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, pp. 140–41, 258.

190 Tihriñi, Abū Bakr. *Kitāb-i Dīyārbakrīyya*, ed. Necati Lugal, Faruk Sümer, 2 vols (Ankara, 1962–64), 1:42; Chalkokondyles, Laonikos. *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols (Budapest, 1922–27), 1:59.9–11; Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," p. 133; Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, 1:102, 173. For the history of Çepni, see also: Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 241–48; Bilgin, Mehmet. "Türkmen beylikleri ve iskân hareketleri," in *Giresun tarihi sempozyumu 24–25 Mayıs 1996. Bildiriler* (Istanbul, 1997), pp. 101–09; Brendemoen, Bernt. *The Turkish Dialects of Trabzon: Their Phonology and Historical Development*, 1: *Analysis* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 284–86.

191 Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène. "Les Bektaşî à la lumière des recensements ottomans (xv^e–xvi^e siècles)," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 81 (1991), pp. 44–46. See also further discussions in a recent Ph.D. thesis: Uyar, Tolga B. "Art et société en pays de Rum: les peintures 'byzantines' du xiii^e siècle en Cappadoce," Ph.D. Dissertation, Université Paris 1 (Paris, 2011), p. 595 n. 302.

When the Çepni left the Pontos, these Christian tribesmen preferred to settle in predominantly Christian Cappadocia.

A different pattern of relationship between the Turkmens and the Pontic Greeks is represented by the history of the tribe of Aqqyunlu (Turkic “white sheep”).¹⁹² In the 1330s, a certain Tūghānjūq stood at the head of the Aqqyunlu, whose state was situated west of the city of Trebizond (غربی طرابزون).¹⁹³ By 1340 the Aqqyunlu roamed the regions of Kenchrina and Kerasous. Greeks called them Ἀμιτιῶται, a name derived apparently from where they resided ca. 1340 or earlier. According to Bryer, the name Ἀμιτιῶται originated from the place-name Omidie (west of Kerasous),¹⁹⁴ where the Aqqyunlu may have settled on their way from west Anatolia to the Pontos and where one of their leaders Pahlawān-bek might have died.¹⁹⁵

A west Anatolian provenance of the Aqqyunlu may be found in their genealogy, which preserves the Aqqyunlu oral tradition which was transcribed in the fifteenth century. According to Abu Bakr Tihṛānī Isfahānī, Pahlawān-bek first fought against Byzantines in the region of Bursa as an ally of a certain ‘Ajām-Shīr, one of the emirs of the Germiyan principality. Abu Bakr Tihṛānī dates the life of Pahlawān-bek to the reign of the Seljuk sultans Rukn al-Dīn (1249–66) and Ghiyāth al-Dīn (1266–82).¹⁹⁶ In parallel with the early history of Çepni, the Aqqyunlu may have resided in west Anatolia in the 1260s and 1270s and were ousted by the Mongols to Paphlagonia toward the Black Sea coast.

In the period from 1340 to 1352 the Aqqyunlu Turkmens, in alliance with Çepni and other nomadic and sedentary Turks, launched a series of painful blows against the empire. After a series of clashes with the Pontic Greeks (in August 1340, July 1341, August 1341, June 1343, June 1348, and not long before 1352), the Aqqyunlu concluded, unlike the Çepni, an alliance with the Grand

192 For a fresh account of the early history of the Aqqyunlu tribes, see: Brendemoen, *The Turkish Dialects*, pp. 286–88.

193 ‘Umarī, Ibn Faḍl-Allāh. *al-Umaris Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke ‘Masalik al-Absar fi Mamalik al-Amsar’*, Part 1: *Text*, ed. Franz Teaschner (Leipzig, 1929), p. 31; Tihṛānī, 1:174. For more details, see: Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 236–37; cf.: Zachariadou, “Trebizond and the Turks,” p. 346.

194 The question of the origin and semantics of the tribal name Ἀμιτιῶται first was posed by Cahen (Cahen, Claude. *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1968), pp. 363–64) and later discussed by Bryer (Bryer, “Greeks and Türkmens,” pp. 133–34) and Zachariadou (Zachariadou, “Trebizond and the Turks,” pp. 339–41).

195 Tihṛānī, 1:15: Abū Bakr Tihṛānī maintains that Pahlawān-bek died in “Amid,” which, based on my hypothesis of the west Anatolian origin of Aqqyunlu, I am inclined to identify as Omidie (Bryer’s idea initially) misunderstood by Tihṛānī. See: Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 233–36.

196 Tihṛānī, 1:15.

Komnenoi, which was strengthened by the marriage of the Aqqyunlu emir Qutlu-bek to a Trapezuntine princess (1352).¹⁹⁷ In 1355, the Aqqyunlu fought on the side of the emperor Alexios III, who besieged Kerasous, where rebels headed by Scholaris (Scholarios) were entrenched.¹⁹⁸

Thus, in the 1340s and probably until the late 1360s, the Aqqyunlu tribes probably resided in the neighborhood of the city of Trebizond given the remarkable frequency of their attacks against the city. As Bryer has shown, in June 1367 the camp of Qutlu-bek was situated in the *bandon* of Trikomia, approximately in the same area as the Çepni.¹⁹⁹ After 1367, the Aqqyunlu migrated toward Bayburt and Erzincan. According to Muslim Anatolian sources, the first appearance of the Aqqyunlu in the east Anatolian Muslim regions (the northern frontiers of the emirates of Karahisar, Sivas, and Erzincan) dates to as late as 1379.²⁰⁰ Adnan Erzi's suggestion that, in the 1330s Ibn Baṭṭūta, when writing about Turkmen nomads near Erzerum meant the Aqqyunlu and Qaraqyunlu (Turkic "black sheep") is not substantiated by available sources; the 1330s was too early a date for the appearance of the Aqqyunlu here, as in the 1330s the Aqqyunlu were still on their way from the west to Trebizond.²⁰¹

In connection with the events of June 1348, Michael Panaretos mentions another Turkmen tribe residing in the vicinities of Trebizond. He refers to a certain Ποσδογάνης, Bozdoğan (Turkic "grey falcon"), apparently the leader of a Turkmen tribe whose name became the eponym of Bozdoğanlı. I suggest that the Bozdoğanlı appeared in the Pontos having come from the west, and not from inner eastern Anatolia. In the Oriental sources of eastern Anatolia, the

197 Panaretos, p. 68.13–19; Libadenos, Andrew. *Ανδρέου Λιβαδηνού βίος και έργα*, ed. Odysseus Lampides (Athens, 1975), p. 74.26–30; Tihirānī, 1:12–3 (for a Turkish translation of this passage, see: Erzi, Adnan S. "Akkoyunlu ve Karakoyunlu tarihi hakkında araştırmalar," *Belleten, Türk Tarih Kurumu* 18 (1954), pp. 190–91. For an abridged version of this passage, see: Muşliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Муслих ал-Дин Мухаммад, Мир'ат ал-адвар (Mir'at al-adwār)*, St. Petersburg, Department of Manuscripts, St. Petersburg Branch, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, C 427, fol. 237v). For a detailed discussion of the relevant sources, see: Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 238–44.

198 Libadenos, p. 74.26–30.

199 Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," pp. 146 n. 136; Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, 1:258.

200 Astarābādī, p. 163: 'Azīz Astarābādī reports that a certain "son of Qutlu-bek" fought against the Sivas army that besieged Erzincan. I suggest that Astarābādī meant one of the Aqqyunlu princes here.

201 Erzi, "Akkoyunlu ve Karakoyunlu," p. 188 n. 36; Woods, John E. *The Aqqyunlu. Clan, Confederation, Empire. A Study in 15th/9th Century Turco-Iranian Politics. Revised and Expanded Edition* (Salt Lake City, 1999), p. 46.

first references to that tribe appear as late as 1392, 1395, and 1396.²⁰² My suggestion may be supported by toponymic evidence: in the emirate of Aydın a place named Bozdoğan can be found and another place by the same name is registered in Trikomia in the Pontos.²⁰³

Turkmens of Duharlu, a branch of Qaraqyunlu Turkmens first appeared in the chronicle of Panaretos (1340), and their presence in the Muslim part of eastern Anatolia was attested later, by the end of the fourteenth century.²⁰⁴ It is probable that the Duharlu tribe came to Anatolia from Central Asia during the Mongol invasion, as testified by the legendary tradition of Qaraqyunlu, of which the Duharlu was a branch.²⁰⁵ Apparently, some other Turkmens, who appeared in the coastal regions of the Pontos in the 1330s, came from the west, perhaps establishing the emirate of Niksar in Jānik.²⁰⁶

A remarkable feature of the Pontic situation is that some groups of nomads apparently wandered Trapezuntine territories as subjects of the Grand Komnenoi. In addition to the case of the Christian Çepni, this is substantiated by linguistic data. Brendemoen has shown that, by the fourteenth century, a significant group of Pontic nomads was bilingual and spoke both Turkic and Greek. Moreover, the earliest Turkic dialect of the Pontos was based on the Aqqyunlu Turkic dialect under the influence of Pontic Greek.²⁰⁷ This implies that the Aqqyunlu stayed long enough on predominantly Greek-speaking territories in relatively peaceful contact with local Greeks to form a new Turkic dialect. The peaceful relations between Byzantine authorities and the

202 Astarābādī, pp. 475, 491–92; Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn. *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā, 8 vols (Beirut, 1997), 3:422, 442, 782, 906; Ibn Taghribirdī. *Annals, entitled ʿan-Nujum az-zahira fī muluk Misr wal-Qahira*, ed. W. Popper, 5, pts 1–4 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1936), pp. 548, 584. For more details, see: Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 237–38, 249. For the Bozdoğanogulları in the time of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II, see: Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 267. For the twentieth-century Bozdoğan Turkmens, see: Riza, Yalman. “Cenupta bozdoğanlılar,” *Ülke* 3/17 (1934), pp. 356–58.

203 Wittek, Paul. *Das Fürstentum Mentesche. Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13–15 Jahrhundert* (Istanbul, 1934), pp. 168, 169, 174; Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, 1:161.

204 Woods, *Aqqyunlu*, p. 203; Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 276; Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 242, 249.

205 Nishāpūri, ʿIbād-Allāh b. ʿAbd-Allāh. *Taʾriḫ-i Turkmāniyya*, London, British Library MS, Ethé 573, fol. 21r–22r. An edition and Russian translation of the relevant passage, see in: Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, p. 248.

206 Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 216–19.

207 Brendemoen, *The Turkish Dialects*, pp. 284–90.

Aqqyunlu Turks could easily be seen as a transition of at least some part of the Aqqyunlu Turkmens to the jurisdiction of the Grand Komnenoi.

Similar models of interrelation with nomads may have been developed by Michael VIII Palaiologos in the 1260s when borderlands in western Anatolia were flooded by Turkic tribes fleeing the Mongols.²⁰⁸

Though surviving evidence of nomadic subjects of the Grand Komnenoi is incomplete, it suggests specific patterns of coexistence between Turkic nomads and Byzantine sedentary society.

5 Christians and Crypto-Muslims

Of those with Oriental names, 63 percent were also identified in the sources by their baptismal name. This means that all of these were Christians. Although the Oriental bynames of the remaining 37 percent were not accompanied by baptismal names, there is no sufficient reason to suggest that they were not Christians. That most of them had a Christian identity can be evidenced by their activity as witnesses in deals and holders of offices in provincial and central administration. In this sense, the Pontic material is in accordance with what we know from the west Byzantine lands. The naturalization of infidel barbarians to Byzantine society, as an inevitable prerequisite, supposed conversion to Orthodoxy. Some Asian immigrants or their descendants were successful enough in their assimilation with local Orthodox Greeks as to enter the class of clerics. In Matzouka we find the priests Γεώργιος Ἀλπούσης,²⁰⁹ Σαβούλης,²¹⁰ Μιχαήλ Σαμούχης,²¹¹ Εὐστάθιος Χουρτζιριώτης, the monks Σάβας Τζηλιπή²¹² and Νύμφων Χουρτζιριώτης, the *hieromonachos* Μακάριος Κουνούκης,²¹³ and yet another priest in Gemora by the name Χατζή.²¹⁴ In 1401/02, Σάβας Καρίμ(ης), in an inscription in the monastery of St. Anna in Trebizond, called himself “God’s slave” (δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ), to be understood as an indication of his being a

208 Pachymeres, George. *Georges Pachymères, Relations Historiques*, ed. Albert Failler, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), 1:185.25–187.10, see also above Chapter 5.3.

209 *AVaz*, nos 45.10 (1260–70), 79.38–39 (1260); *PLP*, no. 700.

210 *AVaz*, no. 147.11 (fifteenth c.); *PLP*, no. 24669.

211 *AVaz*, no. 59.22 (ca. 1265); *PLP*, no. 24779.

212 Bryer, “Monastic Obits,” p. 134 (d. 1406); *PLP*, no. 27910.

213 *AVaz*, no. 151.4 (fifteenth c.); *PLP*, no. 13486.

214 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 5:279.26: οἰκίας τοῦ Χατζή ἱερέως (1364); *PLP*, no. 30718.

monk.²¹⁵ The ratio of clerics among Asian immigrants for Trebizond is similar to the figure for Macedonia.

In the Pontic region under the rule of the Grand Komnenoi, groups of crypto-Muslims could have been present, that is, Asian immigrants who formally adopted Christianity but secretly continued to practice Islam. It follows from a passage from the Persian *Geography* of Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Abd-Allāh Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 1430). Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, a native of Herat in Khorasan, is noted as a close friend and historian of Tamerlane (1370–1404). Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū was said to be an expert chess player and one of the most educated and enlightened persons of his time. After the death of Timur, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū became the official historiographer of Tamerlane’s son Shāhrukh, ruler of Iran in 1415–47.²¹⁶ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū is well known to modern scholars as the author of the extensive historical compilations *Dhayl-i Jāmi‘ al-tawārikh* and *Majma al-tawārikh*.²¹⁷ His numerous historical writings in Persian are commonly considered to be a basic and reliable source for the history of Tamerlane and his successors. Apart from his undoubted scholarly abilities, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū’s knowledge was based on the fact that he spent most of his life as a member of the king’s entourage. He was an eyewitness to many events and had access to the archives of the Timurid chancellery.

215 Millet, Gabriel. “Les monastères et les églises de Trébizonde,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 19 (1895), p. 436 (τοῦ Καρίμι); *PLP*, no. 11195.

216 On Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū’s biography and historical works, see: Storey, Charles A. *Персидская литература. Био-библиографический обзор*, ed. Yurij Bregel, 3 vols (Moscow, 1972), 1:341–49; Barthold, Wasilij W. “Хафизы Абру и его сочинение,” in *Al-Muzaffariya. Сборник статей учеников профессора барона Виктора Романовича Розена ко дню двадцатипятилетия его первой лекции* (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 1–28; Tauer, Felix. “Hafizi Abru sur l’historiographie,” in *Mélanges d’orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé* (Tehran, 1963), pp. 10–25; introduction by Khānbābā Bayānī in his edition of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū’s text: Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. *Dhayl-i jami‘ al-tawārikh-i Rashidi*, ed. Khānbābā Bayānī (Tehran, 1939).

217 The autograph manuscript of the latter, which belonged to the library of Shāhrukh and later passed to Istanbul (and is now in the Topkapı Library), is illuminated with 142 famous fifteenth-century miniatures; one or more other manuscripts of the same work have been also lavishly illustrated: Ettinghausen, Richard. “An Illuminated Manuscript of Hafiz-i Abru in Istanbul, Part I,” in *Kunst des Orients*, ed. E. Kühnel, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp. 30–44. For other illustrations, see: Grube, Ernst. *Muslim Miniature Paintings* (Venice, 1962), nos 37–40; Lentz, Thomas and Lowry, Glenn. *Timur and the Princely Vision* (Los Angeles, 1989), nos 27–28; Robinson, Basil. *Persian Miniature Paintings from Collections in the British Isles* (London, 1967), no. 15; *Treasures of Islam*, ed. Toby Falk (Geneva, 1985), no. 27; *Eredità dell’ Islam: Arte islamica in Italia*, ed. Giovanni Curatola (Venice, 1993), no. 227, pp. 373–75.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū composed his *Geography* on the orders of the sultan Shāhrukh between AD 1414 and 1420.²¹⁸ It is an extensive work containing geographical descriptions of the climates of the world, including the Muslim and Christian Mediterranean and Byzantine lands, often supplemented with historical sketches. The *Geography* is believed to have been based on an earlier Muslim geographical tradition, in particular the works in Arabic of Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muhallabī and al-Idrīsī and the Persian compilation of Ḥamd-Allāh Qazwīnī. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū considerably supplemented the tradition with an abundance of information concerning the time of the emir Timur and his successors.²¹⁹ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū was, however, unable to finish his *Geography*, because Shāhrukh ordered him to devote his activities to other historical work. So, his narration, obscure in many cases, apparently required editing and emendation for which the author had had no spare time.²²⁰

A section of *Geography* entitled “The Description of the Armenian Land and Farangistan”²²¹ contains some not entirely clear information. In his account Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū divided Armenia into two parts, namely Greater Armenia and Lesser Armenia. Within Greater Armenia he distinguishes, as many other Muslim sources did, “[the land] relating to Azerbaijan” (that is eastern Greater Armenia) and “[the land] relating to the country of Rūm” (namely western Greater Armenia). His further description of western Greater Armenia introduces the following odd information. The passage reads:²²²

218 For a critical edition of the complete text of “Geography,” see: Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū*, ed. Šādiq Sajjādī, 3 vols (Tehran, 1997–99).

219 Krachkovskij, Ignatij. *Избранные сочинения*, 6 vols (Moscow, 1955–60), 4:234–36; Barthold, Wasilij W. *Сочинения*, 9 vols (Moscow, 1963–77), 1:104 n. 7. Geography’s historical account of Khorasan is widely acknowledged as an exceptionally important source of information for the history of Iran in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū: qismat-i rub‘i Khurāsān, Hirāt*, ed. Māyil Hirāwī (Tehran, 1970).

220 There are quite a few surviving copies of *Geography*, most of which are illuminated with geographical maps; hence, one may think that the book was valued highly in the Persian-speaking world. For more on the maps of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū’s *Geography*, see: *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. Brian Harley and David Woodward, vols 1–2 (Chicago and London, 1987–98), 2:390–92.

221 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā*, ed. Sajjādī, 2:15–20.

222 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā*, ed. Sajjādī, 2:20. و همچنین آنچه متصل مملکت روم است حاکم ایشان مسلمانست و رعایا بعضی مسلمان و بعضی ارمنی باشند. فاما در دار الملک فرنج حاکم ایشان نیز ترسا است و در میان ایشان مسلمانان باشند، اما ایشان آشکارا بر دین ترسائی باشند. در زمانی که حضرت امیر صاحبقران انار الله برهانه فتح بلاد روم و شام فرموده، ایلچی ایشان آمد و پیشکش و خدمات و آنچه وظیفه اذعان و انقیاد باشد به تقدیم رسانیدند. اما لشکر به اصل دار الملک ایشان نرسید، و السلام علی من اتبع الهدی.

As to that [part of Greater Armenia] adjoining the country of Rūm, their governor is a Muslim and his subjects are partly Muslims and partly Armenians. In the Frankish capital city their ruler is a Christian. There are Muslims among them but openly they are of the Christian faith. When His Majesty Amīr Šāhib-Qirān [i.e., emir Timur], may God elucidate his proofs [on Judgement Day], deigned to conquer Rūm and Syria, their embassy came and presented numerous gifts, and reverences, and everything which was among the obligations of allegiance and subjection. However, the army did not reach their capital city itself. Blessing upon those who follow [God's] instructions!

In other words, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū asserts that there is a “Frankish” country near western Greater Armenia, the ruler of which is a Christian; however, some of his subjects, outwardly Christian, secretly profess Islam, and hence may be designated as crypto-Muslims.

The passage starts with Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's statement that the westernmost part of Greater Armenia, bordering upon the region of Rūm, is under Muslim control and is populated by Muslims and Armenian Christians. This first point of the passage presents no problem. The western part of Greater Armenia was governed in Tamerlane's time by the Muslim emir Muṭahhartan (1379–1403) and later by the Turkmens of the Aqqyunlu and Qaraqyunlu tribes,²²³ inhabited by Muslims and Armenian and Greek Christians. According to Armenian sources, the local Armenians lived in peace with Muṭahhartan and the Aqqyunlu leaders.²²⁴ Questions arise with the identity of the “Franks” in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's reference to “the Frankish capital city” and to the sovereign of these crypto-Muslims.

Muslim authors from the thirteenth century onward occasionally designated both Constantinopolitan and Trebizond Greeks as Franks and their lands as Farangistān.²²⁵ Elsewhere in his work Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū confirms this terminology saying: “the region of Armenia is located by the side of the country

223 Shukurov, “Between Peace and Hostility,” pp. 36–41; Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 216, 283–91.

224 Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts*, 1425 (9), 1435 (2, 3); Metsobetsi, Thomas. *История Тимулланка и его преемников* (Baku, 1957), p. 69.

225 For instance, the Pontic Greeks, subjects of the Grand Komnenoi, are called “Franks” in the following sources: *Histoire des Seldjoukides d'Asie Mineure par un anonyme*, ed. F.N. Uzluq (Ankara, 1952), p. 44, and *Tarix-e al-e Saljuq dar Anatoli compiled by Unknown Author*, ed. Nādira Jalālī (Tehran, 1999), p. 87 (account of the events of 1214); Abū al-Fidā, Ismā'īl. *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ed. Joseph Toussaint Reinaud et al. (Paris, 1840), p. 393; Ibn Bibī, ed. Houtsma, p. 238 (referring to the events of 1243); Aqsarāyī, p. 83 (the Seljuk conquest of Sinop in 1262–63). For similar usages, see also: Cahen, Claude. “Seldjoukides

of Farangistān” (ولایت ارمن در پیش مملکت فرنگستانست).²²⁶ Undoubtedly, “Farangistān” and “Frankish” here imply “Byzantine lands” and the “Byzantines.” The information concerning the ruler of “the Frankish capital city” and his crypto-Muslim subjects appears to be a digression from the main subject and deals with lands located *outside* western Greater Armenia. But which part of the Byzantine world – which, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, was divided between the European possessions of the Palaiologoi and those of the Grand Komnenoi in the Pontos – is meant here?

It is reasonable to suggest that Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū is discussing here an Anatolian Christian state adjacent to the farthest northwest edge of Greater Armenia. The only Christian state located on the northwest border of Greater Armenia which survived until the time of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū was the Empire of Trebizond. This suggestion is also confirmed by earlier Muslim geographical usage well known to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, such as in the Arabic geographical compilation of Ibn Khurdābeh (d. 912) or the Persian *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* (tenth c.), that Armenia was contiguous to the Byzantine (Rūmī) province of Chaldia (*khāldiyya* in Oriental sources).²²⁷ As we know, after 1204 the major part of Chaldia had passed into the hands of the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, constituting the main body of their possessions in the Pontos.

Further on, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū relates that this Frankish ruler sent an embassy to Tamerlane with ample gifts, and that Tamerlane’s army never reached the Frankish capital. Both statements can be confirmed by what we know about the relations between the Grand Komnenoi and Tamerlane. According to the well-known letter of Tamerlane to the Byzantine emperor John VII Palaiologos and to some Oriental sources, in April and May of 1402 Tamerlane, at the beginning of his famous campaign against the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (1389–1402), stayed with his army near Erzincan, some 50 km to the south of the Trapezuntine border. Possibly before this date, in 1400–02, the emperor Manuel III Grand Komnenos (1390–1417), like his intimate allies John VII Palaiologos and the Erzincan emir Muṭāhhartan, outwardly recognized the sovereignty of Timur but was simultaneously secretly negotiating with the sul-

de Rûm, byzantins et francs d’après le ‘Seljuknameh’ anonyme,” in *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* (Brussels, 1951), p. 102; Vryonis, *The Decline*, p. 234 n. 550.

226 Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā*, ed. Sajjādī, 2:19.

227 Ibn Khordadbeh. *Kitāb al-masalik wa’l-mamalik* (*Liber viarum et regnorum*), et excerpta e *Kitāb al-kharadj*, auctore Kodama ibn Dja’far, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Lyon, 1889), p. 108; *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*, ‘The regions of the World’, a Persian geography, 372 A.H.–982 A.D., transl. and expl. Vladimir Minorsky, with preface by W.W. Barthold, translated from Russian (London, 1937), fol. 37.

tan Bayezid. In about 1400, Bayezid restored Kerasous to Manuel III (lost by the Greeks in 1396–97) in exchange for Manuel's support against Timur. It seems that the intrigues of Manuel III outraged the emir. Timur sent his army toward Trebizond and demanded that the emperor Manuel III confirm his allegiance. Although Trebizond itself had not been attacked by Chaghatay troops, Manuel III, who probably visited Timur's camp in person, somehow proved his loyalty and, as a sign of his recognition of the supreme power of the Chaghatay emir, promised to supply Timur with twenty battleships.²²⁸ This is likely the Trapezuntine embassy that Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū described.²²⁹

Therefore, if Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū in this passage is referring to the Grand Komnenoi, the rulers of the Empire of Trebizond, his remark, "There are Muslims among them but openly they are of the Christian faith," would concern the subjects of the Grand Komnenoi, the population of the Byzantine Pontos. It is thus, a unique, albeit laconic, reference to the existence of crypto-Muslim groups in Byzantine lands.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, with access to the state archives of his sovereigns and the best secondary sources of his time, is unique for the entire body of Muslim (Arabic, Persian, Turkic) and Christian (including Greek, west European, Armenian, and Georgian) primary sources of Anatolian history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. No other author or document has mentioned anything of

228 Timur's letter to John VII (more precisely, its Latin translation) has been much published and commented upon. For a discussion of the letter and, in general, relations between the Grand Komnenoi and Tamerlane, see: Sanuto Marino. *Vitae ducum Venetorum*, in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, 22, ed. L. Muratori (Milan, 1733), pp. 797–98; Bryer, Anthony A.M. "Shipping in the Empire of Trebizond," *Mariner's Mirror* 52 (1966), p. 5; Fallmerayer, Jakob. *Geschichte des Kaisertums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), pp. 227–28; Alexandrescu-Dersca, Marie Mathilde. *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)* (Bucharest, 1942), pp. 123–24; Janssens, Emile. *Trébizonde en Colchide* (Brussels, 1969), pp. 124–25; Miller, William. *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 72. Some additional interpretations and bibliographical references are summarised in: Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 260–92.

229 It would be tempting to understand the passage on the "Frankish embassy" as a reference to the well-known Palaiologan embassy to Timur accepted by him in Altuntaş near Ephesus in autumn 1402: Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur*, pp. 86, 132; Matschke, Klaus-Peter. *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar, 1981), pp. 66–67; Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 283–84 and nn. 77–78; cf.: Schreiner, Peter. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols (Vienna, 1975–79), 2:371–73. That embassy attracted the attention of Persian contemporaries and its details undoubtedly were well known to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 283–84). However, the whole context of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's narration and, especially, the probable Pontic localisation of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's "Frankish capital" prompt me to prefer the Trapezuntine parallel.

the existence of intact groups of crypto-Muslims in the eastern Mediterranean. We need to question whether Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's comment is an authorial misunderstanding, an editorial error, or perhaps a unique reference to a real feature of the socioreligious life of this region, formerly unknown and unrecorded by others.

Hints as to this phenomenon of crypto-Islamicity in sources from various periods of Byzantine history lead one to consider Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's comment plausible. One of the earliest cases is represented by the *koubikoularios* Samonas, a confidential agent of the emperor Leo VI (886–912), who is believed to have remained a Muslim while filling high posts in the court hierarchy.²³⁰ A less well-known case has been described by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913–59) who accused the *protospatharios* Chase, originally a Muslim newcomer (Saracen) and later a confidant of the Byzantine emperor Alexander (912–13), of continuing to be “a true Saracen in thought and manners and religion.”²³¹ Had the *koubikoularios* Samonas and *protospatharios* Chase not confessed Christianity they would not have occupied court offices. Samonas and Chase are plausibly the earliest known crypto-Muslims in Byzantine history.²³² One more instance of crypto-Islamicity is the case of the baptized Turk ‘Alishīr who, however, repented and returned to Christianity (see above Chapter 6.3).

Crypto-Islamicity seems to be not entirely incredible in the Byzantine socio-religious experience. Its traces, albeit infrequent and fragmentary, can be found in primary sources. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's evidence, however, implies not so much Muslim individuals but a relatively large, religiously and, probably, ethnically compact group of Muslim newcomers. Perhaps these newly Christianized Muslims appeared in marginal zones of the Empire of Trebizond where the centralized control of civil and church institutions was weak. Throughout the history of the empire Asian immigrants penetrated Matzouka, situated in mountainous and arduous terrain, in spite of its being the most fortified and defended region of the empire. The presence of Turks might well have been even more substantial in the limitrophe valleys to the southwest and southeast of Matzouka. These zones by their social and cultural ambiance could have

230 See, for instance: Jenkins, Romilly J.H. “The Flight of Samonas,” *Speculum* 23 (1948), pp. 217–35; Canard, Marius. “Deux épisodes des relations diplomatiques arabo-byzantines au x^e siècle,” *Bulletin d'étude orientales de l'Institut français de Damas* 13 (1949–50), pp. 51–69.

231 Porphyrogenetos, Constantine. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio*, Greek text ed. Gyula Moravcsik, English translation Romilly J.H Jenkins, new rev. ed. (Washington, DC, 1967), pp. 50, 202–03.

232 A similar example has been noted also by Oikonomides for the twelfth century with reference to *Dānīshmand-nāma* in which he detects the signs of the presence of “crypto-musulmans” (Oikonomides, Nicolas. “Les Danīshmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le sultanat d'Iconium,” *Revue Numismatique* 6e série 25 (1983), pp. 195–96).

been similar to the southwestern continental lowlands between Kerasous and Trebizond which were inhabited by the nomadic tribes of the Çepni, Aqquyunlu, Duharlu, and Bozdoğan Turks, some of whom were the subjects of the emperor. Christian Turks were an inevitable byproduct of the defensive activity by Byzantines. Voluntary Christianization may well have been the only way for a Turkish migrant to enter Byzantine society. The inflexibility of both civil and church legal systems with respect to Islam led either to the immediate Christianization of Muslim migrants, to the formation of religious Christian and Islamic syncretism, or to the inevitable appearance of newly baptized Christians who continued secretly to profess Islam. Very likely, it was a latter group of neophyte Christian Turks that was implied by Ḥāfiz-i Abrū. If Ḥāfiz-i Abrū's testimony did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it.

6 Penetration of Asians into Trebizond

Ethnic diffusion in northeast Anatolia undoubtedly was common to both sides of the Trapezuntine-Muslim border. Oriental sources contain numerous references to Greek slaves from the Pontic regions. At the turn of the fourteenth century Rashīd al-Dīn, then the Ilkhānid vizier, requested that his son in Sivas deliver to Tabriz forty Greek (*rūmī*) male and female slaves.²³³ Chūpānid rulers Shaykh Ḥasan and Malik Ashraf, who for some time stayed in Karahisar in the Muslim part of the Pontos, brought to Tabriz a considerable number of Greek slaves, one of whom was directly identified by a source as having originated from Jānik in the Pontic region.²³⁴ In 1389, the Sivas sultan gave Greek slaves to the emir of Sinop and Kastamon.²³⁵ Some Greeks appear among the Mamluks of Egypt, where slaves were brought particularly from Sivas.²³⁶ Most likely, these "Greek slaves" were predominantly subjects of the Grand Komnenoi who had been captured in the course of Turkic raids. By contrast, Greeks living in Greater Armenia, Cappadocia, and elsewhere in Muslim Anatolia, according to sharia law, were under the protection of Muslim rulers and could not be enslaved. The Acts of Vazelon cite numerous examples of the captivity of Greeks from Matzouka by the invading Muslims:

233 Rashīd al-Dīn, Faḍl- Allāh. *Илепенуска*, transl., comment. A.I. Falina (Moscow, 1971), p. 120.

234 Quṭbī Aharī, Abū Bakr. *Tapuxu Illeŭx Yeeŭc*, transl., comment. M. Kiazimov and V. Piriev (Baku, 1984), pp. 123, 124.

235 Astarābādī, p. 389.

236 Popper, William. *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 AD* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957), p. 13.

ca. 1245 – Palaionmatzouka, one male captive (τὸ αἰχμάλωτόν μου);²³⁷

1261– southern Matzouka, five male captives;²³⁸

second half of the thirteenth century – southwestern Matzouka, a redeemed female captive (for 850 *aspra*);²³⁹

ca. 1300 – central and northern Matzouka, five male captives;²⁴⁰

ca. 1302 – Palaionmatzouka, unidentified number of captives or killed by the Muslims;²⁴¹

first half of the fourteenth century – Palaionmatzouka, one captive;²⁴²

1344 – central Matzouka, unidentified number of captives (τὰ αἰχμάλωτά μου);²⁴³

Not all the acts give the number of prisoners, but approximately twenty people are mentioned, a considerable figure since the total number of known subjects of the empire was about 1,600. Consequently, as much as 1.25 percent of the subjects of the Grand Komnenoi were described as captives.

Direct indications of the influx of Asian barbarians are not numerous. The sources do, however, allow a rough outline of specific patterns of their incorporation into Byzantine Pontic society, material that is better known to us from the Byzantine West. Naturally the war was one of the most important sources of barbaric influx when Pontic Greeks seized prisoners in their military clashes with sedentary and nomadic Turks. Panaretos refers to the following instances:

1340 – the Greeks “looting the *amitiotai* [Turks] took abundant booty” (κουρσεύσαντες τοὺς Ἀμιτιώτας ἐπῆραν κοῦρσα πολλά), which implies also captives;

1355 – the Greeks “looted [Turks], besieged, and took prisoners” (ἐκουρσεύσαμεν, ἐπολιορκήσαμεν καὶ ἡχμαλωτίσαμεν);

1361 – “the Matzoukans . . . slaughtered up to 200 Turks and took even more prisoners, as well as many horses and arms” (οἱ δέ γε Ματζουκαῖται . . . ἔκτειναν ὥσει 200 Τούρκους καὶ πλείους ἀρπάσαντες καὶ ἄλογα καὶ ἄρματα πολλά);

1380 – the emperor, having attacked the Çepni Turks, “plundered their tents, slaughtered and burnt and captured them, and set free many captives of

237 *AVaz*, no. 16.4.

238 *AVaz*, no. 38.9.

239 *AVaz*, no. 107.22.

240 *AVaz*, no. 106.142–3, 152, 154, 162, 195, 313.

241 *AVaz*, no. 65.14–5: “διὰ τῆς ἐπελεύσεως τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἀπελείφθησαν οἱ κατὰ συγγένειάν μοι διαφέροντες.”

242 *AVaz*, no. 66.6.

243 *AVaz*, no. 100.36–9.

ours" (καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς αὐτῶν ἐκούρσευσεν, ἐσκότωσεν, ἔκαυσεν καὶ ἐλήϊσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὰ ἡμέτερα αἰχμάλωτα ἤλευθέρωσεν).²⁴⁴

In all these instances the Greeks probably captured not only Turkic warriors but also their women and children. The taking of Turkic prisoners is referred to by John Lazaropoulos in his *Synopsis* for 1230 and by Bessarion in his *Enkomion of Trebizond*.²⁴⁵ Muslim captives "in highlands of Rūm" (most likely the Pontic mountains) are mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn.²⁴⁶ The Pontic Greeks fought their Turkic enemies almost continuously in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The scale of military operations was usually rather limited; clashes between Greeks and Turks normally numbered from both sides not more than several hundred persons.²⁴⁷

Consequently, prisoners of war were not numerous in each of the battles. The logical destiny of prisoners of war was enslavement. The direct indications of enslavement of war captives can be found in sources: Bessarion in one of his descriptions of Greek-Turkic military struggle says "καὶ ψυχὰς αὐτῶν δουλοῦμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα" ("enslaving both their souls and bodies")²⁴⁸ and Lazaropoulos writes about the Seljuk-Greek war of 1230 "καὶ ὅσοι ἡχμαλωτίσθησαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς δούλους ὑπήχθησαν" ("all of them were taken captive by the Romans and enslaved").²⁴⁹ The existence of slavery in the Empire of Trebizond is not questioned; however, the few documents that mention slaves in Trebizond or from Trebizond are silent about those who originated from Anatolia.²⁵⁰ Slaves in Christian captivity accepted baptism and a new Christian name;²⁵¹ therefore

244 Panaretos, pp. 65.30–31, 71.28–29, 73.27–29, 79.18–19. Cf. also with an English translation of these passages in: Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," pp. 144–47. For more details on these clashes, see: Shukurov, "Between Peace and Hostility," pp. 55–56, 35, 34, 39, 44, 64.

245 Lazaropoulos, *Synopsis miraculorum*, lines 1183ff.; Lampsides, Odysseus. Ο εἰς Τραπεζούντα λόγος του Βησσαρίωνος," *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 39 (1984), p. 68.15–17. On the Seljuk attack against Trebizond in 1230, see: Shukurov, "Trebizond and the Seljuks," pp. 92–99, 108–11. See, however, Peacock, Andrew C.S. "The Saljūq Campaign against the Crimea and the Expansionist Policy of the Early Reign of 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser., 16/2 (2006), pp. 145–48, who tries to restore the traditional dating of the Seljuk campaign (1223).

246 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Переписка*, pp. 307–08.

247 Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, p. 60; Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, p. 153.

248 Lampsides, Ο εἰς Τραπεζούντα λόγος του Βησσαρίωνος, p. 68.15–17.

249 Lazaropoulos, *Synopsis miraculorum*, lines 1566–67.

250 See, for instance: Карпов, Sergej P. "Венецианская работоторговля в Трапезунде (к. 14–н. 15 вв.)," in *Византийские очерки* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 191–207; Bryer, "The Estates," p. 388.

251 Карпов, "Венецианская работоторговля в Трапезунде," p. 201.

it is likely that some Christianized Asian immigrants from my Pontic anthropomorphic database were formerly slaves, as with most Asian *paroikoi*.

Another source of infiltration of barbarians into Trapezuntine society was represented by Turkic mercenaries in the service of the Grand Komnenoi. Some Turkic troops in the army of Alexios III were referred to by Andrew Libadenos in his *Periegesis* as ξύμμαχοι μισθοφόροι βάρβαροι (“allied mercenary barbarians”).²⁵² In all probability, they were Aqqyunlu tribesmen. Separate alliances could be concluded with neighboring Turks by the local Trapezuntine aristocratic clans and provincial cities.²⁵³ Information survives about the Turkic influence on the appearance of Trapezuntine soldiers.²⁵⁴ Clavijo noted that “Greeks are armed with bows, swords, and other weapons like Turks and also ride horses in the manner of the latter.”²⁵⁵ Greeks also borrowed the military and court titles χουρτζής (probably in the mid-thirteenth century) and ἀμυρτζαντάριος (at least by the first half of the fourteenth century) and the respective stratiot denominations of χουρτζιρίωται and ἀμυ(ρ)τζανταράνται.²⁵⁶ These Oriental terms entered the Byzantine Pontic milieu through those barbarians who were in the military service of the Grand Komnenoi in the capacity of mercenaries or allies. Asian immigrants, however, did not play a decisive role in the formation of the Trapezuntine army, in contrast to Palaiologan Byzantium, since borders of the empire were stable and Trebizond did not lack its own human resources.

Another possible source of influx of Asian immigrants to Trebizond was international trade. The cause of the Seljuk attack against Trebizond in 1205/06 was the obstacles to trade imposed on Muslim merchants by the authorities of Trebizond.²⁵⁷ It highlights the importance of Pontic routes for Anatolian trade. An anonymous Persian geographer of the beginning of the thirteenth century and the Mamluk geographer al-ʿUmarī confirm that the route through Trebizond to Crimea and the Qipchaq steppes was important for Muslim merchants.²⁵⁸ As Zachariadou has shown, in the fourteenth century the foreign policy of the region was predetermined by the Pontic states’ desire to protect

252 Libadenos, pp. 74.26–30, 82.3–8.

253 Shukurov, “Between Peace and Hostility,” p. 60.

254 Bryer, “Greek and Türkmens,” p. 140.

255 Clavijo, *Embajada*, p. 71.

256 On χουρτζής and ἀμυρτζαντάριος, see above Section 2.

257 Shukurov, “Trebizond and the Seljuks,” pp. 75–78.

258 *ʿAjāʾib al-Dunyā. Adjaʾib ad-Dunyā (Чудеса мира)* ed. L.P. Smirnova (Moscow, 1993), pp. 24, 26–27; ʿUmarī, *Bericht*, p. 53; Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 90–91.

trade and establish control over caravan routes.²⁵⁹ It is possible that some of Khazar and Cuman names discussed previously initially belonged to Qipchaq slaves who were brought by merchants from the north Black Sea region.

One succinct and obscure remark of Gregoras may indicate the settling of some “Persian” astrologers in the Empire of Trebizond. Gregoras speaks of some predictive “letters” (γράφαι) that came to Palaiologan Byzantium from certain Italians and also “Persian immigrants” (Περσῶν ἀποσπάδες) in Trebizond.²⁶⁰ The prophesies, which rouse the indignation of Gregoras by their “unscientific” content, probably were received in Byzantium ca. 1329–30.²⁶¹ Given the interest of Trapezuntine intellectuals in astrology and the profound influence of the Tabriz scientific school on Trebizond at that time, the hosting in Trebizond of Iranian sages is not without reason.²⁶²

Captives, mercenaries, and peaceful settlers represented three main sources of Asian immigrants in the Empire of Trebizond. The distribution of Asian immigrants on a timeline is shown in Table 13 (names are arranged by the date of the source mentioning them or the date of person’s death, if known).

The largest inflow of Asians in the empire falls in the thirteenth century, while in the fourteenth century their numbers decreased. This decrease in the fourteenth century (the century best documented in the sources) can be explained by the considerable reduction in military activity at the empire’s frontiers. From the 1370s, the empire enjoyed a relatively peaceful period which lasted until the first decade of the fifteenth century.²⁶³ Although the empire’s history of the thirteenth century is insufficiently documented, the military activity in frontier zones in 1204–ca. 1300 could have been more intensive than in the next century. In the fifteenth century, the number of Asian immigrants again increases, which can be explained by political instability along the empire’s overland

259 Zachariadou, “Trebizond and the Turks,” pp. 352–57.

260 Gregoras, Nikephoros. *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker, 3 vols (Bonn, 1829–55), 1:447.5–7. For rather loose commentaries on this passage, see: Chrysanthos. *Η εκκλησία Τραπεζούντος*, in *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 4/5 (1933), p. 358.

261 Gregoras, Nikephoros. *Rhömäische Geschichte*, transl., coment. Jan Louis van Dielen, 6 vols (Stuttgart, 1973–2007), 2/2:323 (n. 295).

262 Vogel, Kurt. “Byzantine Science,” in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by J.M. Hussey, Donald M. Nicol, and G. Cowan, 8 vols (Cambridge, 1967), 4/2:277–8; Mercier, Raymond. *An Almanac for Trebizond for the Year 1336* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1994); Tihon, Anne. “Tables islamiques à Byzance,” *Byzantion* 60 (1990), pp. 417–18; Eadem, “Les tables astronomiques persanes à Constantinople dans la première moitié du xiv^e siècle,” *Byzantion* 57 (1987), pp. 473, 477–79, 481–82, 484 n. 67; Pingree, David. “Gregory Chioniadēs and Palaeologan Astronomy,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964), pp. 133–60.

263 Shukurov, “Between Peace and Hostility,” pp. 62–65.

TABLE 13 *Distribution of Asian immigrants on timeline*

					Total
1221–40	1241–60	1261–80	1281–1300		
2	6	16	16		40
1301–20	1321–40	1341–60	1361–80	1381–1400	
4	3	2	6	7	22
1401–20	1421–40	1441–61			
3	14	8			25

frontiers. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the inland Muslim regions of the Pontos became an arena of permanent struggle between the Qaraqyunlu and Aqqyunlu confederations and witnessed, in addition, the advance of the Ottomans.²⁶⁴ At the peaks of political instability, the empire attracted more mercenaries from outside, the imperial troops seized more prisoners of war, and the territory of the empire might have been the destination point for both Muslim and Christian refugees from neighboring lands.

The Grand Komnenoi set precedents in their relations with the Muslim environment that are in contradiction to the classical Byzantine tradition. These primarily concerned the matrimonial policy of Byzantine emperors, which directly related to the basic concept of a universal Roman empire. Contrary to the older Byzantine practice, Trebizond used dynastic marriages widely, not just with the sultans but even with insignificant emirs of the Muslim Pontos. Eight Grand Komnenian princesses were married to Muslims, while the wife of the emperor John IV (1429–58) was the daughter of the “Great Turk,” that is, either the Ottoman sultan Mehmed I or Murad II²⁶⁵ (see Appendix II). The Grand Komnenian matrimonial practice indicates a more profound tolerance (even if forced) of the Trapezuntine ruling dynasty and, probably, of Pontic society in general toward people of different faiths. This situation in combination with the high percentage of Asians in Trapezuntine society suggests that the Empire of Trebizond was more open to immigrants in comparison to the Nicaean and Palaiologan lands.

²⁶⁴ Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 261–331 (chs 4 and 5).

²⁶⁵ Tafur, Pero. *Travels and Adventures (1439–1453)*, transl., ed. with an introd. M. Letts (London, 1926), p. 131.

Appendix 1: The Wives of Alexios II Grand Komnenos

In all probability, the mother of the brothers Μιχαήλ Ἀζαχουτλοῦ and Γεώργιος Ἀχπουγᾶς and their sister Ἄννα Ἀναχουτλοῦ, the children of Alexios II (1297–1330), was the daughter of the Samtskhe *atabeg* Beka Jakeli. This Georgian woman was referred to by Panaretos, without mentioning her name.²⁶⁶ Due to their mother's origin the children acquired Turkic-Mongol names.²⁶⁷ A weighty proof for their Kartvelian roots is the political career of Anna Anachoutlou. In 1341, she broke her religious vows (τὴν μοναδικὴν ἀποβαλομένη στολήν) and fled to Lazia; on 17 July 1341, supported by the Laz troops, she seized power in Trebizond and proclaimed herself empress. In these events Anna took advantage of her Georgian roots, establishing her power first in Lazia (ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Λαζίαν καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτήν) and only later in Trebizond. In the course of internal strife, she continued using Laz troops.²⁶⁸ Such interference of local Lazians in the internal struggle in Trebizond was unprecedented in the history of the empire.

Alexios II had at least three more children, Andronikos, Basil, and Eudokia, who bore aristocratic Byzantine first names with no Asian bynames. Michael Azachoutlou and George Achpougas are called by Panaretos δύο αὐταδέλφους of Andronikos. Αὐτάδελφος, signifying blood kinship, however, in spite of its etymology (← δελφύς “womb, uterus”), this did not necessarily mean birth by the same mother. The suggestion that Andronikos, Michael, George, and Anna had different mothers was first put forward by Odysseus Lampsides. However, Lampsides' proposal that the sobriquets of Michael, George, and Anna were the family names of their mothers and, consequently, Alexios II had at least two more wives – Ἀζαχουτλοῦ and Ἀχπουγᾶς – seems implausible because both these sobriquets are masculine not feminine. Most likely Andronikos, Basil, and Eudokia were born to one Greek woman, while the three other children with Turkic-Mongol names were born to a woman who was Georgian.

Andronikos, having become emperor in 1330 (Andronikos III), killed two of his brothers, Michael Azachoutlou and George Achpougas, and left alive another, Basil. By 1332, Basil found himself in Constantinople, whether having been exiled by his brother or of his own free will.²⁶⁹ Anna Anachoutlou, in the same period of time, was sent to a convent by Andronikos in 1330.²⁷⁰ There is no reason to suggest that another of Andronikos' sisters, Eudokia, suffered any harm, probably because, like Basil, she represented no hindrance to Andronikos' enthronement.²⁷¹ A plausible explanation

266 Panaretos, p. 63.11; for more details on the events discussed here and below, see: Karpov, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 172–75.

267 Panaretos, p. 64.9–10 and editor's commentaries pp. 117–18, 123.

268 Panaretos, p. 66.10–16, 24–23.

269 Panaretos, p. 64.17–18.

270 Panaretos, p. 66.12.

271 Panaretos, p. 72.15–17.

for this is that Michael and George were born to a different mother and could have posed a threat to his legitimacy as emperor.

Andronikos' name belongs to Trapezuntine AIMA names (as does the name of his son Manuel, who ruled in 1332).²⁷² Consequently, Andronikos was most likely intended by his father Alexios II to become emperor, while his stepbrothers Michael and George had usual non-AIMA names and, consequently, were not intended to occupy the imperial throne. Taking this into account, Alexios II may have first married a Greek woman (or she was his mistress), and only later married his Georgian wife.²⁷³

Andronikos III's attitudes to his relatives can best be explained by different degrees of consanguinity. His stepbrothers were executed by him and his stepsister sent to a convent. Anna attempted to "resurrect" herself as a political figure in 1341 but soon paid for it with her life. By contrast, Andronikos III's brother Basil and sister Eudokia, who were born to the same mother as he was, survived him and became active politically. Basil was emperor in 1332–40,²⁷⁴ while his sister Eudokia was married to the emir of Sinop 'Ādil-bek between 1345 and 1357.²⁷⁵

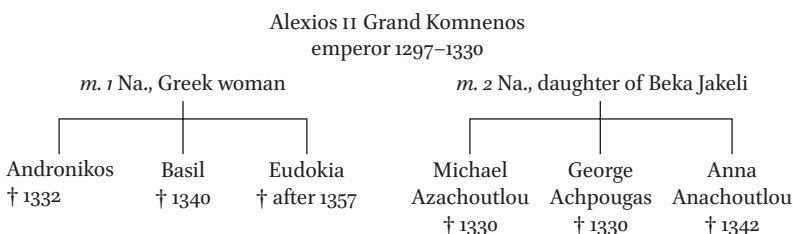


FIGURE 21 *The branches of Alexios II's scions.*

²⁷² Shukurov, Rustam. "ΑΙΜΑ: The Blood of the Grand Komnenoi," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 19 (1995), pp. 161–81.

²⁷³ Curiously, Alexios II's son Basil took a mistress from among local Greeks, by name Eirene: Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, p. 173.

²⁷⁴ Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 172–73.

²⁷⁵ For more details on Eudokia's political career, see: Shukurov, *Великие Комнины и Восток*, pp. 224–26, and my chapter (ch. 12) in: Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, p. 384.

Appendix II: The Marriages of the Grand Komnenoi with Muslims

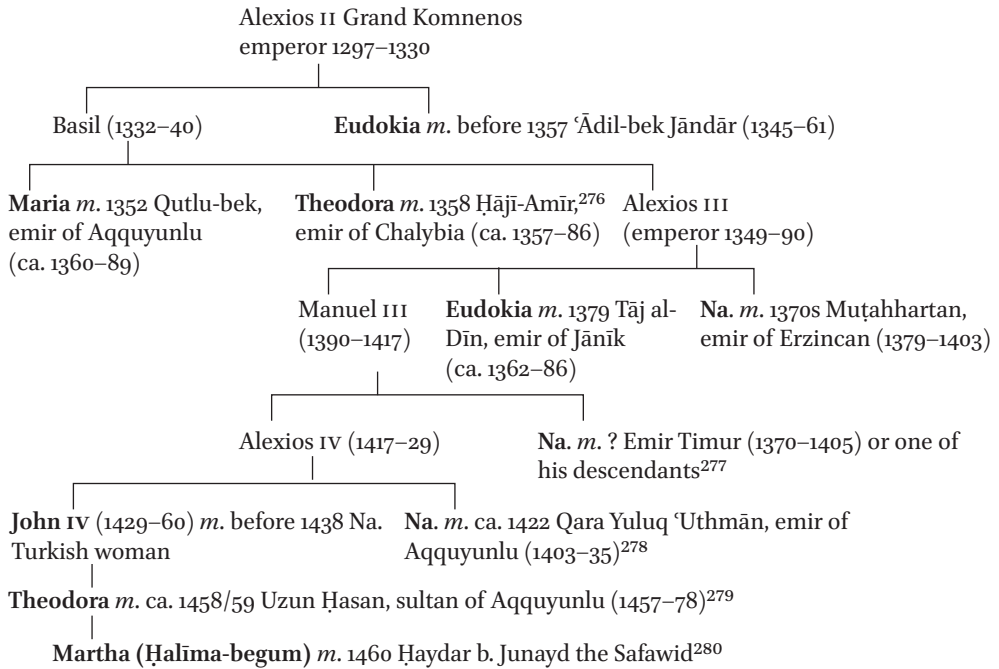


FIGURE 22 The marriages of the Grand Komnenoi with Muslims.

²⁷⁶ Anthony Bryer suggested that Hājī-Amīr's son Sulaymān-bek was also married to a Trapezuntine *despoina*; however, as Zachariadou has shown, this idea is based on a doubtful reading of Panaretos: Panaretos, p. 80.14–15; Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," p. 148 n. 140, (translation of Panaretos), p. 150 (genealogical table); Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Trebizond and the Turks," p. 351 n. 3.

²⁷⁷ Zoras, Georgios. *Χρονικόν περι των τούρκων σουλτάνων κατα τον Βαρβ. Ελληνικόν Κώδικα III* (Athens, 1958), p. 103.26–27; Chalkokondyles, 2:219.5–9. As Kuršanskis shows, it seems improbable that any of Alexios IV Grand Komnenos' daughters was married to Jahān-Shāh Qaraqayunlu as Bryer has suggested: Bryer, "Greeks and Turkmens," pp. 149 n. 145, 149–50; Kuršanskis, Michel. "La descendance d'Alexis IV, empereur de Trébizonde (Contribution à la prosopographie des Grand Comnènes)," *Revue des études byzantines* 37 (1979), p. 245.

²⁷⁸ Doukas. *Ducas, Istoría turco-bizantina (1341–1462)*, ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), pp. 163–65; Kuršanskis, "La descendance," pp. 245–46; see also ch. 4 in: Shukurov, *Белые Комнины*.

²⁷⁹ Bryer, "Greeks and Turkmens," p. 150 n. 146; Kuršanskis, Michel. "Autour de la dernière princesse de Trébizonde: Théodora, fille de Jean IV et épouse d'Uzun Hasan," *Archéion Πόντου* 34 (1977/78), pp. 77–87.

²⁸⁰ Kuršanskis, "Autour de la dernière princesse de Trébizonde," p. 84.

“Turkophonia” in Byzantium

1 Byzantine Diglossia

This chapter intends to identify transformations in the Byzantine mentality that were genetically linked to the world of the East, to place them in the broader social, anthropological, and cultural context using Oriental linguistic borrowings in Middle Greek. These Oriental elements in the language of the Byzantines of this time are to be found exclusively in written texts. Some explanatory digression needs to be made concerning the nature of textuality itself and, in particular, in its application to Byzantine textual culture.

Human thought of the past appears as a set of textual objects (including *re-textualized* objects such as art, archaeological, and other material remains), which are subject to analytical interpretation and which mediate between historical realities and the interpreters' own narrative. Historical texts, studied for the reconstruction of past mentality, do not necessarily present a precise cast of the mind. A text maintains an existence separate from the consciousness of its author; it possesses a specific content and structure of its own, as well as its own destiny. While texts bear traces of the mentality of its author, they are unable to capture the depth, layering, variability, the consistencies and inconsistencies of a living consciousness. An author always refines, orders, conceals, and hence alters his thoughts. A written source can provide a key to a historical mentality but can also veil it.

The linguistic dichotomy of Byzantine culture often creates a formidable obstacle to the reconstruction of those realities (verbal, mental, social, and economic) that are not reflected explicitly in the source text and without which historical *oikoumene* remains incomplete. The *diglossia* of literary (basically *Attic*) and spoken languages (a variety of *Demotic* dialects) was essential for the Byzantine language situation and consisted of separating literary texts from the elements of spoken language. Authors avoided the vernacular as inappropriate in the written text, sometimes intentionally and often as a result of unselfconscious censorship.

Changes in the Byzantine mentality often exclusively affected spoken languages. Any changes in the Byzantine mentality resulting from a reaction to encounters with the Other (whether Oriental, Western, or Northern), having initially influenced spoken language, were as a rule discarded as barbarism in written texts. The mechanisms of diglossia complicate or even block the

penetration of a spoken dialect as *a whole language system* into written texts. Therefore one cannot expect any coherent or explicit reflection of the changes and shifts that the Byzantine mentality underwent.

Over time, elements of diglossia gradually legitimized the written use of colloquial forms. The thirteenth century provided a decisive step in this transformation. The Byzantine educated class – the main custodian of cultural tradition – drifted away from classical standards and became more open to new linguistic and literary norms.¹ In particular, Byzantine Greek experienced an infiltration of foreign-language elements (both Oriental and west European, but mostly Italian) that had been alien to traditional Byzantine linguistic space.² Spoken languages invaded the purist immunity of Attic norms. It was, however, only a beginning, and Atticizing trends in written language continued to maintain their influence until the Ottoman conquest, though in different genres of Byzantine textual production they could be more or less coherent.³

- 1 See, for instance: Trapp, Erich. "Learned and Vernacular Literature in Byzantium: Dichotomy or Symbiosis?" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993), pp. 115–29.
- 2 On west European influences upon Late Byzantine Greek, see: Kahane, Henry and Renée. "Abendland und Byzanz, Sprache," in *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik* 1, ed. Peter Wirth (Amsterdam, 1968–76), pp. 345–640; Idem. "The Western Impact on Byzantium: The Linguistic Evidence," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982), pp. 127–53.
- 3 For different aspects of diglossia, see: Page, Gill. *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans, 1200–1420* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 58–63; Toufexis, Notis. "Diglossia and Register Variation in Medieval Greek," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32 (2008), pp. 203–17; Kriaras, Emmanuel. "Diglossie des derniers siècles de Byzance," in *XIII^e Congrès international des études byzantines: Actes* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 283–99; Idem. "Bilinguismo degli ultimi secoli di Bisanzio: nascita della letteratura neoellenica," *Bollettino del Centro di Studi di Filologia e Linguistica Siciliana* 11 (1970), pp. 1–27; Mirambel, André. "Diglossie des derniers siècles de Byzance," in *XIII^e Congrès international des études byzantines: Actes* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 309–13; Idem. "Η διγλωσσία των τελευταίων αιώνων του Βυζαντίου αρχή της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας," *Παρθενός* 8/3 (1966), pp. 466–72; Browning, Robert. "The Language of Byzantine Literature," in *The 'Past' in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, pp. 103–34; Dagron, Gilbert. "Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine: langue de culture et langue d'état," *Revue historique* 241 (1964), pp. 23–56; Horrocks, Geoffrey. *Greek: The History of the Language and its Speakers* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 129–290 (Section 11); *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. J.N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford, 2002); Petrounias, Euangelos. "The Modern Greek Language and Diglossia," in *The 'Past' in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, pp. 193–220. Cf. with the similar subject of interrelation between the Church Slavonic and Old Russian languages: Uspenskij, Boris. *Краткий очерк истории русского литературного языка (XI–XIX вв.)* (Moscow, 1994), p. 5.

In my attempts to appraise Oriental borrowings surviving in Byzantine written texts in their anthropological and cultural context, the problem is broader than mere identification and cataloguing of Oriental linguistic phenomena. My approach is close to the contemporary methodology of *Kontaktlinguistik* (contact linguistics)⁴ in an attempt to discover signs of multilingualism in Byzantine linguistic space and, at an anthropological level, to evaluate the contacts that introduced these new forms.

2 Oriental Borrowings

Among Oriental linguistic borrowings in Byzantine Greek, one can distinguish several major types. Despite the efficiency of diglossic mechanisms, some Oriental linguistic elements were present in Byzantine textual culture. Byzantine authors did not normally avoid using foreign words as *terminus technicus*. Such foreign technical terms of Oriental derivation were an indispensable element of historical, geographical, and ethnographic narratives which needed precise terminological descriptions of unique elements beyond the Byzantine borders, such as historical events, lands, peoples, political and administrative systems, rites, and customs. Such authentic terminology was intended in particular for intellectuals, politicians, soldiers, and merchants, conferring more functionality with the specific Oriental political terms (σουλτάν, ἀμνηρᾶς and ἀμνηρεύω, μαλίκης, σάχ), social and economic concepts (μουσούριον, μουτερίζης, σούμπασις, σεϊτίδες, ζύχης, χαζηνᾶς, χαράτζιον, χότζιας), and religious terms (μασγήδιον, χατζής, χαλιφᾶς). In addition, Byzantine sources referred to a multitude of names of Muslim historical figures (Μωάμεθ, Ἀλῖς, Ὀθμάνος) and place-names of the Muslim Orient (᾽Αἷρα, ᾽Αλλαγία, Μουσούλης, Χατάϊα). Such words, alien to Byzantine life, had no independent circulation and cannot be considered an indication of Oriental influence on Byzantine culture. Another group of technical words consists of scientific terminology obtained from the Orient by Byzantine astrologers, alchemists, and physicians, and is of particular use in the study of the history of medieval science. These borrowings reflect the exchange between Byzantium and the Orient in scholarship and craftsmanship; however, as in the previous case, they were in such

4 See for instance: *Kontaktlinguistik / Contact Linguistics / Linguistique de contact. Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung / An International Handbook of Contemporary Research / Manuel international des recherches contemporaines*, ed. Hans Goebel, Peter H. Nelde, Zdenek Stary, and Wolfgang Wölck, 2 vols (Berlin and Boston, 1996–97).

narrow use that they had no real impact on Byzantine daily life.⁵ In addition to their limited circulation, they sounded foreign, being considered not a part of the Byzantine self, and therefore they are excluded from this study. Knowledge broadens one's mental horizons and renders one more sophisticated, but it does not necessarily assimilate one with the object of its cognition.

Those Orientalisms that are found in Italian and Cypriot Greek from the twelfth century onward are also excluded from the analysis. These dialects formed in specific ways and differed from the development of language in "central" parts of the Byzantine world, the Laskarid, Palaiologan, and Grand Komnenian empires. Italian Greek, in particular, borrowed a great number of Arabisms⁶ which never entered and were not even comprehensible in other Greek dialects. Italian and Cypriot material, however, will be considered in a comparative sense.

In many spheres of life we meet Oriental words that had been completely domesticated by the Byzantines and lost their foreign connotations. Most of these words were used without considering their origin. My focus is on those Orientalisms that were adopted by Byzantine Greek in the course of their interaction with the Turkic peoples from the eleventh century onward. The number of lexical borrowings from Asian languages, according to rough calculations, constitutes approximately one hundred words and expressions. These Oriental borrowings entered Greek before the Ottoman conquest, that is, before the time when European and Anatolian Byzantines lost their political independence and cultural self-determination. The establishment of Ottoman power in Constantinople in 1453, and in Trebizond in 1461, paved the way for a flood of Turkish words into both literary and colloquial Greek. Turkic linguistic influences of the Tourkokratia period need to be analyzed separately, with regard to specific social and cultural conditions of Greek society under the Ottomans.

Common belief holds that Turkic linguistic influence on the Greek language began after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the collapse of the Byzantine state. For instance, Geoffrey Horrocks, the author of *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, one of the best general surveys of the Greek language, ascribes the beginning of Oriental linguistic influences to the time of the Tourkokratia. This assertion is shared by historians of language but may be questioned. The appearance of Seljuk Turks on the borders of the Byzantine empire in the mid-eleventh century and the subsequent Seljuk invasion of Byzantine Anatolia that resulted in the establishment of the Turkic states (from the 1070s on) was a milestone in the history of interrelations

5 Moravcsik, Gyula. *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1983).

6 Caracausi, Girolamo. *Arabismi medievali di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1983).

between Byzantium and the East. The East, as it were, forcibly entered and occupied Byzantium's own home. These political changes provoked profound linguistic and cultural transformations, making Byzantine life more receptive to influences coming from the Orient, especially since the late thirteenth century and the establishment of the Ottomans in the Balkans in 1354.

I will be considering lexical borrowings from the perspective of social history, rather than that of linguistics or philology, in an attempt to place Oriental borrowings in the context of Byzantine everyday life and mentality. This, however, does not negate the need to give accurate and detailed etymologies for the Eastern borrowings, especially since Oriental borrowings remain the least-explored segment of modern Byzantine lexicography (see the "Etymological glossary" in Chapter 9). The problem of Oriental influences (Turkic, Persian, and Arabic) on the Middle Greek language has rarely been among the topics of linguists, philologists, and historians, and they have been considered mostly incidental to the general Hellenistic context of Byzantine culture. Traditionally, the medieval West, the Slavic world, and the Caucasus have prevailed in the spectrum of cross-cultural studies dealing with Byzantium's relations with the outer world.

The problem of Oriental borrowings has not been completely neglected. Studies directly or indirectly concerning Oriental linguistic influences on Middle Greek are relatively numerous. First, the lexicographical compendium of Charles Du Cange, an old but still valuable collection which lists a considerable number of Oriental borrowings in Byzantine literature, should be mentioned.⁷ Still ongoing, Kriaras' and Trapp's lexicons of Byzantine Greek⁸ contain etymological interpretations of non-Greek words, even if they are not always precise. Few Oriental loanwords, especially back to Classical Greek, can be found in standard etymological dictionaries.⁹ A list of Oriental borrowings and some discussion of the Oriental linguistic impact can be found in the studies of Triandaphyllidis, Hartmann, and Hemmerdinger.¹⁰ The most

7 Du Cange, Charles. *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyon, 1688).

8 Kriaras, *Epitome*; Kriaras, Emmanuel. *Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημόδους γραμματείας, 1100–1669*, 15 vols (Athens, 1969–); *LBG*.

9 Frisk, Hjalmar. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols (Heidelberg, 1960–72); Chantraine, Pierre. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, 4 vols (Paris, 1968).

10 Triandaphyllidis, Manolis. *Die Lehnwörter der mitteligriechischen Vulgärliteratur* (Strasburg, 1909), pp. 146–49 (revised and enlarged version of: Idem, "Studien zu den Lehnwörtern der mitteligriechischen Vulgärliteratur," Inaugural-Dissertation einer hohen philosophischen Fakultät Sektion 1 der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München (Marburg, 1909); Hartmann, Richard. "Zur Wiedergabe türkischer Namen und Wörter in

comprehensive study of Oriental material so far, however, is the seminal *Byzantinoturcica* of Gyula Moravcsik, which gathers ample bibliographical, factual, and lexical material concerning the interrelations between the Byzantines and Turkic peoples from the earliest times until the fall of the Byzantine world.¹¹ Moravcsik was the first to attempt an analysis of Oriental and especially Turkic linguistic elements as an integral whole. However, his list of Turkic linguistic elements is far from complete. Some of his etymological explanations are insufficient and outdated. Methodologically, Moravcsik was hampered by his being preoccupied with the employment of data selected from Byzantine literature as a source for the history of Altaic peoples, paying less attention to the significance of non-Turkic Oriental influences on Greek culture.

A special case is represented by medieval multilingual lexicons that include Greek vocabulary. The most important of these, *Asmā al-lughāt bi-l-ʿarabiyya bi-l-fārsiyya bi-l-turkiyya bi-l-yūnāniyya* ("Words in languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek"), remains unpublished.¹² *Asmā* represents a quadraglot lexicon arranged in a table with four columns – Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Greek – which in its Greek section contains a number of Orientalisms. The lexicon was completed on 18 January 1439 (2 Shaʿbān 842 H.), thus reflecting the condition of the Greek language during the last decades of the Byzantine empire.¹³ A similar lexicon, the so-called *Rasulid Hexaglot*, compiled in the second half of the fourteenth century, has been edited by Peter Golden, who has also comprehensively studied the Greek part of the Hexaglot in a special

den byzantinischen Quellen," *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst* 6 (1952), pp. 1–12; Hemmerdinger, Bertrand. "158 noms communs grecs d'origine iranienne. D'Eschyle au grec moderne," *Byzantinoslavica* 30 (1969), pp. 18–41; Idem, "173 noms communs grecs d'origine iranienne," *Byzantinoslavica* 32 (1971), pp. 52–55.

11 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*.

12 *Asmā al-lughāt bi-l-ʿarabiyya bi-l-fārsiyya bi-l-turkiyya wa bi-l-yūnāniyya*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément persan 939, fols 23–65; Richard, Francis. *Catalogue des manuscrits persans, 2: Le Supplément persan 1 à 1000* (Rome, 2009), no. 939/11. See also Blochet's old catalogue containing additional information not repeated by Richard: Blochet, Edgar. *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 4 vols (Paris, 1905–34), 4: no. 2139/2.

13 Shukurov, Rustam. "Oriental Borrowings in Middle Greek: New Evidence from the BnF manuscript supplément persan 939," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 39 (2015), pp. 219–26.

monograph.¹⁴ The peculiar feature of these lexicons is that Greek words and expressions are written in Arabic script and are supplied in most cases with vowel signs. The compilers of the dictionaries wrote Greek words and expressions by ear. There are similar Slavonic–Greek lexicons that contain information useful for my purposes.¹⁵

The Oriental influence on Middle Greek vocabulary in the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries represented the entire spectrum of types. The main categories of words are those that introduced a new concept into the Greek language with no indigenous Greek equivalent, doublet words that existed as synonyms for Greek words, and proper Greek words that underwent a semantic shift due to the impact of Oriental usage.

From the standpoint of semantics the words below may be tentatively divided into four major groups: exotic goods, birds and animals, trade terminology, and statesmanship and warfare.

3 Textiles

The influence of Oriental trade on Byzantine life appears to have been pervasive. A variety of types of textiles, items of clothing and accessories, were adopted by the Byzantines and were in common use by all strata of society. Oriental textiles had always been highly valued in Byzantium and were imported into the empire since late antiquity. In the Middle Byzantine period, according to the *Book of the Eparch*, Near Eastern textiles were supplied to Constantinople mostly from Syria. In Constantinople in the tenth century, the strict rules on trade with foreigners prescribed only *prandio-pratai* to buy fabrics and garments from Asian merchants. The *Book of the*

14 *The King's Dictionary: The Rasūlid Hexaglot – Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol*, ed. Peter B. Golden, ed., tr. Tibor Halasi-Kun et al. (Leiden, 2000); Golden, Peter. "Byzantine Greek Elements in the Rasulid Hexaglot," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 5 (1985 [1987]), pp. 41–166.

15 Nikolskij, Nikolaj. *Речь тонкословия греческого. Русско-греческие разговоры XV–XVI века* (St. Petersburg, 1896); the lexicon has been re-edited in: Vasmer, Max. *Ein russisch-byzantinisches Gesprächbuch. Beiträge zur Erforschung der Älteren russischen Lexikographie* (Leipzig, 1922). See also: *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte. Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches Gesprächsbuch vom Hofe des Sultans aus dem 15. Jahrhundert als Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache*, ed. Timan Berger, Christoph Correll, Günther S. Henrich, and Werner Lehfelddt (Cologne and Vienna, 1989).

Eparch mentions many varieties of fabrics imported into the Constantinople market from the Orient.¹⁶ In Late Byzantium, the flow of textile imports from the East did not decline but rather flourished due to a significant reduction in the domestic production of exclusive fabrics.¹⁷ Several new types of Oriental textiles appeared on the Late Byzantine market. Foreign materials were usually called by their Oriental names derived from the Persian, Arabic, Turkic, and Mongol languages.

Καμουχᾶς, χαμουχᾶς "brocade, damask": the earliest date of its appearance in Byzantine Greek is represented by account notes of 1355–57.¹⁸ Silvestre Syropoulos used its derivative *καμουχέϊνος* in the first half of the fifteenth century.¹⁹ *Χαμουχᾶς* is frequently referred to in the narration of Sphrantzes.²⁰ The word is frequent in Late Byzantine vernacular romances.²¹ This kind of fabric was quite well known in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Balkan and Black Sea areas. Related words, seemingly derived from the Greek *καμουχᾶς*, are known in Bulgarian (*камыха*), Romanian (*camoha*), and Hungarian (*kamuka*).²² In the Latin West, it appeared in the forms *camaca*, *camoca*, and *cammocca* from at least the beginning of the fourteenth century.²³ Brocade or damask – a thick and expensive material with a raised design often in gold thread – has been in all times an indicator of extreme wealth and high

16 *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* 5.1–5, ed. Johannes Koder (Vienna, 1991), pp. 94–96.

17 See, for instance: Muthesius, Anna. *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving* (London, 1995); Jacoby, David. "Silk Crosses the Mediterranean," in *Le vie del Mediterraneo: idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI–XVI)*, ed. G. Airaldi (Genoa, 1997), pp. 55–79; Idem, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), pp. 197–240.

18 Schreiner, Peter. *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican, 1991), p. 87 (3.105).

19 Syropoulos, Sylvester. *Les 'Mémoires' du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438–1439)*, ed. and transl. Vitalien Laurent (Paris, 1971), pp. 240.30, 388.12.

20 Sphrantzes, George. *Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca*, ed. R. Maisano (Rome, 1990), pp. 28.10–22, 58.2.

21 Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 564.

22 Doerfer, Gerhard. *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, 4 vols (Wiesbaden, 1963–75), 3:605–06.

23 See, for instance: Caracausi, *Arabismi*, pp. 152–53; Latham, Ronald E. *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (Oxford, 1983), p. 64.

position in the social hierarchy.²⁴ The word still exists in Modern Greek in the form *καμουχάς*.²⁵

Κυλιχάρτιον, a kind of expensive silken fabric, was referred to in a Trapezuntine text in the chrysobull of Alexios III Grand Komnenos to the Venetians of 1364.²⁶ Theodoridis defines *κυλιχάρτιον* as “decorated with floral pattern (or patterned) silk fabric, of exceptional quality.”²⁷ The Trapezuntine usage of a Mongol name for the fabric is additional evidence of the exceptional influence of Iranian Mongols on the Empire of Trebizond, as well as the close trade links between Trebizond and Tabriz (see Chapter 7.2).

The Byzantines used textiles other than silk: *μαχαγιάρη* “mohair,” a kind of woolen cloth made of yarn from the hair of Angora goat,²⁸ was mentioned for the first time in financial notes of the first half of the fifteenth century belonging to a certain Greek merchant, probably a Cretan.²⁹ There still exists in Modern Greek a homonymous denomination *μοχαίρ* which derives from French or English (← mohair → Russian *мохер*) and indicates woven fabric from angora.

One more type of imported fabric is *τζόχα*, *τζώχα* “broadcloth” that was attested in the middle of the fourteenth century in financial notes (both *τζόχα* and *τζώχα*)³⁰ and in a fifteenth-century Slavonic–Greek lexicon (*τζόχα*).³¹ In the fifteenth century, it was mentioned by Silvester Syropoulos.³² It is found in Modern Greek in the form *τσόχα* with the same meaning.

Some less expensive Oriental textiles for common people were imported as well, such as *τζόλιν* “haircloth, burlap, gunny,” being generally a kind of coarse

24 For manufacturing technology of Persian silk fabrics, see: Sazonova, Natalia. *Мур сефевидских тканей. XVI–XVII века* (Moscow, 2004), pp. 42–73 and specifically for *kamkhā*/ *καμουχάς* pp. 51–52.

25 Andriotes, Nicolas P. *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής* (Thessaloniki, 1967), p. 143.

26 Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le chrysobulle d’Alexis III Comnène empereur de Trébizonde en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris, 1932), p. 33–99.

27 Theodoridis, Dimitri. “KYLIXAPTIA: ein mongolischer Stoffname chinesischen Ursprungs,” *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 52 (2002), pp. 249–57, esp. p. 256.

28 The description of this kind of cloth see in: Savvaitov, Pavel. *Описание старинных русских утварей, одежды, оружия, ратных доспехов и конского прибора* (St. Petersburg, 1896), p. 80 (мухояръ).

29 Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 219 (34/17).

30 Ibid., pp. 84ff. (3.53ff.), 109 (4.17), 113 (4.64), 314 (82.11), 317 (82.63), 318 (82.74). The word first appeared in the twelfth century (TLG).

31 Vasmer, *Ein russisch-byzantinisches Gesprächsbuch*, p. 55.

32 Syropoulos, pp. 216.16, 324.16.

cloth.³³ The word was widespread in the Balkan area. In Bulgarian it meant "Sackleinwand, Decke."³⁴ It seems that this latter meaning is close to that of the Middle Greek τζόλιν. The word is referred to in the typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the convent of Lips in Constantinople. The translator of the typikon understood the Greek τζόλια δύο καὶ κάπαν μίαν as "two shifts and one cape,"³⁵ although from the general context of the passage the more precise translation of τζόλιν is "burlap chemise" and implies a coarse and cheap women's shirt, probably of wool, flax, or hemp. The word still exists in Modern Greek in the form τσόλι and τσοῦλι "burlap, rag, tatter."³⁶

An interesting word from this group is found in *Asmā*: ζιλίν "cover, mat"³⁷ most likely borrowed from Ottoman Turkish. Initially it was a Persian word. The famous expert in the Persian language 'Alī-Akbar Dehkhudā attests that this is a cotton fabric.³⁸ The word has had many meanings in Persian and Turkish dictionaries, reflecting its use in different geographical areas and epochs. However, its semantic content in this case is probably reflected most clearly in the Persian in *Asmā* as "fabric for covering" (جامه کستردنی). Perhaps, as is noted in several dictionaries, the texture of the tissue was figured in squares like a checkerboard.

4 Clothes and Household Items

The Byzantines seem to have been particularly fond of Oriental footwear and borrowed a series of words relating to the original Oriental types of shoes. The oldest Middle Byzantine borrowing is μουζάκιον "boots" which became a basic term for different types of boots (see Section 10).

33 Delehaye, Hippolyte. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), p. 134.16.

34 Miklosich, Franz. *Die Türkischen Elemente in den südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen (griechisch, albanisch, rumunisch, bulgarisch, serbisch, kleinrussisch, grossrussisch, polnisch)*, in *Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Cl. der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 34–35 (Vienna, 1884–85), 37–38 (Vienna, 1888–90), p. 279.

35 *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas, A.C. Hero, and G. Constable, 5 vols (Washington, DC, 2000), 5:1281.

36 Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, pp. 386–87.

37 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 49.

38 Dehkhodā, Aliakbar. *Loghatnāme. CD-version* (Tehran, 2000), s.v. زیلو.

Παπούτζιον, παπούτζιν “footwear” entered Byzantine Greek by the twelfth century at the latest and is found in John Tzetzes’ *Scholia in Aristophanem*.³⁹ In subsequent centuries, it became prevalent, being found in different genres of Byzantine literature, thus turning it into a standard word for footwear.⁴⁰ Its prevalence is further confirmed by the fact that it appeared as a personal name (sobriquet) in the Pontos, where, in 1431, a certain Ἀγάπης Παπούτζης had written an act concerning the Vazelon monastery of St. John the Baptist in Matzouka.⁴¹

Τζαρούκιν was a type of cheap footwear or kind of sandal. It is found for the first time in the poems of Ptochoprodromos dated to the twelfth century.⁴² Eideneier suggests that the presence of the Turkism τζαρούκια in a Ptochoprodromic poem was due to its editing in the fourteenth century.⁴³ However, as one can see from numerous examples of Oriental borrowings, twelfth-century Byzantine Greek was not free from Turkisms. The Turkish origin of τζαρούκιν itself cannot be sufficient ground for attributing the appearance of the word in Greek to the fourteenth century. It is plausible that the word in fact entered Greek as early as the twelfth century. It exists in Modern Greek in the form τσαρούχι “a kind of rough footwear used by peasants.”⁴⁴

A general term for footwear is also represented by πασουμάκιν “shoes.”⁴⁵ Although in Modern Greek πασουμάκι and πασούμι mean “a kind of women’s shoes,”⁴⁶ in *Asmā*, πασουμάκιν, being a counterpart of Ottoman *başmak* and Persian کفش *kafsh*, represents a general term for shoes.

39 Tzetzes, John. *Tzetzae commentarii in Aristophanem*, 4.3.166, ed. W.J.W. Koster (Groningen, 1962); *LBG*, p. 1204.

40 See, for instance, the typikon of the Monastery of St. John the Baptist on Mount Menoikeion (1324): Guillou, André. *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955), p. 170.13 (an English translation and commentaries: *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, p. 1600). For the middle of the fourteenth century, see: Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Jean Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), pp. 181.20, 228.15. For the fifteenth-century usage of the word, see: Vasmer, *Ein russisch-byzantinisches Gesprachbuch*, p. 56.

41 *AVaz*, no. 137.

42 Eideneier, Hans. *Ptochoprodromos. Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar* (Cologne, 1991), p. 143 (IV.76) in variant readings in footnotes.

43 Eideneier, *Ptochoprodromos*, pp. 38–39.

44 Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 383.

45 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 54.

46 Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 269, Demetrakos, Demetrios. *Μέγα Λεξικόν Όλης της Ελληνικής Γλώσσης*, 15 vols (Athens, 1953–58), p. 5578.

Apart from footwear, in Late Byzantium, some items of female costume were adopted from the Orient. This was γιούππα "long skirt, women's clothing." The word was first attested in 1191 in the Greek dialect of southern Italy.⁴⁷ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the word appeared in the Balkans and entered the local Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Albanian languages.⁴⁸ In the twelfth century, Theophylaktos of Ochrid referred to this item of women's dress using γουβίον, one of the local forms of the word.⁴⁹

Another borrowed item of female costume was μοχλόβιν, μαχλάμιν⁵⁰ "embroidered veil, especially of wool." This kind of veil is referred to in the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries Grottaferrata version of *Digenes Akrites*.

A Turkic loan-word for expensive fur coats is given in *Asmā* as σαμούριν "sable coat."⁵¹ It signified coat, but not fur alone, because the word is found in *Asmā*'s chapter on clothing (ملبوسات). In addition, it is translated into Turkish as كیش *giyş* "fur coat" (the rare *giyş* appears only in Radloff).⁵² In Modern Greek, the word exists in the form σαμούρι with the meaning "marten, sable."⁵³

Ζαρκολάς with the meaning "felt hat (or likely a cap) worn under some other headgear" is found in the mid-fifteenth-century narrative of Doukas. Doukas describes ζαρκολάς as typical Ottoman headgear, worn in particular by janissaries: "Their [i.e., the janissaries'] distinctive emblem is their headdress which in the common language of the Romans is called ζαρκολάς. All Turks usually wear this for a head covering. However, both commoners and nobles wear a red-colored headdress, while foreigners who have succumbed to the yoke of slavery and are registered as slaves of the ruler wear a white-colored headgear made of the whitest felt, hemispherical in shape, snugly fitting the head, being as much as a span above the crown, and tapering to a point" (translation by Magoulas).⁵⁴

47 Caracausi, *Arabismi*, pp. 258–61.

48 Miklosich, *Die Türkischen*, p. 291 (*dzubbet*).

49 *PG*, 125:1012, 1112 (Pseudo-Oecumenius, in *PG*, 118:249A).

50 *Digenes Akrites* IV.220, ed. with an introd., transl. and comment, J. Mavrogordato (Oxford, 1956); *Digenes Akrites. Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen* VII.3615, ed. Erich Trapp (Vienna, 1971).

51 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 54v. See also: *LBG*, p. 1526.

52 Radloff, Wilhelm. *Опыт словаря тюркских наречий*, 4 vols (St. Petersburg, 1893–1911), 2:1552.

53 See also in Kriaras, s.v. μακρινός and ολόμαυρος.

54 Doukas. *Ducas, Istoría turco-bizantina (1341–1462)*, 23.9, ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), p. 179.19–26; Magoulas, Harry J. *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks by Doukas* (Detroit, 1975), p. 135; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:129.

The prevalence of the word in non-Turkish linguistics is attested by contemporary Latin documents. Leonard of Chios, a Dominican eyewitness to the fall of Constantinople, probably meant just this type of headgear when he mentioned “pileum theucrale, quod *zarchula* vocant” in his account of the janissaries’ blasphemous derision of the crucifixion.⁵⁵ The same type of head-dress perhaps was meant by Nicolo Barbaro who referred to “capeli bianchi” as a distinctive element of the costume of janissaries and, paralleling Doukas’ account, compared these “white caps” with the red headdress of *azapis*.⁵⁶ In the middle of the fifteenth century, *ζαρχολᾶς/zarchula*, being a typical item of Ottoman costume, was well known in Ottoman sultanate regions and entered the vernacular languages of the local Greeks and west Europeans. *Ζαρχολᾶς* should not be confused with *ζαρκουλᾶς*, which is found in a different passage of Doukas’ narration (see Chapter 9 s.v.).⁵⁷

A few words accompanied Oriental accessories designating means for storing and transporting items of daily use. For instance, *σαντούκιον*, *σενδούκιον*, *σεντούκιν*, *σεντάκιν* “chest used for storage or shipping” was the same as the standard Byzantine Greek *κιβωτός*. The word goes back to the middle of the twelfth century at the latest (1142).⁵⁸ It has been referred to widely in financial notes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,⁵⁹ and in an act of the Docheiariou monastery in 1384.⁶⁰ It is a common word in the vocabulary of late vernacular literary texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶¹ In Modern Greek it exists in the form *σεντούκι* with the same meaning.

One more example is represented by *τζαμαντούνος*, *τζαμάνδος*, *τζαμανδᾶς* “suitcase, chest for storing clothes.” The word entered Byzantine Greek in the first half of the fourteenth century at the latest. It is mentioned in the notes of a

55 Pertusi, Agostino. *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, 1: *Le testimonianze dei contemporanei* (Verona, 1976), p. 166.484; Leonardus Chiensis Mitylenaeus Archiepiscopus. *Notitia*, in PG, 159:942.

56 Cornet, Enrico. *Giornale dell'assedio de Costantinopoli 1453 di Nicolò Barbaro P.V. corredato di note e documenti* (Vienna, 1856), p. 27; Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, p. 17.299. John Jones translates “capeli bianchi” as “white turbans” which is incorrect: Barbaro, Nicolo. *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople, 1453*, ed. John R. Jones (New York, 1969), p. 36.

57 See for more details Chapter 9 s.v.

58 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:272–73.

59 Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 37–40 (1.2ff).

60 *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. Nicolas Oikonomides (Paris, 1984), p. 264.31.

61 *LBG*, p. 1540; *TLG*.

merchant around the turn of the fourteenth century in the form τζαμαντούνος.⁶² It is also found in Thomas Magistros' (d. ca. 1347) lexicon *Selection of Attic names and words*.⁶³

Another means for transportation appears in *Asmā* as ταγαρτζούκι "leather bag, knapsack."⁶⁴ The Greek word is found as early as the fourteenth century⁶⁵ and, in the nineteenth century, was recorded by Skarlatos Byzantios (ταγαρτζίκα).⁶⁶

There were also borrowings for household items. From the twelfth century, the initial Arabic μουχρούτιον, μουχρούτιν designated "clay pot for wine or food," which, probably, passed into the name of the famous Seljuk-style hall Μουχρουτᾶς in the Great Palace in Constantinople.⁶⁷ A Turkic doublet word for "bed" (κράββατος, κρεβάτιν) in *Asmā* is τοσέκιν "bed, mattress, sleeping place."⁶⁸ Since ca. 1400, a "candlestick" could have been called σαμουντάνιν,⁶⁹ while μαστραπάς "cup with handle" seems to be a common word since the mid-thirteenth century, being prevalent in utilitarian contexts in documentary sources.⁷⁰

Byzantines were always open to goods from the East and even more interested in attracting them to their markets. From the earliest times Byzantines borrowed elements of Oriental clothing, as well as the names accompanying them. The presence of Eastern goods and related words in Byzantium was

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- 62 Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 231.2, 232; Beldicianu-Steinherr, Irène. "Review: *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana*, ed. P. Schreiner," *Turcica* 26 (1994), p. 280.
- 63 Magistros, Thomas. *Thomae Magistri sive Theoduli monachi ecloga vocum atticarum ex recensione et cum prolegomenis*, ed. Friedrich Ritschl (Halle, 1832), p. 380.13.
- 64 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 60.
- 65 *The King's Dictionary: The Rasūlid Hexaglot*, p. 181.13; Golden, "Byzantine Greek Elements," p. 79; δαγαρτζούκι.
- 66 Byzantios, Skarlatos. *Λεξικόν της καθ' ημάς ελληνικής διαλέκτου, μεθερμηνευμένης εις το αρχαίον ελληνικόν και το γαλλικόν* (Athens, 1874), p. 466.
- 67 Kriaras, s.v.; *LBG*, p. 1050. For the Μουχρουτᾶς Hall, see: Asutay-Effenberger, Neslihan. "Muchrutas. Der seldschukische Schaupavillion im Großen Palast von Konstantinopel," *Byzantion* 74 (2004), pp. 313–24; Walker, Alicia. *Emperor and the World: Exotic Elements and the Imaging of Middle Byzantine Imperial Power* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 144–64.
- 68 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 49.
- 69 *LBG*, p. 1526; Miklosich, Franz and Müller, Joseph. *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols (Vienna, 1825–95), 2:406.
- 70 *LBG*, p. 978; Kriaras, s.v. μαστραπάς.

not something exclusive to the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries.⁷¹ However, Oriental elements in Late Byzantine fashion increased to an extent not seen before. Despite significant contributions made in recent years, the problem of Late Byzantine fashion has not been sufficiently investigated,⁷² with the exception of Eastern elements in ceremonial palace clothes.⁷³

As demonstrated by Maria Parani, in the Late Byzantine period a profound Orientalization of traditional concepts of Byzantine ceremonial costume can be found, which is imbued with a symbolic meaning. Such a central element of ceremonial costume as the traditional *chlamys* was ousted by the Orientalized *kabbadion*, *lapatzas*, *epilourikon*, while ceremonial headdresses were represented by turban, *skaranikon*, and another Oriental type corresponding to Turkic–Mongol *sarāghūch*, the Greek name for which is unknown. Western elements, although used in everyday Byzantine costume, had never been borrowed in the ceremonial sphere. The Orientalizing shift began, probably, in Nicaean times and was institutionalized in the period between the first Palaiologoi and John VI Kantakouzenos.⁷⁴

With great bitterness Nikephoros Gregoras noted the everyday fashion of his time (not related to ceremonial clothing). The Byzantine historian maintains with reference to the time after the abdication of John VI Kantakouzenos that modern youth fashion shocked not simply by borrowings from neighboring nations, but rather by its fragmentary nature: it is neither purely “Persian,” nor “Roman,” nor “Latin,” nor “Gothic,” and the like, but some mixture thereof.⁷⁵

71 For foreign objects including Oriental ones recorded in Byzantine documentary material, see: Parani, Maria G. “Intercultural Exchange in the Field of Material Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Evidence of Byzantine Legal Documents (11th to 15th Centuries),” in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500*, pp. 349–72.

72 Parani, Maria G. *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden and Boston, 2003); Ball, Jennifer. *Byzantine Dress: Representations of Secular Dress* (Basingstoke, 2005).

73 See: Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*; Piltz, Elisabeth. *Le costume officiel des dignitaires byzantins à l'époque Paléologue* (Uppsala, 1994).

74 Parani, Maria G. “Cultural Identity and Dress: Byzantine Ceremonial Costume,” *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), pp. 106–10. *Sarāghūch* is a Turkic word, but not a Mongolian (as Parani believes), see: Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:242–43.

75 Gregoras, Nikephoros. *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen and Immanuel Bekker, 3 vols (Bonn, 1829–55), 1:555.14–17: “οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὴ τις ἀκράτος ἢ στολὴ γέγονεν ἤδη Ῥωμαίοις, οὔτε Λατινικὴ τελέως, οὔτε μὴν τις Γοτθικὴ καθάπαξ, οὔτε εἴ τις Τριβαλλῶν καὶ ἄμα Μυσῶν καὶ Παιόνων· ἀλλ’ ἐκ πασῶν τὸ διὰ πασῶν εἰπεῖν τῆς μουσικῆς ἐκείνης ἀρμονίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀντέστραπται χρόνων ἐς ἅπαν τοῦναντίον μίγμα καὶ συμφόρημα.” See commentaries on this passage in: Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “The Presents

It is noteworthy that in Gregoras' list the first reference is to "Persian," that is, "Anatolian Muslim" dress. Apparently, the Orientalizing shift in Late Byzantine fashion seems to have been evident.

Apart from the official Byzantine costume, which is relatively well documented in the visual arts, eloquent and numerous representations of everyday fashion can be found in the manuscript of the *Alexander Romance* of the mid-fourteenth century (Venice, Istituto Ellenico, Cod. gr. 5) which contains 250 miniatures.⁷⁶ The origins of the manuscript and, especially, of its production of miniatures is still debatable. The manuscript opens with the miniature representing a Trebizond emperor who is believed to have been Alexios III Grand Komnenos, the emperor of Trebizond in 1349–90. Based mostly on this image of the Trapezuntine emperor, the manuscript has been assumed to have been copied in a Trebizond scriptorium, with its miniatures also belonging to the Trapezuntine school.⁷⁷ As Boris Fonkich has shown, however, the level of skill was hardly possible for the provincial Trebizond school, and the manuscript was written in the third quarter of the fourteenth century by a Constantinopolitan copyist; most likely, the entire manuscript was produced in Constantinople.⁷⁸ As Parani noticed, the emperor's portrait is too conventional and even incorrect compared to the imperial costume of the time, and it is consequently unlikely that the emperor himself ordered the manuscript.⁷⁹ Possibly the manuscript was commissioned in Constantinople by a resident or native of Trebizond, who perhaps intended it as a gift to the emperor of Trebizond. The problem of the origin of the manuscript needs further study; the Trapezuntine attribution of its miniatures is far from being firmly established, but whatever fashion was reflected in the manuscript illumination, whether of Trebizond or Constantinople, its purely Oriental flavor is apparent.

Eastern turbans and robes appear to have been typical of Byzantine Greeks. The methods of wrapping turbans and robes were of purely Asian (see Figures 23 and 24). The Mongol headdress of *sarāghūch* was extremely popular among

of the Emirs," in *Cultural and Commercial Exchanges between the Orient and the Greek World* (Athens, 1991), p. 80, and Parani, "Cultural Identity," p. 125.

76 *Διήγησις Αλεξάνδρου*, Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, Cod. gr. 5.

77 Trachoulia, Nikolettia. *Κώδιξ 5 Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας. Το Μυθιστόρημα του Αλεξάνδρου* (Athens, 1997), pp. 12–35. Manuscript's provenance from Trebizond is also stated in: Walker, *Emperor and the World*, pp. 171–72.

78 Fonkič, Boris L. "Sulla storia del restauro di un manoscritto greco tra e secoli XVI e XVII. Il 'Romanzo d'Alessandro' dell'Istituto Ellenico di Venezia," *Θησαυρίσματα* 35 (2005), pp. 95–103.

79 Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 22 n. 40.



FIGURE 23 *Fourteenth-century Byzantine turbans and robe (fragment of Δηγήσις Αλεξάνδρου, Istituto Ellenico, Cod. gr. 5, fol. 28r; drawing: Oyat Shukurov).*



FIGURE 24 *Fourteenth-century Byzantine sarāghūch in two back rows (fragment of Διήγησις Αλεξάνδρου, Istituto Ellenico, Cod. gr. 5, fol. 19r; drawing: Oyat Shukurov).*

Byzantines (Fig. 24), as testified by many other examples from fourteenth-century Byzantine art. At the same time, military dress in the miniatures bears a distinctly west European influence.⁸⁰ In addition, the miniatures show numerous instances of traditional Byzantine costumes.

The miniatures of the *Alexander Romance* represent a literal visualization of Gregoras' laments of fourteenth-century Byzantine fashion. This accord between the textual evidence of Gregoras and the miniatures of the *Alexander Romance* supports a Constantinopolitan provenance for the manuscript. On the other hand, even if the miniatures reproduce local Trapezuntine dress, nothing indicates that Constantinopolitan fashions were any different.

5 Spices, Delicacies, Medications

In addition to fabrics and clothing, Byzantines imported Oriental spices, delicacies, and medications. I mention only those words that seem to have entered common usage, leaving aside such terms as ζάμβαξ "jasmine" and μώμιον "mummy" used in technical scientific texts such as medical and alchemic tracts. The list of drugs and exotic food and food additives from the Orient is extensive; however, rather than a complete description of items that transferred to Byzantine science and to everyday life, let us focus on a few interesting instances.

In the East, ζουλάπιν, τζουλάπιν "syrup" was made from rose petals and was used in sherbets and sweetmeats, and also as a sprinkler and purgative medication.⁸¹ Judging by the phonetic form of the Greek τζουλάπιν/ζουλάπιν, it may have entered Byzantium through Arab mediation. The word appears in the eleventh or twelfth century as a medical term and later is found in financial notes of the fifteenth century beside other medications (φάρμακα, ἔμπλαστα, κουνφεντιόνες), which were in common use.⁸² An unusual example is represented by the word ζαρταλού "apricot" which was borrowed from Persian and eventually replaced the original Greek βερίκοκκον, which is difficult to understand. Apricot was a common tree and fruit in Asia Minor and the Balkans, frequently being mentioned in Byzantine literature. The form ζαρταλούδι is

80 Διήγησις Αλεξάνδρου, Istituto Ellenico, Cod. gr. 5, fols 3r, 19r, 21v, and many more.

81 A'lam, Hušang. "Golāb," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (online version: <http://www.iranica.com>).

82 Schreiner, *Texte zur späthbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 313 (82/2) and commentary on p. 318.

attested in *Asmā* in the fourth decade of the fifteenth century⁸³ and still exists in Modern Greek as ζαρταλούδι, ζερδελιά, ζερτελίν, etc.

It was the Byzantines who introduced caviar to Europe. It had been a widely favored and admired product since at least the Middle Byzantine period.⁸⁴ In Late Byzantium, the Oriental χαβιάρι, χαβιάριον, χαβάρα had become the standard word for caviar. The word appears for the first time in Byzantine texts in the twelfth century.⁸⁵ Moreover, in Ptochoprodromos' texts, it is represented by a number of derivatives: χαβιαρίτσιν, a diminutive of the basic form, χαβιαροκαταλύτης "annihilator of caviar," χαβιαροπούλης "caviar seller,"⁸⁶ thus attesting to its prevalence in the spoken language. The word is found frequently in financial documents of Late Byzantine times.⁸⁷ In Modern Greek it still exists in the same form. Georgakas attempted to derive the word from a Greek root (← *ταριχαβιαριν < τάριχος "salted food").⁸⁸ However, Szemerényi and Trubachev have shown that an Iranian origin is more plausible, deriving it from the Iranian roots common with Ossetin *kæf* "fish" and the Gypsy *jaro* "egg." Consequently, the Persian word *khāwyār* meant "fish's egg."⁸⁹ It seems that the Greeks borrowed this word directly from the Persians. Greeks, however, had their own words for caviar: ῥοτάριχα "salted roe" (an equivalent of Italian "botargo"), ῥὰ τῶν ἰχθύων ("fishes' eggs"), which occasionally were used by Byzantine purists.⁹⁰ It seems that by the twelfth century χαβιάρι finally ousted the original Greek denominations from everyday usage.

83 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 52v.

84 On caviar, see: Jacoby, David. "Caviar Trading in Byzantium," in *Mare et litora*, pp. 349–64.

85 Eideneier, *Ptochoprodromos*, pp. 144 (IV. 93), 157 (IV. 325).

86 Eideneier, *Ptochoprodromos*, pp. 157 app (IV. 325), 144 (IV. 104), 151 (IV. 240).

87 Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 37ff. (1.1ff., Black Sea region, mid-fourteenth century); 84 (3.50, Chalkidike, author: Kasandrenos, 1355–57); 204 (27.8, the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century); 266 (56.5, before 1447); 450 (App. 1.13 ff., 1450s).

88 Georgakas, Demetrius J. *Ichthyological Terms for the Sturgeon and Etymology of the International Terms Botargo, Caviar and Congeners (A Linguistic, Philological and Culture-Historical Study)* (Athens, 1978), pp. 250–53; Rudnyčkyj, Jaroslav B. "Review: Georgakas, D.J. *Ichthyological Terms...*," *Этимология* 1980 (Moscow, 1982), pp. 177–79.

89 Szemerényi, Oswald J.L. "Славянская этимология на индоевропейском фоне," *Вопросы языкознания* 4 (1967), pp. 24–25; Trubachev, Oleg N. "Примечания к Rudnyčkyj, J.B. 'Review: Georgakas D.J. *Ichthyological Terms...*,'" *Этимология* 1980 (Moscow, 1982), p. 179 n. 2.

90 Trapp, Erich. "Lexicographical Notes, Illustrating Continuity and Change in Medieval Greek," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994), pp. 245–46.

A term for a typically Turkic drink, *ἄϊράνιν* “Turkish drink made of yoghurt and water, curdled milk” is found in Late Byzantine Greek.⁹¹ This Greek word is attested as early as the fourteenth century in the *Rasulid Hexaglot*.⁹² It is also found in Pontic Greek in the form *ἄριάνιν*.⁹³

6 Birds and Animals

Some Oriental, and especially Turkic, names for animals and birds were borrowed by the Byzantines. The name for “hawk” is *ἄτματζάς*,⁹⁴ which is also attested in the modern Pontic dialect as *ἄτματσάς*⁹⁵ and among Modern Greek personal and family names, such as *Ἀτματζίδης* and *Ἀτματζάκης*.⁹⁶

“Ambler” (horse) in a Turkicized manner was called *γιοργόν* (or *γιοργόν*) *ἄλγο*,⁹⁷ being also found in vernacular Late Byzantine literature.⁹⁸ In *Asmā* the Turkish word *κότζιν* “ram” is found.⁹⁹ This Greek word is registered, particularly, in the Pontic (*κοτζ*, *γοτζ*) and Cappadocian dialects (*qóč*, *qóič*).¹⁰⁰ The *Rasulid Hexaglot* adds one more Turkic borrowing: *τακάς/τεκάς* “goat,” which is registered by Dawkins in the form *τακάς*.¹⁰¹

The old Greek words for elephant (*ἐλέφας* or *λέφας* as in *Rasulid Hexaglot*¹⁰²) and monkey (*πίθηκος*) acquired Oriental doublets: *φίλιν* “elephant”¹⁰³ and

91 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 52.

92 Golden, “The Byzantine Greek Elements,” p. 63.

93 Symeonidis, Charalambos. “Lautlehre der türkischen Lehnwörter im neugriechischen Dialekt des Pontos,” *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 31 (1971–72), p. 168.

94 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 61v.

95 Symeonidis, “Lautlehre der türkischen Lehnwörter,” p. 135.

96 Tompaides, Demetrios E. *Ελληνικά επώνυμα τουρκικής προελεύσης* (Athens, 1990), p. 48.

97 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 58.

98 Kriaras, s.v. *γιοργάς*; *TLG*: *γιοργάδες* (pl. of *γιοργάς*).

99 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 56.

100 Papadopoulos, Anthimos A. *Ιστορικών λεξικόν της Ποντικής διαλέκτου*, 2 vols (Athens 1958–61), 2:473; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre der türkischen Lehnwörter,” pp. 140, 142; Dawkins, Richard M. *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 683.

101 *The King's Dictionary: The Rasulid Hexaglot*, p. 168.6; Golden, “The Byzantine Greek Elements,” p. 137; Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 670.

102 *The King's Dictionary: The Rasulid Hexaglot*, p. 166.26.

103 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 55v. The word in the same form is known from the Pontic dialect (Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 2:457).

μαῖμοῦ "monkey," relatively old loan-word going back at least to the twelfth century¹⁰⁴ and still existing in Modern Greek in the same form.

7 Trading Terminology

Borrowed trade terms were used by Greek merchants in their daily activity in the markets. This terminology, the outcome of commercial relations between Byzantines and Muslim merchants, includes a wide range, which can be conventionally divided into two groups: first, terms related to infrastructure, and secondly, Oriental weight and volume measures used by Greek merchants. Some of these words are conceptual and designate key features of commerce. Words of this group do not represent notions unknown to Byzantines. This is unlike borrowed words representing exotic things. These borrowings mark an important trend which seemingly emerged in the fourteenth century: the "Orientalization" of traditional commercial vocabulary of the Greeks.

In terminology relating to trade infrastructure, an important term for financial activity is ἀμανάτιον "pawn, mortgage." This was originally an Arabic word apparently borrowed by the Turks through Persian mediation. The word, concerning interrelations between an anonymous merchant and his creditors, in the sense of "pawn," first appeared in a private act in ca. 1400.¹⁰⁵ The word entered Modern Greek in the form ἀμανάτι with the same meaning. Common and important trade notions acquired foreign designations in Late Byzantine times. For instance, the Persian borrowing μαῖτάνιν "square" or "market place," which derived in the Pontos and denoted a specific square still existing in the eastern part of Trebizond. Μαῖτάνιν was referred to in an Italian document in connection with the events of 1314 and 1316 taking place in Trebizond.¹⁰⁶ During Grand Komnenian times, it was possibly Μαῖτάνιν where Muslim merchants settled and traded. This can explain the appearance of this Persian designation

104 LBG, p. 961, Kriaras, s.v.; Golden, "The Byzantine Greek Elements," p. 106; *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 57.

105 Hunger, Herbert. "Zu den restlichen Inedita des Konstantinopler Patriarchatsregisters," *Revue des études byzantines* 24 (1966), p. 62.

106 Senarega, Bartolomeo. *Intorno alla impresa di Megollo Lercari in Trebisonda. Lettera di Bartolomeo Senarega a Giovanni Pontano*, ed. Cornelio Desimoni, in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 13/3 (1879), pp. 515, 528, 531: *castro maydani*, *Cavi de maijdano* (my thanks are due to S.P. Karpov for this reference). See also: Panaretos, Michael. *Μιχαήλ του Παναρέτου περι των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών*, ed. Odysseus Lampsides (Athens, 1958), p. 75-29.

in the toponymy of the city. Although in west Byzantine sources of this time the word is not found and appeared for the first time only during Tourkokratia in the shapes μείντάνι and μεγιτάνι, it is still possible that it was well known in the Palaiologan empire since as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁰⁷ In Modern Greek the word can be found as μείντάνι.

The initial Persian word παζάριον, παζάριν “market” very likely entered Greek through Turkic mediation. Its derivative παζαριώτης “trader, merchant” is found in the *Horoscope for Trebizond* for 1336/37,¹⁰⁸ which implies that the initial form παζάριν had already existed in the Greek language for a long time, becoming the source of a neologism constructed according to a standard Greek morphological model. In the west Byzantine milieu, παζάριν is found in the fourteenth-century vernacular *History of Belisarios*.¹⁰⁹ The Byzantines, along with these foreign words, continued to use their Greek counterparts ἀγορά (“square, market”), ἐμπόριον (“mart, port market”), and ἔμπορος (“merchant”). In Modern Greek, these two words exist in the same forms with the same meanings: παζάρι and παζαριώτης.

Originally Arabic, χαμάλης “porter, carrier” apparently entered Greek through Turkish mediation and is mentioned in the financial notes of 1438 and 1471.¹¹⁰ The word is found in Modern Greek bearing the same meaning.

One more important trade term from Pontic sources is ταλάλιος “market broker, dealer.” Ταλάλιος and νυκτοταλάλιος are referred to in an inscription in Trebizond of November 1314. Grégoire correctly explains ταλάλιος as a derivation from Arabic *dallāl*, but assigns to the latter the unconvincing meaning of “héraut, crieur,” basing it upon the Modern Greek τελάλης ← Ottoman *tellal* (← Pers., Arabic دلال *dallāl*) “herald, crier.” Following his interpretation of ταλάλιος, he with great reserve translates νυκτοταλάλιος as “le veilleur de nuit,” that is, “night guard,” which is not at all convincing.¹¹¹ The Modern Greek

107 Kriaras, s.v.; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:180. The difference in phonetic shape in μαϊτάνιν and μείντάνι is due to the phonetical difference between source words: the former was east Anatolian Turkic or Persian, while the latter was Ottoman.

108 Lampros, Spyridon. “Τραπεζουντιακόν ωροσκόπιον του έτους 1336,” *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 13 (1916), p. 40.27.

109 Bakker, Willem F. and van Gemert, Arnold F. (eds). *Ιστορία του Βελισαρίου* (Athens, 2007), verse 600; see also: Kriaras, *Epitome* with additional examples, the earliest of which is of 1399. See also: *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, 12 vols (Brussels, 1898–1953), 10:136 (παζάρι).

110 Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 110 (4.34 unknown merchant or banker from the Greek colony in Venice, 1471), 186 (20.22, Isidor of Kiev, ca. 1438); see also: Beldicianu-Steinherr, “Review,” p. 379.

111 Grégoire, Henri. “Les veilleurs de nuit à Trébizonde au xiv^e siècle,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 18 (1909), pp. 492.2–3, 493–94, 496.

τελάλης, judging by *epsilon* instead of *alpha* in the first syllable, was a rather late borrowing from the Ottoman *tellal* (sixteenth or seventeenth century or even later). At the same time, Arabic and Persian *dallāl* in the Near East of the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries signified "market broker, dealer," but not "herald." Most likely, ταλάλιος also implied "market broker." The function of a market broker consisted in the professional expertise of commercial bargains, including the determination of a fair price. The latter semantics for ταλάλιος is found in the chrysobull of Alexios III Grand Komnenos granted to Venice in 1364 in which the Venetians were allowed to have in Trebizond their own ταλαλίους.¹¹² Undoubtedly, these ταλάλιοι were identical to the Venetian *sanseri* (or *misseti*) who were professional trade negotiators, experts in concluding deals.¹¹³ In the chrysobull for a "market broker" the Greek term, which was borrowed from the Orient, was used, not the Italian. By that time ταλάλιος had become a standard and commonly understood *terminus technicus*, at least in the Byzantine Pontos. Difficulties appear in the interpretation of the term νυκτοταλάλιος, especially the meaning of νυκτο- ("nocturnal"). In the Near East, trade in bazaars was active at night, but was allowed only in strictly defined places. In the Persian-speaking world, these were called بازار شب *bāzār-i shab* "night markets." It could well be that in Trebizond such a night market functioned and that the trade broker, who was allowed to work at nights, was designated as νυκτοταλάλιος.

A commercial term from Pontic sources can be construed only presumably: χανακᾶς "inn, house or room for rent" ← Persian خانقاه *khānaqāh* "house, dwelling, Sufi convent, hospice, inn." The word was mentioned in the chrysobull of the emperor Alexios IV Grand Komnenos of 1432.¹¹⁴ The meaning of the word is not clear, especially since this is the only instance of its usage known.¹¹⁵ The editor of the chrysobull, Laurent, translates the word as "caravansérail," which is too imprecise and likely incorrect. However, χανακᾶς is referred to in a rather eloquent context describing some property in Trebizond: "τὸν ἐν τῷ

112 Zakythinis, "Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III," p. 34.111. Zakythinis translates the term as *hérauts*, basing upon the Modern Greek τελάλης and Grégoire's commentaries (ibid., pp. 77–78).

113 Karpov, Sergej P. *История Трапезундской империи* (St. Petersburg, 2007), p. 271.

114 Laurent, Vitalien. "Deux chrysobulles inédits des empereurs de Trébizonde Alexis IV-Jean IV et David II," *Archéion Πόντου* 18 (1953), p. 265 line 116 and p. 278.

115 The only parallel exists in a Pontic source: the enigmatic τοῦ ἀμῆρᾶ τὸ χανακᾶν in the Vazelon acts (AVaz. no. 166.4) which the editors of the acts mistakenly read as τοῦ Ἀμῆρατοχανακάντων. Bryer's interpretation ἀμῆρατοχανακάντος ← Turkic "emir doğan" is doubtful from linguistic point of view: Bryer, Anthony A.M. "Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic Exception," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), pp. 140–41. The word is found in the act of the fifteenth century and most likely belongs to the time of Tourkokratia.

μεγάλῳ φόρῳ χανακᾶν τοῦ Σχολαρίου σὺν τοῖς ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ δύο ἐργαστηρίοις τῆς λεωφόρου κατέμπροσθεν” (“χανακᾶς of Scholarios in the Great Market along with two workshops located below it in front of the highway”). Consequently, probably some commercially run establishment was meant, most likely an inn. It is possible that χανακᾶς is somehow connected with the Arm. 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎢𐎶 [khanut] and the Cypriot χανούτιν ← Arab. حانوت *hanūt* with the meaning “tavern.”¹¹⁶ Perhaps this latter semantics pertained to χανακᾶς in some way.

Asmā contains a standard Oriental word of this group: τουκάνιν “shop.”¹¹⁷ This Greek word is mentioned by Dawkins and Symeonidis in the form τουκάν and τουκάνι.¹¹⁸ In all probability, τουκάνιν was a doublet word for the old Greek ἐργαστήριον: the *Rasulid Hexaglot* translates the Greek term ἐργαστήριον as the Persian *dukān*.¹¹⁹

An interesting case of linguistic interactions in the Near East is represented by the words διφθέριν, τεφτέρι (τό) “account book” ← Ottoman *defter* ← Persian دفتر *daftar* ← Ancient Greek διφθέρα. This is an example of a curious semantic shift that occurred with the old Greek word διφθέρα. In the sense of “inventory” and “account book,” this word is found in business notes of one Kasandrenos from Chalkidike in 1355–57.¹²⁰ Schreiner correctly translates it as “Kataster” and “Heft,” but mistakenly derives it from the Ancient Greek διφθέρα.¹²¹ The fact is that διφθέρα initially meant “animal skin,” “leather,” “parchment,” and hence was sometimes used as “book”; however, by the fourteenth century the word had all but fallen out of use. Trapp’s *Lexicon* provides only the latter meaning for διφθέρα: “Codex, Buch.”¹²² Moreover, the specific technical meaning of the account book to the Greek διφθέρα had never been applied before the fourteenth century, as Schreiner notes in this regard: “das Wort (urspr. Pergament) begegnet hier erstmals in dieser fachspezifischen Bedeutung.”¹²³ On the other hand, in Modern Greek we have a well-known word τεφτέρι, which means

116 Machéras, Léonce. *Chronique de Chypre*, ed. E. Miller and C. Sathas (Paris, 1882), p. 82.

117 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 48v.

118 Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 674; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre der türkischen Lehnwörter,” p. 207.

119 *The King’s Dictionary: The Rasulid Hexaglot*, p. 144.6. By the way, it is worth noting that another important word belonging to trade infrastructure, μαγαζίον “warehouse, shop,” entered Byzantine Greek (1393) not directly from the Arabic مخازن *makhāzin*, as Erich Trapp suggested, but rather from the Venetian *magasin* with the same meaning (*LBG*, p. 957. Kriaras, s.v. μαγαζί with correct etymology).

120 Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 88 (3.126).

121 Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 95, 105.

122 *LBG*, p. 399.

123 Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 105.

"notebook," "account book." This, however, derives from the Persian-Turkish *daftar/defter* with the same meaning. This Persian *daftar* was borrowed from the Greek διφθέρα as early as Sasanian times. Semantically, διφθέριν as "account book" in fourteenth-century Thessalonike was a direct borrowing from the Ottoman *defter*. In the fourteenth century, the word διφθέριν returned to the Greek world, however, having undergone an Orientalizing shift in its semantics. This strange loop in the history of the word was noticed by Maidhof and by Papadopoulos in his *Lexicon of the Pontic Greek Language*.¹²⁴ In Modern Greek, Ancient διφθέρα and τεφτέρι are considered to be different words with different meanings: the former has recovered its ancient meaning of leather and parchment, while the latter bears its Oriental meaning of account book. However, in the fourteenth century, Byzantines still perceived the genetic link between the old διφθέρα and new διφθέριν.

Technical terminology providing the process of exchange with basic tools primarily concerns terms of weight and capacity such as θούμενον (twelfth century) equaling 0.94 liter, κοιλόν (fifteenth century) which equaled 34.168 liters, ὄγκά equaling 1.283 kg, and ῥέτλα (fourteenth century) equaling 337.5 g.¹²⁵ These Oriental measures are found in the routine notes of Byzantine merchants in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It seems that, as the Oriental system of weights became prevalent among Greek merchants, it displaced the traditional Byzantine system that had dominated for many centuries. The increasing role of Oriental measures in everyday merchant activity represents a kind of Orientalization of trade mentality.

An Arabic word relating to handicraft production, καλάϊ "tin" (eleventh century?), replaced the standard Greek κασσίτερος. Tin was used for the production of bronze. An explanation may be that it was from the Near East that the tin was imported to Byzantium. During the Middle Ages, the Near East and Iran did not have their own tin mines and probably got tin from Southeast Asia.¹²⁶

124 Maidhof, Adam. "Rückwanderer aus den islamitischen Sprachen im Neugriechischen (Smyrna und Umgebung)," *Glotta; Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache* 10 (1920), p. 19 no. 56; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικό λεξικόν*, 2:372: τεφτέριν.

125 *LBG*, pp. 690, 845, 1102, 1501, 1511 (ρότουλον); Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 41.101–43 and 176.2 (ῥέτλα), p. 466.2 (θούμενον). For κοιλόν, see: Schilbach, Erich. *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), pp. 158–59.

126 *LBG*, p. 742; Allan, James W. "Bronze. ii: In the Islamic Period," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (online version: www.iranica.com).

8 Imperial Court and Military Terminology

The fourteenth-century ceremonial book of Pseudo-Kodinos is the most informative source for Late Byzantine court titles of Oriental origin. These are court titles common to both Palaiologan and Grand Komnenian empires. The highest title of Oriental origin was *τατάς* ← Turkic *dede* “grandfather, tutor”; this etymology was substantiated by Zachariadou and seems the most plausible.¹²⁷ Andriotes doubts a Turkic source for the Byzantine *τατάς*, considering the word as too common in many languages’ onomatopoeia, especially in children’s speech.¹²⁸ In the Middle East, however, the word was prevalent in a mostly Turkic ambiance. Experts in Persian lexicography agree that *dede/dada*, which entered medieval Persian, was a loan-word from Turkic.¹²⁹ The explanation of the semantics of *τατάς* by Byzantines leaves no doubt that the word originally was Turkic; in Greek it had the same meaning of “tutor” as in Turkic. Doukas formulated it clearly: *κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν κοινὴν γλῶτταν τατά, ἡγουν παιδαγωγέ.*¹³⁰ *Τατάς* with the meaning of “tutor” is found in George Sphrantzes as well.¹³¹ In the fourteenth-century Byzantine lists of dignitaries, *τατάς τῆς αὐλῆς* (“*tatas* of the court”) occupies a position in the 30s out of 70 ranks. Although the function of *τατάς τῆς αὐλῆς* was given as indefinite,¹³² judging by the semantics of the title it possibly involved the upbringing of imperial children. The title probably entered the court hierarchy during the Nicaean period. The title was first referred to in connection with the events of 1256: the title *τατάς τῆς αὐλῆς* belonged to a certain Theodore Kalabakes (or Kalampakes¹³³), commander of

127 Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Les janissaires de l’empereur byzantin,” *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dedicata. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici. Series Minor* 19 (1982), p. 593.

128 Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 361.

129 Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:198 (no. 1179); Dehkhodā, *Loghatnâme*, s.v. **ددا**.

130 Doukas 35.5. (p. 311.28–29).

131 Sphrantzes 15.5 (p. 34.2–3): “ὅτι ὁ τοῦ πατρός μου ἀδελφός ἦν αὐτοῦ τατάς . . .” Muntaner reports that his subordinate Turks and Tourkopouloi called him “cata” which meant in Turkish “father” (“ells nom appellauen mas lo cata, que vol ayant dir en turquesch com pare”). Evidently, “cata” here reproduces Turkic *ata* “father”. See: Muntaner, Ramon. *Chronik des edlen En Ramon Muntaner*, ed. Karl Lanz (Stuttgart, 1844), p. 416 (CCXXXIII); Zachariadou, “Les janissaires,” p. 593 n. 7.

132 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 182.15–17: “Ο μέγας ἀρχων οὐδὲ ἐν ὑπηρέτημα κέχτηται. Καὶ ὁ τατάς τῆς αὐλῆς ὡσαύτως.”

133 On this name, see Chapter 3.4.

the Nicaean garrison in Veles.¹³⁴ It seems the rank of τατάς τῆς αὐλῆς was not bestowed on Turks or other foreigners.

The title τζαούσιος, τζαούσης (variants: τζαβούς¹³⁵, τζαβούχης¹³⁶, plural τζαούσιδες¹³⁷) “messenger,” is the same as ἀγγελιαφόρος.¹³⁸ The term τζαούσιος, having appeared in Nicaean times, was used as a sobriquet,¹³⁹ a court title (μέγας τζαούσιος), and a rank in the Byzantine army.¹⁴⁰ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of monasteries included the term in their name: μονή τοῦ Τζαούτζη in Constantinople and Τζαούση in Thessalonike.¹⁴¹

- 134 Akropolites, George. *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. August Heisenberg and Peter Wirth, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1978), 1:139.10–11 (66); *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*, ed. Ruth Macrides, Joseph Munitiz, and Dimitar Angelov (Farnham, 2013), p. 103 n. 225. Cf.: Kazhdan, Alexander P. “Tatas,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3:2013–14.
- 135 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 3:24.
- 136 Rhabdas, Nicolaus Artabasdos. “Epistula,” in Tannery, P. “Sciences exactes chez les Byzantins,” in Idem, *Mémoires scientifiques*, 4 (Paris, 1920), no. 1.1–3.
- 137 Pseudo-Sphrantzes in Sphrantzes, George. *Memorîi 1411–1477. In anexa Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos Cronica 1258–1481*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), p. 424.24.
- 138 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:308–09; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:35–38. The etymology has also been discussed in: Bazin, Louis. “L’antiquité méconnue du titre turc çavuş,” in *Actes du I^{er} congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes* 6 (Sofia, 1968), pp. 243–52.
- 139 Chomatenos, Demetrios. *Demetrii Chomateni ponemata diaphora*, ed. Günter Prinzing (Berlin, 2002), no. 125.4 (p. 395: Βασίλειος Τζαούσης, before 1234); Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 4:171–72 (Τζαούσιος ὁ Μελισσηνός, thirteenth century); *Actes de Philothée*, ed. Wassilij Regel, Eduard Kurtz, and Boris Korabiev, in *Византийский временник, Приложение к 20 тому* (St. Petersburg, 1913), no. 10 (Τζαούσιος ὁ Μαυρωνᾶς).
- 140 Akropolites, 1:123.11 and 14: μέγας τζαούσιος; Pachymeres, George. *Georges Pachymères, Relations Historiques*, ed. Albert Failler, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), 2:13.4, 426.4, 543.8: μέγας τζαούσιος; Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, see Index; Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Macrides, pp. 105 n. 226, 304. See also: *Actes d’Esphigménou*, ed. Louis Petit and Wassilij Regel, in *Византийский временник, Приложение к 12 тому* (St. Petersburg, 1906), no. 18; Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, no. 19, 20 (1326); Guiland, Rodolphe. *Τόμος Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοπούλου* (Thessaloniki, 1952). pp. 183ff. Sathas, Konstantinos. *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7 vols (Venice, 1872–1914), 6:647 (formula for the appointment of tzaousios as a garrison officer).
- 141 Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantin*, pt. 1: *Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat œcuménique*, 3: *Les églises et monastères* (Paris, 1969), p. 486.

The title was likely introduced by John III Vatatzes (1221–54).¹⁴² As an army officer, τζαούσιος refers to a garrison commander and an *allagia* officer.¹⁴³ In the hierarchy of court ranks, μέγας τζαούσιος is found in the 30s, approximately the middle of the list. At the court μεγάλοι τζαούσιοι were responsible for keeping order in the imperial cortège (εὐτακτοῦντες τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σύνταξιν).¹⁴⁴ Most likely, the court function was borrowed from the Anatolian Seljuks; at the Ottoman court, *çavuşlar* belonged to the closest retinue of the sultan, accompanying him on official voyages and at receptions.¹⁴⁵ The word is present in Modern Greek with the meaning “sergeant.” There is no reason to suggest that Byzantine τζαούσιοι were recruited from Turks or other foreigners.

Similar to τζαούσιος is the military term and court title *μουρτάτος* which signified both special troops in the Byzantine army and a unit of the palace guard.¹⁴⁶ The court μουρτάτοι were foot archers, their commander (στρατοπεδάρχης in Conastantinople and πρωταλλαγάτωρ in Trebizond) appeared in the 50s in the list of dignitaries, beside commanders of other detachments of the imperial guards.¹⁴⁷ Judging by the semantics of μουρτάτος “renegade,” it most likely designated baptized Hagarenes, immigrant Turks from Anatolia. This suggestion was formulated by Stein and supported by Verpeaux.¹⁴⁸ The specific and narrow semantics of the term and the typical Turkic armament of μουρτάτοι supports the suggestion. As a Latin author in ca. 1330 maintained, μουρτάτοι could have also been the descendants of Turkic–Greek marriages.¹⁴⁹ As a sobriquet, Μουρτάτος and its derivations are found in several documents of the fourteenth

142 Guiland, Rodolphe. *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1967), 1:596–97. Guiland’s understanding of Σιάους as a variant of τζαούσιος is not correct (see Chapter 9, s.v. Σιάους).

143 Guiland, *Recherches*, 1:597–600; Bartusis, Mark. “The Megala Allagia and the Tzaousios: Aspects of Provincial Military Organization in Late Byzantium,” *Revue des études byzantines* 47 (1989), pp. 183–207. For some important additions, see: Kazhdan, Alexander P. “Tzaousios,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3:2135–36.

144 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 182.19–20.

145 Mantran, Robert. “Čā’ūsh,” in *EI*², 2:16a.

146 *LBG*, p. 1048; Bartusis, Mark. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), p. 278.

147 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 139.14, 165.22, 180.16, 187.17, 301.18, 305.36, 309.34, 322.82, 337.105; in Trebizond: p. 342, 348.61.

148 Stein, Ernst. “Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,” *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* 2 (1926), p. 55; Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 180 n. 2. However, cf.: Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Macrides, p. 99 n. 204. For additional bibliography, see: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:197.

149 Brocardus. *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens*, 2 vols (Paris, 1869–1906), 2:492–493: “Et dicuntur Murtati qui de

century.¹⁵⁰ Most likely, the byname Μουρτάτος designated its owner's occupation as a μουρτάτος soldier and, consequently, of Turkic or half-Turkic origin. The earliest reference to the term is found in 1259 in the chrysobull of Michael VIII Palaiologos granted to the Athonite Lavra, which, as Bartusis suggested, mentioned μουρτάτοι as a military tax charged for hiring or maintaining this type of soldier.¹⁵¹ Such an early reference to μουρτάτοι indicates that their appearance in the Byzantine army should be attributed to the Nicaean period and not connected with the resettling of Kaykāwus II's Turks in the 1260s as Bartusis suggests.¹⁵² Unlike τατάς and τζαούσιος, the byname and professional designation μουρτάτος most likely indicated Turkic or Greek-Turkic origins.

Another term for imperial guards is γιανίτζαρς, ιανίτζαρς "janissary" or "new soldiery," troops that appeared in the Ottoman state in the 1360s.¹⁵³ The γιανίτζαρς units, in all probability, were a late Orientalizing innovation in the structure of the Byzantine imperial court. As imperial guards (τοῦ βασιλέως γιανίτζαρς) they are mentioned by the *great ekklesiarches* and *dikaiophylax* of the Patriarchate of Constantinople Sylvester Syropoulos in connection with the council of Ferrara-Florence in 1437–39.¹⁵⁴ Syropoulos told a curious story in their regard. In Florence, the Italians detained the promised allowance to the Byzantine court for three months in order to prompt the Greek delegation to the conclusion of the union. The most vulnerable victims were janissaries, the poorest of the imperial servants ("ἐνδεέστεροι καὶ πένητες"), who had no money to buy food. They pleaded for help to the *great protosynkellos* who gave them the cuffs of his vestments (τὰ ἱερατικὰ αὐτοῦ ἐπιμάνικα) to sell and buy food. However, the janissaries reappeared before the *great protosynkellos* explaining that they were unable to sell the cuffs, that one of them had

Turchorum ex uno parentum, ex altero vero de Grecorum progenie descenderunt." Cf.: Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 276–77.

150 *PLP*, nos 19534–36 (Ἰωάννης Μουρτατόπουλος, Μουρτάτος in Hermeleia, Μιχαήλ Μουρτάτος).

151 *Actes de Lavra*, ed. Paul Lemerle, André Guillou, Nicolas Svoronos, Denise Papachryssanthou, and Sima Ćirković, 4 vols (Paris, 1970–82), 2:10 (no. 71.79); Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, p. 278.

152 Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, p. 54. It is not completely impossible that the same Oriental term μουρτάτος for some reason also acquired the form μυρταίτης; Balivet's derivation of μυρταίτης from *mūr-sayyid* is implausible on phonetic and semantic grounds. On the other hand, μυρταίτης may have been not an Oriental but rather west European borrowing. See: *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan court*, p. 304; Balivet, Michel. "Une dignité byzantine d'origine turque: le 'Myrtaïtēs' (Μυρταίτης)," in Idem, *Byzantins et Ottomans. Relations, interaction, succession*, pp. 115–23.

153 For the Ottoman janissary, see: Murphey, Rhoads. "Yeñiçeri," in *EP*², 11:322a.

154 Syropoulos, pp. 192.13 (ιανίτζαρς), 296.20, 404.12 (γιανίτζαρς).

to sell his weapon while another one had put his uniform in pledge (“ὅπως ὁ μὲν διεπράσατο τὰ ὅπλα, ὁ δὲ ἤνεχύρασε τὰ ἐνδύματα, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι”). The *great protosynkellos* then sent them to the metropolitan of Ephesus Mark and to the *great sakellarios* Manuel Chrysokokkes, who, refusing to accept union, kept the Byzantine delegation in foreign lands. The janissaries, who numbered more than twenty, reproached Manuel Chrysokokkes, who in great fear barely managed to calm them and promised to speak to the patriarch.¹⁵⁵ Syropoulos’ account indicates that Janissaries were present in the suite of the emperor John VIII in the Constantinopolitan palace and accompanied him on his journey to Italy, although their position in the imperial guard was probably not high. Most likely they were Christians and were able to apply to ecclesiastical authorities.¹⁵⁶

Zachariadou has suggested that the term “janissary” initially appeared at the Byzantine court. According to her suggestion, it was the designation of the Catalan guard of John VI Kantakouzenos (1352) and that, allegedly, *ιανίτζαρος*/*γιανίτζαρος* derived from the designation of the Berber cavalry in Byzantine service *geneta*, *ginetes*, *janitarii*.¹⁵⁷ However, there are no grounds for such a reconstruction. First, the phonetic transmission from *ginetes*/*janitarii* to *γιανίτζαρος* is doubtful (Greek *τζ* is not explained). Secondly, the accent in *γιανίτζαρος* preserves the original Turkish accentuation of *yeni çeri*. And, thirdly, Byzantines in the middle of the fifteenth century perceived the word *γιανίτζαρος* as definitely Ottoman. For instance, Doukas explains the Ottoman *yeniçeri*: “τούτους ὁ ἀρχηγὸς νεόλεκτον στρατόν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν γλώτταν γενίτζεροι, καλεῖ.”¹⁵⁸ It is not possible that Doukas and his contemporaries would not have known about a “Byzantine” or “Catalan” origin of the word. Trapp in his *Lexikon* preferred an Ottoman etymology of the word.¹⁵⁹ The reason why the Greeks would call the palace guards by this odious name is uncertain. *Γιανίτζαροι*, who in the Ottoman world were slaves (*kapu kulları*), could have been a personal gift of the Ottoman sultan to the emperor, or those *kapu kulları* who were redeemed by the Byzantines, or simply the emperor’s personal slaves. As in the cases with *τατᾶς* and *μουρτάτος*, there are no grounds to suppose that *γιανίτζαροι* at the Byzantine court were necessarily of Turkic origin.

155 Syropoulos, p. 404.8–38.

156 Zachariadou, “Les janissaires,” p. 592; Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 284–85.

157 Zachariadou, “Les janissaires,” pp. 595–97.

158 Doukas 23.9. (p. 179.10). For further similar examples, see: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:110–11.

159 LBG, p. 317.

Trapezuntine court nomenclature also contained the Orientalisms τατάς, τζαούσιος, μουρτάτος, however, with some local peculiarities. At the Grand Komnenian court, two more traditional Byzantine titles received foreign counterparts: πρωτοσπαθάριος acquired a variant denomination ἀμυρτζαντάριος, while ἀκόλουθος was commonly called χουρτζής.¹⁶⁰

Apart from the names for special “Orientalized” troops and officers’ ranks at the Byzantine courts, the Greeks borrowed general military terms. One of the earliest of this kind is γουνδής, γύνδοι “soldiers, soldiery,” which was borrowed from Arabic and is attested in Byzantium since the late ninth century and in South Italian Greek since the eleventh century.¹⁶¹ The Oriental term for a fortification tower πούρτζιον was in fact a reverse borrowing, first loaned by the Arabs from Greek (← Greek πύργος “tower”). Πούρτζιον is first attested in Pontic Greek in ca. 1300;¹⁶² in Modern Greek it exists in the form μπούρτζι, which may well reflect its appearance in the west Byzantine milieu before Tourkokratia. The term was, probably, synonymous with another Byzantine loan-word from Arabic, κουλᾶς “tower, castle,” which appeared for the first time in Kekaumenos’ narration in the eleventh century. In later times, it was used by Anna Komnene, John Tzetzes in the twelfth century, and in numerous documents of the fourteenth century. The citadel of Thessalonike in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was referred to as Κουλᾶς.¹⁶³ The word has passed to Modern Greek in the same form.¹⁶⁴

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Byzantines adopted some fiscal terms for specific Ottoman taxes. One of these terms is the originally Turkic

160 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 341–43, 345.18, 348.36–37. For more details concerning these titles, see Chapter 7.2.

161 LBG, pp. 328, 333; Schreiner, Peter. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols (Vienna, 1975–79), 1:334.27, 335.32, 2:112, 114 (translation); Caracausi, Girolamo. *Lessico greco della Sicilia e dell’Italia meridionale (secoli X–XIV)* (Palermo, 1990), p. 148.

162 Grégoire, “Les veilleurs de nuit à Trébizonde,” p. 494 (πούρτζιου); LBG, p. 1361.

163 Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantin*, pt. 1: *Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat œcuménique*, 2: *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galésios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique)* (Paris, 1975), p. 369.

164 Kekaumenos. *Raccomandazioni e consigli di un galantuomo: Stratēgikon*, ed. and transl. Maria Dora Spadaro (Alessandria, 1998), p. 202.2, 6, p. 226.27; Komnene, Anna. *Annae Comnenae Alexias* 11.4.5–13, 11.4.6.8, 11.11.5.10, 11.11.6.6, ed. A. Kambylis and D.R. Reinsch (Berlin and New York, 2001); *Actes d’Ivion*, ed. Jacques Lefort, Nicolas Oikonomides, Denise Papachryssanthou, and Hélène Métrévélī, 4 vols (Paris, 1985–95), 4:52 (no. 85.25); Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 2:250 (a. 1395); LBG, p. 872; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:166; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 168.

βιρίμιον (1342) “annual tribute” paid to the Turks by their Christian neighbors. It is referred to in an act of the patriarch John XIV Kalekas, where βιρίμιον was mentioned in a list of other taxes of an Orthodox neophyte, John the Genoese, who was subject to fiscal immunity.¹⁶⁵ When Thessalonike and territories in Macedonia were recovered in 1403/04 by the Byzantines from the Ottomans, who had controlled the area since the 1380s, the Byzantine administration retained the Ottoman tax system. Normally, in Byzantine documents of the subsequent years, Ottoman fiscal terminology was usually translated into Greek. The only exception is χαράτζιον, χαράτζι “land-tax,” which, fiscally, probably corresponded to the Byzantine tax στιχικὸν τέλος.¹⁶⁶ According to the Byzantine-Turkish treaty of 1403, the tax *harac*, which Greeks previously paid to the sultan, was now levied in favor of the emperor.¹⁶⁷ Since that time χαράτζιον is found in Athonite documents.¹⁶⁸

Just as court titles, such as γιανίτζαρος and μουρτάτος, designated new detachments in the palace guard, the same is true for the fiscal terms βιρίμιον and χαράτζιον that belonged to the alien tax system adopted by the Byzantines. These words labeled objects foreign to Byzantium. Other names from the group – τζαούσιος, γουνδής, κουλάς, and πούρτζιον – did not represent new objects, but rather new “Orientalized” tastes emerging in Byzantine life.

Of course, not only military terminology was adopted by the Byzantines. As has been shown by Bartusis, Byzantine military costume, armor, and arms

165 *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, ed. Herbert Hunger, Otto Kresten et al., 3 vols (Vienna, 1981–2001), 2:294.44 (no. 137); see a correction in: *LBG*, p. 280. On political and social meaning of βιρίμιον, see: Zachariadou, Elizabeth. *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1415)* (Venice, 1983), pp. 23–24.

166 Oikonomides, Nicolas. “The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy,” in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh Through the Fifteenth Century*, 3:1039; Oikonomides, Nicolas. “Ottoman Influence on Late Byzantine Fiscal Practice,” *Südost-Forschungen* 45 (1986), pp. 1–24; *Actes de Lavra*, 4:56–58 n. 265; Oikonomides, Nicolas. “Le haradj dans l’empire byzantin du xv^e siècle,” in *Actes du 1^{er} congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, 3 (Sofia, 1969), pp. 681–88; Ostrogorsky, George. “Byzance, état tributaire de l’empire Turc,” *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 5 (1958), pp. 49–58; Schwarz, Paul. “Die Herkunft von arabisch ḥarāğ (Grund-)Steuer,” *Der Islam* 6 (1916), pp. 97–99; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:340–41.

167 Dennis, George T. “The Byzantine–Turkish Treaty of 1403,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 33 (1967), pp. 72–88.

168 For more details with references to the relevant documentary sources, see: Necipoğlu, Nevra. “Sources for the Social and Economic History of Late Medieval Thessalonike and their Significance for Byzantine and Ottoman Studies,” in *Tarihte güney-doğu Avrupa: Balkanolojinin dünü, bugünü ve sorunları*. [Ankara Üniversitesi dil ve tarih-coğrafiya fakültesi yayınları] (Ankara, 1999), pp. 102–03.

demonstrate elements that were common with contemporary west European and Asian military practices. Asian (Seljuk, Ottoman, Mamluk) armor and arms are recognizable in many representations of Byzantine soldiers.¹⁶⁹

9 The Positive Image of the East

The groups of Oriental words mirror an articulated image of the Orient prevailing in the Byzantine mentality. According to the linguistic evidence, in the eyes of the Byzantines the Orient was predominantly the source of luxury goods, including fabrics, clothes, accessories, and spices, of developed trade techniques, and of military technologies and soldiers, including elite units of palace bodyguards. The emphasis on luxury and trade is in contradiction with the common-place contemporary image of Byzantine-Eastern interrelations in the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries, which focuses primarily on the military and political side. This image was shaped initially by Byzantine ideologists, by the historiographers and church authors who drew a distinct line between their own "Roman-Christian Greek" and the alien "Barbarian-Pagan Turkic." Such ideologizing literature created and cultivated a predominantly negative image of the Orient as an eternal enemy and aggressor, which in actuality was not the only or even the most predominant image in the Byzantine mentality.

Aside from these ideologized discourses, one finds a remarkable confirmation of the exotic image of the East in utilitarian "technical" texts, which did not produce any conceptual position and were more focused on peaceful exchanges rather than war. One extant source, the *Horoscope for Trebizond* for the year 1336/37, originated from the Grand Komnenian Pontos as if purposely designed to reflect positive experiences that the Byzantines had in their meeting with the Orient. The horoscope accompanied the astronomical Almanac (table of luminaries' location) which was issued for the city of Trebizond for the period from 12 March 1336 to 12 March 1337. The horoscope was published two times in the beginning of the twentieth century, and, in 1994, Mercier published for the first time the astronomical Almanac with detailed mathematical and historical commentary and an English translation of the predictions.¹⁷⁰

169 Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 322–41 (Chapter 14: "Weapons and Equipment") with figures 1–6.

170 Lampros, "Τραπεζουντιακόν ωροσκόπιον," pp. 33–50; Libadenos, Andrew. *Andreae Libadeni Trapezuntii praedictiones pro anno mundi 6844=1336 p. Chr. n., excerpta ex Cod. 12 (Monac. 525)*, in *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, 7:152–60; Mercier, Raymond. *An*

The astronomical tables were composed according to the methods of calculation of the Iranian astronomical school, which in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries had become popular among Byzantine intellectuals.¹⁷¹ Remarkably, the astronomer gave dates in his Almanac according to both the Christian and the Muslim calendars, though, as Mercier noted, he seems not to have been “entirely familiar with the system of Arabic months.”¹⁷² The phonetic shapes of the names of some Muslim months, as transcribed in the tables, indicate that the author had experience of the Persian colloquial language.¹⁷³ The author, regardless of being an adherent of the Iranian school of astronomy and experienced in the Persian tongue, remained a Christian and scholar belonging to the Byzantine cosmological tradition. His tables noted not only the Christian and Muslim names of months, but also major dates of the liturgical calendar.¹⁷⁴ He paid tribute to Ptolemaic cosmology by using Ptolemy’s coordinates of Trebizond, ignoring newer and more accurate Arabo-Persian data.¹⁷⁵

It is clear that the anonymous author of the predictions, in addition to being a Christian Greek, was a subject of the Grand Komnenoi. The Christian character of the horoscope is stated at the beginning of the text, where the date of the coming year is given according to the Byzantine system, while later the author offered good prospects to τῷ κραταίῳ καὶ ἀγίῳ ἡμῶν αὐθέντῃ, calling the Grand Komnenian emperor “our Sovereign.”¹⁷⁶ The language of the horoscope is simple and artless, though entirely correct and fluent, which unambiguously indicates Greek roots. An important peculiarity of the Horoscope,

Almanac for Trebizond for the Year 1336 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1994). On the Horoscope for Trebizond, see also: Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, pp. 146, 185, 413, 474–75; Tihon, Anne. “Tables islamiques à Byzance,” *Byzantion* 60 (1990), pp. 417–18.

171 Mercier, *An Almanac for Trebizond*. On the role of the Persian school in Byzantium, see also: Pingree, David. “Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964), pp. 133–60; Tihon, Anne. “Les tables astronomiques persanes à Constantinople dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle,” *Byzantion* 57 (1987), pp. 471–87.

172 Mercier, *An Almanac for Trebizond*, pp. 60 and 61.

173 It is substantiated by the fact that the two Arabic names of months – σαφάρ and ρατζάπ (Mercier, *An Almanac for Trebizond*, pp. 40, 42, 52, 54) – were accented according to pronunciation rules of the Persian language (in Arabic, in both words the accent must fall on the first syllable). In general, it should be noted, that the anonymous author of the predictions was remarkably careful and accurate in his transliterations of Arabic-Persian terminology.

174 Mercier, *An Almanac for Trebizond*, p. 60.

175 Mercier, *An Almanac for Trebizond*, p. 76.

176 Lampros, “Τραπεζουντιακόν ωροσκόπιον,” p. 38.7–8.

which distinguishes it from other texts of this genre,¹⁷⁷ is that the predictions were intended not for an individual but for a collective, namely all strata of Trebizond, including the emperor, his officials, middle-class merchants, and the common people (κοινὸς λαός). However, the Horoscope was composed as a written text suggesting that it was primarily intended for literate stratum.

The Horoscope contains predictions covering daily interests of middle-class Pontic Byzantines, especially craftsmen and merchants, like the mass media of today. The topics and scope of interests are similar: politics, crops, prices on food and goods, weather, and diseases, information that would be essential for daily activity.¹⁷⁸

The Horoscope refers to foreign countries as sources of goods and political news. Its topographic map is surprising: besides Trebizond, it focuses exclusively on the Orient, specifically on Muslim trade centers (Kurdistan, Amid, Syria, Mosul, Mughan, Baghdad, Gilan, Tabriz, Egypt, Palestine) and also the northern Black Sea regions (Τουρκία καὶ Ταταρία, χώρα τῆς Χαζαρίας). A reference to Hijaz is given in the form τὰ περίξ τοῦ Χάτζη ("the region surrounding [the place of] Ḥajj"). Thus, the Muslim sacred cities Mecca and Medina were the outermost point of the horoscope's geography. Predictions follow a general denomination Ἀνατολή, the Orient, which presumably meant the entire Turkish, Iranian, and Arab lands to the north, east, and south, representing a topographic horizon of Byzantine daily interest. The Horoscope does not mention any specific place-name belonging to the Christian lands, except for a general denomination of Δύσις, the Occident. The Occident, including Constantinople and the Balkans, is beyond the everyday interest of the Pontic Byzantines, while the Oriental trade was essential for middle and higher classes of Byzantine Pontic society (Fig. 25).¹⁷⁹

Obviously Pontic Byzantines were familiar with towns, nations, and countries other than those mentioned in the Horoscope. Other Byzantine Pontic sources, for instance Panaretos, indicate the topographic extent of diplomatic interest as well as military history. Constantinople and Trebizond stood at the

177 Cf.: Hunger, Herbert. *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols (Munich, 1978), 2:244–57.

178 Карпов, *История Трапезундской империи*, p. 475; Varvounis, Manolis G. "Ὁψεις τῆς καθημερινῆς ζωῆς στὴν Τραπεζούντα τοῦ 14ου αἰῶνα – Ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Ὁροσκοπίου τῆς Τραπεζούντος (1336)," *Архивон Πόντου* 45 (1994), pp. 18–36.

179 For more details and analysis, see: Shukurov, Rustam. "Horizons of Daily Interest," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 25 (1999), pp. 1–14.

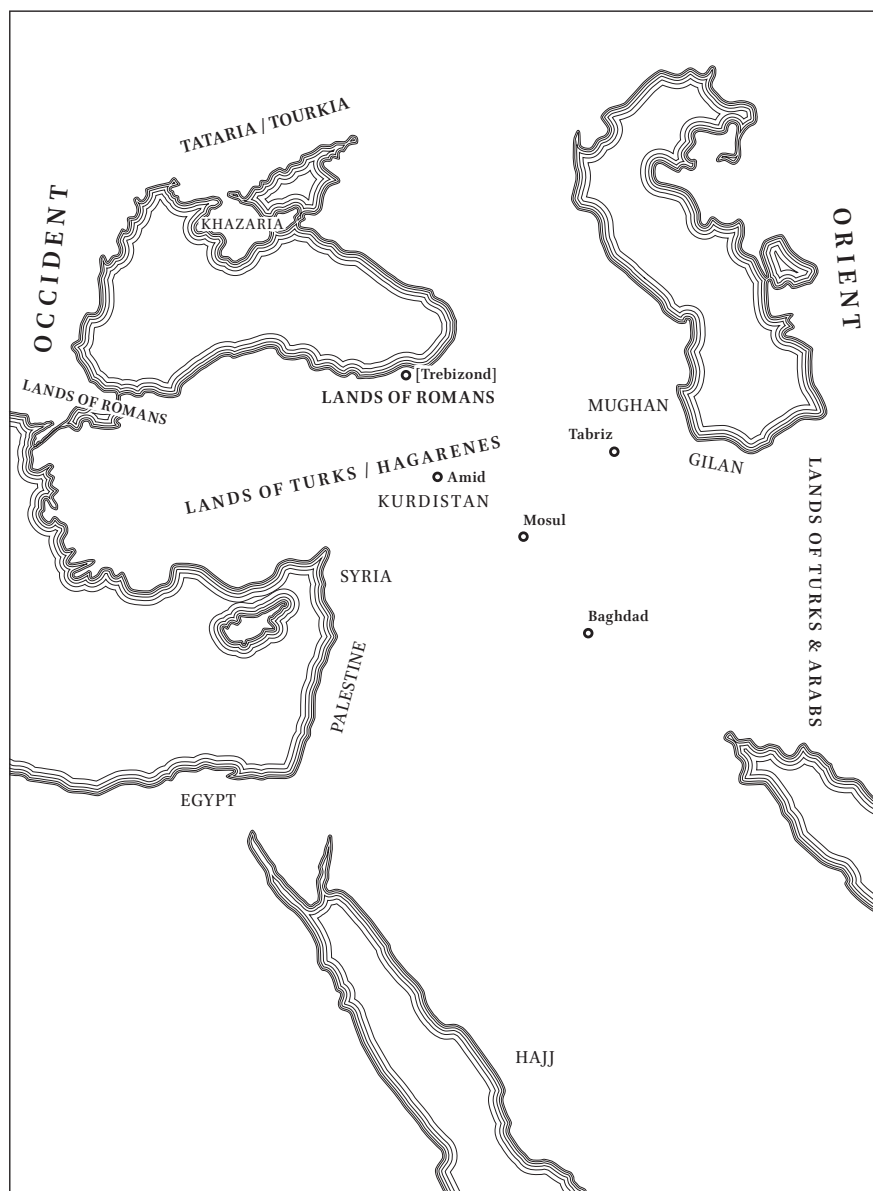


FIGURE 25 *Topography of the Horoscope for Trebizond* (cartography: Oyat Shukurov).

center of Panaretos' world.¹⁸⁰ The well-known *Enkomion* of Bessarion and the Itinerary of Libadenos give additional geographical images, each reflecting their particular genre.¹⁸¹ Historiographic, rhetorical, and hagiographic sources reveal various layers of consciousness and dimensions of the cultural tradition.

Of course, in the Byzantine West, the place of the Latins, of their political, cultural, and economic activity and of their physical presence was more formidable compared to Trebizond.¹⁸² The Byzantine West was more Europe-centered than Trebizond. Nonetheless, the Oriental vocabulary discussed above shows that the Orient was present in the everyday life of the western Byzantines in the form of fabrics (both expensive and cheap), garments and accessories (both ceremonial and everyday), and food (both everyday and medical). Byzantine merchants in their private notes marked the arrival and departure of goods using Eastern measures of weight. Consequently, the Horoscope's Orientalizing horizon of daily interest would have been of common interest to the entire Byzantine world and not just Trebizond.

10 Expanding the Horizon

The cultural influences the Orient exerted on Byzantine life itself have an ambivalent meaning. External influence has to be an act of appropriation of the Other by the recipient culture. Expanding mental horizons constitute a specific level of consciousness, presupposing a knowledge that determines each new experience. The mental horizon, conditioned historically, is constantly changing. Its temporal nature could be compared to the physical skyline changing for a traveller.

Oriental lexical borrowings in Greek represent a linguistic horizon of mentality in the process of assimilating foreign elements. The alien language and, consequently, its bearers' customs and style of life, gradually became for

180 The Grand Komnenian state ideology, as was reflected by Panaretos, continued to be within the limits of the classical Byzantine tradition, regarding Constantinople as the true center of the Christian world. In Panaretos' chronicle, Constantinople is honoured by a higher status than Trebizond: in most cases, Constantinople is traditionally called "the City" (πόλις, μεγαλόπολις or μεγάλη πόλις), while the capital of the Empire of Trebizond always remains only Trebizond, or *one of the cities* (Panaretos, index).

181 Lampsides, Odysseus. "Ο εις Τραπεζούντα λόγος του Βησσαρίωνος," *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 39 (1984), pp. 1–75; Libadenos, Andrew. *Ανδρέου Λιβαδηνού βίος και έργα*, ed. Odysseus Lampsides (Athens, 1975).

182 This was clearly reflected by Western borrowings in Middle Greek: Kahane and Kahane, "The Western Impact on Byzantium," pp. 127–53; Idem. "Abendland und Byzanz," pp. 536f.

Greeks an integral element of the image of their self. The Greeks, by appropriating objects and their names coming from the Orient, intellectually mastered the Orient. The words and their objects by assimilation finally were regarded by the Byzantines as an integral part of their own world.

The word *μουζάκιον* “boots,” initially Persian, had entered Greek by the tenth century. One of the derivations of this word was characterized as Greek by Leo the Deacon. According to him, the Armenian word *tzimiskēs* (Arm. շմուշկ *šmušk*), a nickname of the emperor John I, should be translated into Greek as *μουζακίτζης* (“short or small boots”).¹⁸³ By the time of Leo the Deacon, Byzantines perceived the word as having been originally Greek. Panagiotakes’ suggestion that *μουζακίτζης* is a Hellenized form of another Armenian word *մուճակ* *mučak* “a kind of shoe” is implausible because the Greek word phonetically is closer to the Persian original than to an Armenian derivation.¹⁸⁴ Even less probable is the Albanian origin of *μουζάκιον* suggested by Polemis.¹⁸⁵ A nickname or family name *Μουζάκιος* or *Μουζάκης* existed from the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries.¹⁸⁶ Bearers of the second name might well have been relatives. The name evidently derives from *μουζάκιον*. The word became an integral part of Greek vocabulary and appeared in different genres through the fifteenth century. It is found in the mid-fourteenth-century treatise by Pseudo-Kodinos as its plural *μουζάκια*. Verpeaux translates it as “les empeignes,” that is, “upper.”¹⁸⁷ Further examples, however, imply that the meaning of *μουζάκιον* in fact was broader than “upper” and may have signified boots in general. In a financial note dated to 1324 one finds a derivative *μουζακοπέτζωμα* “soling of boots” (*μουζακ* + Greek *~πέτζωμα* “soling, providing with a sole”).¹⁸⁸ Another derivative *μουζακοπράτης* “boot maker/seller” is found in the financial notes of Cardinal Isidore of Kiev dated to 1443.¹⁸⁹

In the Byzantine world, the Persian word *τζαμανδās* was no longer perceived as a foreign word. Thomas Magistros explains the meaning of the

183 Leo the Deacon, *Leonis Diaconi historiae libri X* 5.9, ed. Karl Benedikt Hase (Bonn, 1828), p. 92.4: “εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεθερμηνευόμενον μουζακίτζην δηλοῖ.”

184 Panagiotakes, Nikolaos M. *Λέων ο Διάκονος. Α. Βιογραφικά. Β. Χειρόγραφα και εκδόσεις* (Athens, 1965), p. 105 n. 3.

185 Polemis, Demetrios I. *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), p. 147 and n. 5.

186 Polemis, *The Doukai*, pp. 147–48.

187 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 144.5.

188 Schreiner, *Texte zur späthbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 463 (App. VI, dated to 1328), 468 (App. VIII, dated to 1324).

189 Schreiner, *Texte zur späthbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 282 (66.5), Schreiner’s explanations of the word on p. 285 are imprecise (“Oberleder für Schuhe”).

Attic φάσκωλος "suitcase": "a sack made from leather for carrying clothing called *commonly* τζαμανδᾶς" ("Φάσκωλος – ὁ ἐκ δέρματος ὁ λεγόμενος ἰδιωτικῶς τζαμανδᾶς, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἱμάτια φέρομεν").¹⁹⁰ This means that, by the time of Thomas, φάσκωλος was obsolete, hardly understandable for most people, and had been completely replaced by the Persian τζαμανδᾶς.

Byzantines spoke of ζαρκολᾶς as belonging to "the common language of the Romans" ("ὁ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν γλῶτταν Ῥωμαῖοι ζαρκολᾶν λέγουσι"), testifying that the word had entered the spoken Greek language.¹⁹¹ Whether Christian Greeks wore ζαρκολᾶς as part of their costume originally borrowed from the East is difficult to say; the Greeks probably did use such caps once it became a common word in their vocabulary. In any case, the word had been fully assimilated by Greeks by the mid-fifteenth century.

Another Persian word, mentioned by Doukas, ζατρίκιον "chess," had been borrowed by the Byzantines by the tenth or eleventh century. Doukas referred to chess in his account of Bayezid's captivity by the emir Timur. In the fifteenth century, Doukas, apparently deeming the word to be originally Greek, explained to his readers that ζατρίκιον is called *shatra(n)* by the Persians and *scaci* by the Latins ("παίζων ζατρίκιον, ὃ οἱ Πέρσαι σαντράτζ καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι σκάκον").¹⁹² It seems Doukas did not recognize in ζατρίκιον and σαντράτζ the same Persian root and perceived the former as native and the latter as foreign. Doukas seems to be unaware that chess was invented in the Orient, although he was clearly interested in the game, to which he returned again in his description of the first meeting of the defeated sultan Bayezid I and the emir Timur. Timur had just lost a game to his son. Doukas' etymological information is wrong; however, it is clear that he knew Turkish, although his knowledge was limited.¹⁹³

Another indication of a profound assimilation of Oriental loan-words in Middle Greek can be seen in Greek derivatives from borrowed Oriental roots, such as a group of words combining an Oriental root with a Greek morpheme, including μουζακοπράτης and μουζακοπέτζωμα. A similar example is represented by παζαριώτης, in which a new word is constructed from an Oriental stem and the Greek *nomen agentis* suffix ~ιώτης. Pontic bynames Καλκανᾶς

190 Thomas Magistros, ed. Ritschl, p. 380.

191 Doukas 23.9 (p. 179.20).

192 Doukas 16.9 (p. 99.17). On σκάκος ← Italian ← Arabic, see: *LBG*, p. 1558.

193 Doukas 16.10 (p. 99.31–33): "Τότε καὶ ὁ Ταμῆρ ἡττηθεὶς ἐν τῷ τοῦ σκάκω παιγνίῳ παρὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ – δούς αὐτῷ περσιστὶ σιαχροῦχ, ὃ λέγεται παρ' Ἰταλοῖς σκάκω ζογάω, ἐκάλεσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἔκτοτε Σιαχροῦχ, ἥγουν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ." In fact, "checkmate" in Persian and Arabic sounds like *shāhmāt*, while the name of Timur's son Shāhrukh has nothing to do with chess.

(← Turkic *kalkan* “shield”),¹⁹⁴ Φουρνουτζιώτης “baker” (← Turkic *furuncu* / *fırıncı*), and Τζαχᾶς (← Turkic *ocak* “hearth, stove”),¹⁹⁵ that consist of a Turkish stem (καλκάν-, φουρνουτζι-, τζαχά-) and the Greek *nomen agentis*, are further examples. These names could not have entered ready-made in the rural Greek dialect but were the product of the onymization of respective appellatives borrowed by the Greeks. To the Byzantine ear some Oriental terms sounded like Greek, thus demonstrating the remarkable degree of appropriation of foreign names and objects.

A crowning example is the remarkable Pontic hybrid consisting of two elements – Greek and Turkic – δεσποινάχατ.¹⁹⁶ The word comprises Greek δέσποινα “mistress, queen” and χατ ← Turkic *qat* which is a contraction of *qatın* / *kadın* “woman, maiden”¹⁹⁷ and plays the role of an anthropo-lexeme and second component in Turkish names referring to the female sex.¹⁹⁸ Panaretos twice designated the Trapezuntine princess (δέσποινα) Maria who was the wife (*qat*) of Qutlu-bek, emir of the Aqquyunlu Turkmens, as δεσποινάχατ. The anthropo-lexeme χατ/*qat* is also found in the name of the Georgian princess Κουλκάνχατ, that is, the “maiden” Koulkan.¹⁹⁹ Moravcsik’s suggestion that χατ is a derivation from χατούν ← Turkic *hatun* “mistress, queen, etc.”²⁰⁰ (← Sogdian),²⁰¹ which is better known from post-Byzantine Greek sources,²⁰² is linguistically inexplicable. On the other hand, the word *hatun* was also in use in fourteenth-century east Anatolian Greek; in an epitaph from Erzincan, μεγίστη χατούνα was used to refer to a certain Greek woman who died in 1341 (or 1343).²⁰³

194 AVaz, no. 106.341; Shukurov, Rustam. “The Byzantine Turks of the Pontos,” *Mésogaios. Revue trimestrielle d’études méditerranéennes* 6 (1999), p. 15.

195 Lampros. Ανέκδοτον. Σ. 198.8; *PLP*, no. 27693; Shukurov, “The Byzantine Turks of the Pontos,” p. 22; see also above Chapter 7.3.

196 Panaretos, pp. 72.27, 76.3; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:343–44.

197 Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 2:277.

198 Rásonyi, László and Baski, Imre. *Onomasticon Turcicum: Turkic Personal Names*, 2 vols (Bloomington, IN, 2007), p. LXX.

199 She is mentioned by Panaretos in the entry concerning 1377 (Panaretos, p. 78.29).

200 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:343–44.

201 Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. LXVIII.

202 Theodora Grand Komnene, the wife of Uzun Hasan, was referred to as δέσποινα χατούν, see: Philippides, Marios. *Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373–1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century* (Brookline, MA, 1990), pp. 68.9, 126.9.

203 Cumont, Franz. “Inscription de l’époque des Comnènes de Trébizonde,” in *Mélanges d’histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne* (Paris, 1926), pp. 67–72. According to Cumont’s reading, after the honorary definition “μεγίστη χατούνα” (where one should expect the name of

Despite the insufficiency of explicit evidence, the share of Orientalisms in Greek colloquial vocabulary would have been noticeable. In the Byzantine epic *Digenes Akrites*, which was written in Late Byzantine times, it appears that for "infidel, heathen, pagan" Byzantines might have used the colloquial forms *χανζύρισσα* (female pig)²⁰⁴ and *χατζιροφαγούσα* (literally, fem. "pork eater")²⁰⁵ of the same Arabic root *khinzīr* "pork." *Khinzīr* was also adopted from Arabic by the Persians and Turks (*hinzir*).²⁰⁶ In the epic, a Muslim mother reproaching her son, who had fallen in love with a Christian girl, applied to her these mocking terms *χανζύρισσα* and *χατζιροφαγούσα* imitating Muslim anti-Christian discourse. It is obvious that the word *χανζύρ/χατζίρ* "pork" was well known to the Greeks and needed no translation. Moreover, *χατζιροφαγούσα* seems to have been a purely Greek neologism having no exact counterpart in Arabic, Persian, or Turkish. Hence, it is very likely that *χανζύρ/χατζίρ* had entered the colloquial vocabulary of the Byzantines,²⁰⁷ confirmed by the presence of *χαζίριν* "pig," another variant of the same Arabic root, in *Asmā*.²⁰⁸ Curiously, in Modern Greek, the word is not found.

In Late Byzantine literature a rare example of the purely Turkic abstract term *διαγο(υ)μάς* "loot, plunder" is found. The word first appears in fifteenth-century literature. John Kananos uses it in his vernacular description of the Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1422 ("εἰς διαγουμὰν παραδίδη and ἐπαπαδόθην ἡ πόλις

the deceased) follows "πρεβητέρισα" ("priest's wife," in normalized form *πρεσβυτέρισσα*). Cumont believes that the deceased woman first was the wife of a noble Muslim, and afterwards she married a priest. However, this interpretation does not explain why the woman's name is not mentioned in the epitaph, which is contrary to common practices. The reading *πρεβητέρισα* is doubtful and, instead of it, there should stand a woman's name. I have no better reading than the proper name *Πρεβη[σ]τένισα* (feminine of *Πρεβεστηνός*). The honorary designation "μεγίστη χατοῦνα" does not necessarily imply that her husband was the "ruler of Erzincan" or that she herself belonged to the Grand Komnenian family, as Cumont suggested. The husband of the woman could have been a noble Muslim, and she could have been a local Greek. Cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:344; *PLP*, no. 30737.

204 *Digenes Akrites*, ed. Mavrogordato, p. 28.82; *Digenes Akrites*, ed. Trapp, p. 112 (G II 390), cf. with p. 113 (Z III 626): *χαριντζίρισσα*.

205 *Digenes Akrites*, ed. Trapp, p. 112 (E 260); *Digenis Akritis. The Grottaferrata and Escorial versions*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (Cambridge, 1998), p. 258 (E 269).

206 Steingass, Francis J. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to Be Met with in Persian Literature* (London, 1984), p. 477; Redhouse, James W. *Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük* (Istanbul, 1997), p. 479.

207 Cf.: Grégoire, Henri. "Injure tudesque . . . ou arabe?," *Byzantion* 9 (1934), p. 384.

208 *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 56v: *خَزِيرِينَ* [khazirīn]).

εις διαγουμάν”).²⁰⁹ Later the Koutloumousiou monastery’s chronicles, written sometime in the fifteenth century, employ the expression ποιῶ διαγουμάν “to loot, to plunder” referring to the Ottoman seizure of Thessalonike in 1430 (“ἔποικέ την διαγουμάν”) and Constantinople in 1453 (“ἔποικάν την διαγουμάν”).²¹⁰ This word rather early entered the Persian language as well, denoting the devastating plunder and pillage typical of Turkish raids.²¹¹ It is found also in Arabic where it has even produced the verb *يَغْصِمُ* *yaghghama* “to plunder.”²¹² The word was adopted also by the Slavic languages of the Balkans.²¹³ In some sense, this is an abstract notion, which differs from many Oriental loan-words in Byzantine Greek denoting material objects borrowed from the Orient. It has passed to Modern Greek in the words διαγούμισμα “plunder,” διαγουμιστής “plunderer,” διαγουμίζω/διαγουμάω “to plunder.”

Two documents from fifteenth-century Pontos contain the expression ποιῶ ταβήν “to quarrel, to conflict, to scold” ← Ottoman *da’va etmek* “to claim, to demand.”²¹⁴ As Papadopoulos notes, ταβή “quarrel, strife, hatred, abuse” (ἔρις, φιλονικία) is associated with modern Pontic Greek ταβίζω “to quarrel” and also “to reprove, to scold.”²¹⁵ However, the original ποιῶ ταβήν is a calque of a Turkic expression which itself derived from Persian *da’wā kardan* (*dāshtan*) with the same meaning. The Greek document containing this expression, judging by anthroponymical evidence, was compiled before the Ottoman conquest. Therefore the expression entered the Greek language in the Byzantine period.

Not only individual lexemes penetrated into the Greek language, but even idiomatic expressions and notions, which unmistakably point to a high degree of influence of the Turkic tongue. To the Byzantine ear, many of these Oriental borrowings sounded Greek, indicating the depth of the adaptation of foreign names and objects. It may be suggested that Oriental languages (especially Turkic) often may well have been the source of negative and mocking

209 Kananos, John. *Giovanni Cananos, L'assedio di Costantinopoli*, ed. Emilio Pinto (Messina, 1977), pp. 59-159, 59-165 (§ 8).

210 Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, 1:655-1, 656.4.

211 Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 4:181-82; Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 1532.

212 Baranov, Kharlampij K. *Арабско-русский словарь* (Moscow, 1977), p. 918.

213 Miklosich, *Die Türkischen*, p. 314.

214 *AVaz.* no. 5.3-6, no. 6.4; Lampsides, Odysseus. “Γλωσσικά σχόλια εις μεσαιωνικά κείμενα του Πόντου,” *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 17 (1952) p. 230; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 2:353.

215 Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 2:353; Lampsides, “Γλωσσικά σχόλια,” p. 230. Cf.: *LBG*, p. 1736 with the wrong meaning “Vertrag.”

expressions in the Greek spoken language. In the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries, the Turkic language had a low cultural status in the eyes of Byzantines. However, with the growth of the Ottoman state and civilization and its increasing influence on Byzantine life from the second half of the fourteenth century onward, the prestige of Turkish in general, and of the borrowed Turkic vocabulary in particular, reached its apex during the Tourkokratia.

11 Diglossia and Place-Names

In addition to hierarchical *vertical* relationships of ethnogeographical terms, in which diglossic censorship prevented traditional ethnonymy and toponymy from the inclusion of new names, there are *horizontal* linkages between traditional and new terminology that demonstrate a "linguistic invasion" of the Orient in the Byzantine world. New geographic and ethnic names penetrated Byzantine texts continuously throughout Byzantine history, performing the function of synonymous doublets for older "scientific" geographical nomenclature, sometimes gradually displacing old names. The Byzantine linguistic field existed in two terminological grids: "scientific" literature and spoken language. In Late Byzantium, a radical revision of traditional names describing the world occurred.

Symptomatic is the special genre of *metonomasia* (μετονομασία), that is, concordance lists of relevant old and new geographical and ethnic names, the oldest of which goes back to the twelfth century. The content of these lists encompassed place-names both within the boundaries of the Byzantine empire and beyond, in particular the toponymy of the Middle East (Azerbaijan, Syria, Iraq) and the Balkans. For example, in the Balkans and the Danube region modern names such as Hungary, Serbia, Strumica, and Vardar are mentioned; in the Middle East it is Tabriz, Mayafariqin, Aleppo, and Amid.²¹⁶ The presence of these lists indicates that new names were not only present in Greek

216 Diller, Aubrey. "Byzantine Lists of Old and New Geographical Names," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 63 (1970), pp. 27–42. For another *metonomasia*, see: Lampsides, Odysseus. "Georges Chrysococcis, le médecin, et son œuvre," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 38 (1938), pp. 320–22; it belongs not to the pen of George Chrysokokkes but Allatios (Diller, "Byzantine Lists," p. 29 n. 11). Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1:465–66. See also a *metonomasia* compiled for ecclesiastical needs: Rhalles, Georgios and Potles, Michael. *Σύνταγμα των θείων και ιερών κανόνων*, 6 vols (Athens, 1852–59), pp. 495–96; Borodin, Oleg R. and Gukova, Sania N. *История географической мысли в Византии* (St. Petersburg, 2000), pp. 138–40.

linguistics, but were also widely used by Byzantines. These lists were designed precisely to align an imaginary terminological milieu with everyday practice.

Doublet geographical names are found mostly in the writings of Byzantine authors with a relatively shallow knowledge of tradition where literary taste allowed the use of explicit neologisms. For instance, in the first half of the fifteenth century, John Kanaboutzes (seemingly a descendant of Italian ancestors) in his commentary on Dionysios of Halicarnassus, referred to Turkic names in his description of cities of western Asia Minor. Speaking of Halicarnassus, he noted that in his time it was an unpopulated and desolate place in an area called by the Turks Μανταχίας (← Turkic *Menteşe*).²¹⁷ About Mount Ida in Troy, he said that “now the Turks call it in their own language κὰς τάγ, that is, Goose Hill.”²¹⁸ John Kanaboutzes imposed here the Turkic place-name Kazdağ. Elsewhere he relates that Assos “is now called Μαχράμης” (← Turkic Bahram/Behram, today’s Behramkale), while Abydos’ name is Γενησάρη (← Yenışehir, a village on the Dardanelles).²¹⁹ These indications are correct, and the transliteration and translation of the Turkic words are perfectly accurate. John Kanaboutzes definitely knew Turkish.

Another genre of technical texts – astrological treatises – alternately used old and new geographic and ethnic nomenclature. The *Horoscope for Trebizond* referred to the new place-names Amid, Mosul, and Gilan. Such new nomenclature is found in many other Late Byzantine astrological texts. A short treatise, *On the Climates Relating to Each of the Zodiac Signs*, presents a list of actual Asian toponyms, in particular focusing on the geography of Iran and Khorasan: Mecca, Hijaz, Ray, Hamadan, Isfahan, Kirman, Balkh, Bukhara, and Kabul.²²⁰ The manuscript Vatic. gr. 1056 containing this treatise, according to palaeographic features, dates to the fourteenth century.²²¹ It seems the text was compiled from the end of the thirteenth up to the first half of the fourteenth

217 Kanaboutzes, John. *Ioannis Canabutzae Magistri ad principem Aeni et Samothracas in Dionysium Halicarnasensem commentaries*, ed. M. Lehnerdt (Leipzig, 1890), p. 16.1–2. On John Kanaboutzes, see: Diller, Aubrey. “Joannes Canabutzes,” *Byzantion* 40 (1970), pp. 271–75; Diller, Aubrey. “Joannes Canabutzes and Michael Chrysococces,” *Byzantion* 42 (1972), pp. 257–58. Curiously, John Kanaboutzes, probably, belonged to the circle of George Gemistos Plethon and left his notes on the latter’s autograph (Codex Marc. gr. 406).

218 John Kanaboutzes, pp. 47.26–48.3: “ἄτινα καλοῦσιν σήμερον οἱ Τοῦρκοι τῇ ἑαυτῶν γλώσσει κὰς τάγ ἥτοι βουνὸς τῶν χηνῶν κὰς γὰρ παρ’ αὐτῶν λέγεται ὁ χῆν καὶ τάγ ὁ βουνός.”

219 John Kanaboutzes, p. 47.4–7.

220 Περὶ κλιμάτων τῶν ἀνακειμένων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ζῳδίῳ (Excerpta ex codice Vatic. gr. 1056), in *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, 5/3:131–132.

221 *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, 5/3:7.

century, when Byzantine-Iranian connections in the sciences were especially close. In vernacular usage, the new foreign geographic and ethnic names almost completely ousted the older ones. The nomenclature of the itineraries for merchants and pilgrims, which were of a purely utilitarian character, consisted almost exclusively of the new foreign toponyms and ethnonyms.²²² In addition, the foreign endonyms of neighboring nations were widely employed in other utilitarian texts which were not subject to diglossic censorship. For Late Byzantine times foreign ethnonymy was abundantly represented in documentary sources, seals, anthroponymics, and toponymics.²²³ In technical texts of these kinds, traditional "scientific" nomenclature is hardly ever found.

It would be wrong, however, to think that only technical utilitarian texts employed Oriental geographical terminology. For instance, in Mazaris' satirical pamphlet, which was intended for a wider circle of the reading public and devoid of any "scientific" claims, one encounters geographical Turkisms such as "the White Sea" for the Mediterranean Sea and "the Black Sea" for the Euxeinos Pontos: "μελαίνης μὲν καὶ λευκῆς θαλάττης."²²⁴ Mazaris used these terms rather than the traditional denominations ἡ Θάλαττα, ἡ ἐντὸς θάλαττα, ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλαττα for the Mediterranean Sea, and Πόντος Εὐξεινος and Πόντος for the Black Sea. The terminological shift was due to the Turkic linguistic influence: Tk. Akdeniz (Aq-Deñiz) "white sea" for the Mediterranean and Tk. Karadeniz (Qara-Deñiz) "black sea" for the Euxine Sea.²²⁵ This represents a significant shift in Byzantine mentality, and even more a realignment of the very cradle of Greek civilization. By the fifteenth century, Byzantines almost exclusively used

222 See, for instance: Ebersolt, Jean. "Un itinéraire de Chypre en Perse d'après le Parisinus 1712," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 15 (1906), pp. 223–26; see also Indexes to Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, and esp.: III. Griechische Länder-, Völker- und Ortsnamen.

223 Bibikov, Mikhail V. *Византийские источники по истории древней Руси и Кавказа* (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 84, 175–85, 266–71; Bibikov, Mikhail V. "К изучению византийской этнонимии," in *Византийские очерки* (Moscow, 1982), p. 150.

224 Mazaris' *Journey to Hades: or, Interviews with Dead Men about Certain Officials of the Imperial Court*, ed. J.N. Barry, M. Share, A. Smithies, and L.G. Westerink (New York, 1975), p. 36.23 (new edn.: *La satira bizantina dei secoli XI–XV*, ed. R. Romano (Turin, 1999)).

225 Clauson, Gerard. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 527, with further bibliographical references. For Arabic and Persian names of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea that influenced the Turkic practice, but did not fully coincide with it, see: Miquel, André. *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11^e siècle*, 2: *Géographie arabe et représentation du monde: la terre et l'étranger* (Paris, 1975), pp. 530–33.

the foreign “modern” terminology for areas outside the political boundaries of their states.²²⁶

Late Byzantine geography actively adopted new terminology without a direct analogue in Byzantine scientific tradition. For example, George Gemistos Plethon, in the part of his well-known geographical treatise where he corrects the errors of Strabo, introduces new ethnic and geographical nomenclature unknown before in Greek geography.²²⁷ The new terminology is represented in the notes of Laskaris Kananos (1450s–70s) when describing the lands of the North and Baltic Seas.²²⁸ Whenever possible Laskaris Kananos brought formerly unknown geographical material to known scientific categories; in reference to Iceland (Ἰσλάντη) he identified it with the Ptolemaic island Thoule.²²⁹ Laonikos Chalkokondyles also employed such terminology.²³⁰ In

226 See, for instance: Laiou, Angeliki E. “The Black Sea of Pachymeres,” in *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies Dedicated to D.M. Nicol* (London, 1993), pp. 94–121; Eadem. “Italy and the Italians in the Political Geography of the Byzantines (14th Century),” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1995), pp. 73–98; Trapp, Erich. “Aktualität in byzantinischen Reiseberichten,” in *Zeitgeschichte und seine Darstellung im Mittelalter*, ed. C. Corneau (Bonn, 1995), pp. 47–58; Schreiner, Peter. “Byzantinische Orientreisende im 14. Jahrhundert,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement VI (Wiesbaden, 1985), pp. 141–49.

227 The text is published in: Diller, Aubrey. “A Geographical Treatise by Georgius Gemistus Pletho,” *Isis* 27/3 (1937), pp. 442–46. A Russian translation: Gukova, Sania N. “К вопросу об источниках географического трактата Плифона,” *Византийский временник* 44 (1983), pp. 94–97. See also: Borodin and Gukova, *История географической мысли*, pp. 132–34.

228 Kananos, Laskaris. *Reseanteckningar från de nordiska länderna*, ed. V. Lundström (Uppsala, 1902), pp. 14–17: Πουρσία (Prussia), Σουήτζια (Sweden), Στοχόλμω (Stockholm), Νορβηγία (Norway), Ρήγα (Riga), Πορτεγάλλε (Portugal), etc. (see commentaries on the text on pp. 20–32); Vasiliev, Alexander. *Ласкарь Канан, византийский путешественник XV в. по северной Европе и в Исландии* (Kharkiv, 1914); *Die Nordlandreise des Laskaris Kananos*, in *Europa im xv. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen* (Graz, Vienna, and Cologne, 1954), pp. 99–105 (a German translation: pp. 103–05); Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:519; Borodin and Gukova, *История географической мысли*, pp. 140–44; Hägg, Tomas. “A Byzantine Visit to Bergen: Laskaris Kananos and his Description of the Baltic and North Sea Region,” *Graeco-Arabica* 9–10 (2004), pp. 183–98.

229 Laskaris Kananos. *Reseanteckningar*, p. 16.49.

230 Ditten, Hans. “Bemerkungen zu Laonikos Chalkokondyles. Nachrichten über die Länder und Völker an den europäischen Küsten des Schwarzen Meeres (15. Jahrhundert u. Z.),” *Klio* 43–45 (1965), pp. 185–246; Ditten, Hans. “Bemerkungen zu Laonikos Chalkokondyles: Deutschlands-Exkurz,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 (1966), pp. 49–75; Ditten, Hans. “Spanien und die Spanier im Spiegel der Geschichtsschreibung des byzantinischen Historikers Chalkokondyles (15. Jh.),” *Helikon* 3 (1963), pp. 170–95; Borodin and Gukova, *История географической мысли*, pp. 136–38.

an anonymous geographical treatise from the manuscript G1M, Син. гр. 509, presumably of the fourteenth century, its author displays traditional scientific nomenclature but also provides new place-names for the Black Sea region and the Balkans.²³¹ Although Plethon, Kananos, and Chalkokondyles cannot be considered typical authors of the genre (especially Chalkokondyles who wrote after the collapse of Byzantine civilization), their examples indicate an openness on the part of intellectuals to renovate traditional scientific knowledge about the outer world.

Metonomasiai, geographical works, and utilitarian texts delineate the diglossic gap between scientific and vernacular nomenclature systems. Vernacular foreign nomenclature was used on an everyday level, while the use of traditional scientific names was a privilege of the educated classes and is found only in higher literary genres. This gap was understood by educated contemporaries, signs of which are to be found in their texts. For example, Nikephoros Gregoras deliberately opposed scientific and vernacular ethnonymy: "when the emperor [Michael VIII Palaiologos] returned to the capital, the Massagets from the other side of Istra secretly send to him an embassy; vernacular language names them Alans."²³² Similar usage is seen to some extent earlier. For instance, John Kinnamos referred to a gorge in Phrygia in barbaric terminology: (βαρβαρικῶς ὠνομασμένον) Τζιβρηλιτζημανί, while Akropoltes made use of the Turkic name Aksaray (Ἀξαρα) for the Greek place-name Archelais.²³³ It was in Late Byzantine times, however, especially since the end of the thirteenth century, when a clear trend to upgrade traditional scientific knowledge was displayed, especially its Turkic-Muslim component. This was due to a large extent to the expansion of the Turkic world and the concomitant change in the status of Turks in the Byzantine imaginary. In order to understand this new Turkic world, which encompassed the old imperial lands in Anatolia, Crimea,

231 *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, 12:74–75; Shangin, Mstislav A. "Новый географический текст," *Вестник древней истории* 4 (1938), pp. 252–55; Kazhdan, Alexander P. "Review: *Moravcsik, Gyula. Byzantinoturcica...*," *Византийский временник* 16 (1959), pp. 286–87; Ivanov, Sergej A. "An Anonymous Byzantine Geographical Treatise," *Revue des études byzantines* 60 (2002), pp. 167–77. This treatise is supplemented with a Late Byzantine map, which has been published and discussed in: Podosinov, Aleksandr V. "Вновь найденная поздневизантийская карта мира," *Византийский временник* 69 (2010), pp. 230–47.

232 Gregoras, 1:204.14–16: "Κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔτος ἐς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐπανήκοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ πέμπουσιν τινες τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον Μασσαγετῶν λαθραῖαν πρεσβείαν· Ἀλανοὺς ἢ κοινῇ τοῦτους καλεῖ διάλεκτος"; Dieterich, Karl. *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde*, 5.-15. Jahrhundert, 2 pts in 1 vol. (Leipzig, 1912), 2:51.

233 Kinnamos, John. *Ioannis Cinnami epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. August Meineke (Bonn, 1836), p. 47.2; Akropolites, 1:137.11.

and the Russian steppes, Byzantines could no longer operate using the older geographical names associated with another reality and order. The Byzantines could no longer ignore the fact that the Roman *oikoumene*, once meticulously investigated and named by the Greeks and the Romans, now belonged to other masters who gave it other names.

12 Diglossia and the Redoubling of the World

The duplication of toponymy raises an issue important for the reconstruction of Late Byzantine mentality. Oriental loan-words were current in a variety of spheres of life, even penetrating literate and official usage in the life of the imperial court and administration. In Byzantine linguistic usage, these Oriental borrowings not associated with new foreign objects, coexisted with standard Greek denominations serving as doublets (see Table 14).

TABLE 14 *Some doublets in Middle Greek*

Loaned Terminology	Aboriginal Terms
ἀμανάτιον “pawn”	ἀποτίμησις
διαγο(υ)μάς “plunder”	άρπαγή
διφθέριν “account book”	κατάστιχον
ζαρταλού “apricot”	βερίκοκκον
καλάϊ “tin”	κασσίτερος
μαῖμου “monkey”	πίθηκος
μουζάκιον “boot”	τζάγγη, κόθορνος
μουζακοπράτης “boot maker/seller”	τζαγγάρης
παζάριον “market”	ἀγορά, ἐμπόριον
παζαριώτης “merchant”	ἐμπορος
παπούτζιον “footgear”	ὕπόδημα
πούρτζιον “tower”	φρούριον
σαντούκιον “chest”	κιβωτός
τζαμάνδος “suitcase”	φάσκωλος
τοσέκιν “bed”	κράββατος
τουκάνιν “shop”	ἐργαστήριον
φίλιν “elephant”	ἐλέφας
χαβιάρι “caviar”	ῥοτάριχα, ῥὰ τῶν ἰχθύων
χαμάλης “porter”	ἄχθοφόρος

The Greek and Oriental doublet terminology was an updating of traditional nomenclature that resulted in a factual duplication which persisted for many decades. The outside world, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, existed for the Byzantines in two parallel terminological systems.

These Greek counterparts of Oriental doublets were current in Byzantine literature of the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries.²³⁴ Their appearance in written language was unsystematic, with colloquial forms often used as an option for standard ones. Moreover, the variant and standard forms could coexist in a single text by the same author.

For this linguistic phenomenon in the sociocultural context of Byzantine-Oriental interrelations I coin the phrase "redoubling of the world." When the same object bears two names, the image of the world redoubles and overlaps. This concerns not only loan-words but the explicit vector of Late Byzantine mentality, which was in the process of a reappraisal of the world and its description. Byzantines clearly felt and marked in their texts the restructuring of their model of the world. This sensitivity to linguistic drift was remarkable for the medieval Mediterranean societies, certifying the sophistication of Byzantine civilization and the exceptional depth of the analytical "scientific" experience of the Greeks at this time.

As a rule, in the higher genres of literature if the text used an explicit Orientalism the author, as if apologizing, marked this neologism syntactically and applied its Greek doublet. Akropolites marked a Turkism with the expression "ἡ χυδαία γλῶττα κατονομάζει."²³⁵ Doukas when referring to Turkic loaned doublets made reservations in the same sense using "as we say it in our modern language" ("κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν κοινὴν γλῶτταν," "κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν γλῶτταν Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσι,"). Gregoras used in these cases the synonymous expression "κοινὴ τούτους καλεῖ διάλεκτος." Thomas Magistros in a similar case would have said "λεγόμενος ἰδιωτικῶς." It was not only professional writers and intellectuals who provided reservations, but also the compilers of documents and technical texts. Pseudo-Kodinos says that the court translator (διερμηνευτής) "κοινῶς δραγουμάνους καλοῦσιν";²³⁶ in the same way, about a specific (Oriental) type of a spear, it is noted that "ὃν κοινῶς καλοῦσι σαλίβαν" (← Arabic *thaliba*).²³⁷ Similar reservations are found in treatises relating to the Grand Komnenian court hierarchy. In the poetical version of the list of dignitaries, it is maintained that "πρῶτος σπαθαρῶν ὅστις ἀμυρτζαντάριος καλεῖται κατὰ Πέρσας," while in the

²³⁴ For the usage of the Greek counterparts of these pairs in Byzantine literature, see: *TLG*.

²³⁵ Akropolites, 1:75.2.

²³⁶ Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 184.17–19. On δραγουμάνος see also below Section 13.

²³⁷ Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 161.19–20. It was an old loan-word: *LBG*, p. 1524.

prosaic version a doublet term “ἀκόλουθος ἦτοι ὁ χουρτζήζ” is found.²³⁸ Variant neologisms are syntactically highlighted and the “Persian” (that is, most likely, Anatolian Seljuk) origin of one of them is marked. These neologisms were not an indispensable element of the text: *protospapharios* in the prosaic version and *akolouthos* in the poetic version are given without their Oriental doublets. Other sources, however, clearly indicate that these Oriental loan-words replaced in common usage their Greek counterparts and acquired the status of standard ones; this is why the anonymous authors of the dignitary lists preferred to mention the Oriental titles as well.

The noted discursive techniques with the usage of κοινή γλώττα, χυδαία γλώττα, κοινή διάλεκτος, λεγόμενος ιδιωτικῶς, and simply λεγόμενος were frequent in Late Byzantine literature, marking colloquial and dialectal forms in general. Orientalisms were not only considered as part of *the spoken Greek language*, but were rarely differentiated as foreign elements. For this reason, it is difficult to imagine how widespread the layer of Orientalisms was in the spoken language of the Byzantines, but undoubtedly they were much more numerous than surviving texts preserve.

Duplication went much further than the substitution of obsolete names with a new vocabulary. The impact of Oriental costume on Late Byzantine fashion meant that an average Byzantine constructed his own identity using alien elements. Moreover, the construction of this new image occurred in the same vein as lexical doublets: a Byzantine did not dress himself completely like a Muslim, but added a few elements borrowed from Eastern costume, as Gregoras aptly noted.

In the Greek Pontic mental space, it seems that educated persons lived not only in their own, traditional Byzantine time (Adam’s era, the year beginning on 1 September), but also in the variant foreign chronology. The beginning of the *Horoscope for Trebizond* referred to the traditional Byzantine dating of the coming year (6844 from Adam), but in the ephemeris, on which the Horoscope was based, the anonymous author adduced the Muslim match for the Byzantine year: “the year 737 of the Arabs.” The reference to the “Arab” year was not incidental or a sort of intellectual amusement but part of a specific system in which Muslim months were referred to throughout the entire year, presenting a variant chronology to the Christian Byzantine year in which Christian religious holidays were marked as well.²³⁹ Moreover, the upcoming

238 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, pp. 348.36–38 and 345.18.

239 Mercier, *An Almanac for Trebizond*: ἀράβων ψλζ (p. 29), σαπάν (Arabic شعبان *sha’bān*, p. 30, 52), ραμαδάν (Arabic رمضان *ramaḍān*, p. 32), σαουάλ (Arabic شوال *shawwāl*, p. 34),

year was marked not only the year 6844 and 737, but at the same time was described as “the Year of the Mouse” (ποντικός). A separate chapter of the Horoscope, “On the Mouse, the first sign of the Tatars,” dealt with the description of the year according to the Mongol calendar.²⁴⁰ There is no doubt that this redundant information about the Muslim and Mongol calendars was not just an intellectual game of the anonymous author, but rather was in demand by consumers of the Horoscope. Consequently, Pontic Greeks in 1336/37 lived in three variant systems of cosmic time.

The astrological school in Trebizond (as well as in Constantinople) was heavily influenced by Irano-Arabic (primarily, the Tabrizan) astrology. At the same time, Iranian astrology in the fourteenth century adopted the twelve-year animal cycle of the Mongol calendar. Consequently, collecting information in Iran the Trapezuntine astrologers obtained readymade two calendar systems. In the context of our prevailing image of Byzantine cultural and religious autarchy, such an accommodating differentiation of Byzantine ideas of divine space and time is difficult to imagine. However, after all, consumer demand for the knowledge of foreign chronology allowed Trapezuntine astrologers to consider both foreign calendars.

Foreign names and notions began to oust both old vocabulary and old ideas. For Byzantine times, however, one should not speak of complete displacement of Greek traditional elements (except for individual cases), but rather of the appearance of an influential foreign *variant*. In the time of Tourkokratia the widespread displacement of native Greek vocabulary would be apparent. During Late Byzantium everyday consciousness was only just beginning to prefer the “new” barbaric names for the world (names of people, objects, abstract concepts, lands, stars, time). Once the bright and classic lines of the Byzantine world-picture began growing hazy and blurred, there appeared beside and over them alien features, other colors.

δελχάτε (Arabic ذوالقعدة *dhū al-qaʿda*, p. 36), δελχίτζε (Arabic ذوالحجة *dhū al-hijja*, p. 38), μούχαραν (Arabic *muharram*, p. 38), σαφάρ (Arabic صفر *ṣafar*, p. 40), ραπιελάβελ (Arabic ربيع الاول *rabīʿ al-awwal*, p. 42), ραπιελάχηρ (Arabic ربيع الآخر *rabīʿ al-ākhir*, p. 44), τζημιλάβελ (Arabic جماد الاول *jumād al-awwal*, p. 46), τζηματιλάχηρ (Arabic جماد الآخر *jumād al-ākhir*, p. 48), ρατζάπ (Arabic رجب *rajab*, p. 50).

Gregory Chioniadēs in his Περσική σύνταξις ἀστρονομίας also widely uses Muslim and Zoroastrian calendars: Pingree, David. *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniadēs* (Amsterdam, 1985), *passim*.

240 Lampros, “Τραπεζουντιακόν ωροσκόπιον,” p. 42.1: “Περὶ τοῦ πρώτου στοιχοῦ τῶν Τατάρων τοῦ ποντικοῦ.”

13 Evidence of Modern Greek

Given that all the examples of the inclusion of foreign elements in Greek culture and linguistics introduced have been extracted from written sources, questions arise. What was the correlation between written texts and spoken language with regard to lexical Orientalisms? How did Oriental vocabulary correlate to the decline of Byzantine traditional written language? Did these lexical borrowings affect only literary language or a more general process of the erosion of the Attic language by everyday spoken forms?

In the case of lexical doublets, older Greek words were used mainly in high literary genres, while Oriental borrowings circulated mainly in utilitarian genres that used “modern” terminology, as well as in lower genres that were closer to the spoken language. Orientalisms that were firmly established in lower levels of language provided variants for normative lexica in literary language. The lower the level of text the higher was the number of Orientalisms. The movement of this new Oriental vocabulary was directed from the bottom up – from spoken language to written texts. Diglossic censorship undoubtedly filtered out a significant part of spoken Orientalisms.

All Oriental linguistic elements in Byzantine Greek have yet to be gathered and systematically analyzed. Judging by the material studied here, however, the influx of Oriental borrowings in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries increased by twice in comparison to that of the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, foreign denominations were entirely supplanting native ones. This is substantiated by the fact that the overwhelming majority of Oriental words discussed here have entered Modern Greek and may be found in contemporary literary language and local dialects. For instance, the following words are registered in Modern Greek vocabulary by Koukkides and Andriotes:²⁴¹ ἀμανάτιον, διαγο(υ)μάς, ζάμβας, ζαρταλού, ζατρίκιον, καλαΐ, καμουχάς, μουρτάτος, παζάριον, παπούτζιον (παπούτσι), σαντούκιον (σεντούκι), τεφτέρι, τζαμαντούνος (τσαμαντάνι), τζαούσιος (τσαούσης), τζαρούκιν (τσαρούχι), τζόλιν (τσούλι), τζόχα (τσόχα), χαβιάρι, χανακᾶς (cf.: χανές), χαμάλης. Approximately 50 percent of Byzantine borrowings from Oriental languages registered in the standard lexicons of Middle Greek are found in Modern Greek. It is unknown how many Turkisms registered in Modern Greek

241 Koukkides, Konstantinos. “Λεξιλόγιον ελληνικῶν λέξεων παραγομένων εκ της τουρκικῆς,” *Αρχεῖον του Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ και Γλωσσικοῦ Θησαυροῦ* 24–25 (1959–60), pp. 281–312, 121–200; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*.

entered the spoken language as early as Byzantine times. It is not possible to detect Orientalisms that were adopted by spoken language as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and were later inherited by Modern Greek if they do not appear in surviving Byzantine texts, although one may hypothetically suggest that Modern Greek inherited many more Turkic linguistic elements from Byzantine times than can be proven. The influence of Oriental and especially Turkic languages on Greek started much earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century as is commonly believed, and one cannot agree with Browning, Horrocks, and many others²⁴² who argue that the Turkization of Greek began only under Ottoman rule. There cannot be a caesura in the development of language; the Turkicization of Greek during Tourkokratia only continued the trend that clearly revealed itself in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is true, however, that the cultural circumstances of Tourkokratia strengthened earlier trends, and if not for Ottoman rule it is likely that many Byzantine Orientalisms would have been forgotten over time.

The Modern Greek language gives retrospective testimony that the Late Byzantine period already exhibited the tendency of inclusion of Orientalisms in the Greek linguistic space and thus Byzantine Greek mentality itself, and that the subsequent Ottoman period catalyzed the tendency.

14 Byzantine Turkophonia

Unrecorded Oriental linguistic elements were probably considered a stylistic attribute of vernacular language. Diglossic standards of literary language prevented its penetration into texts to the same extent as it prevented the use in writing the lexical and grammatical elements of vernacular Greek. Moreover, the intensity and depth of the penetration of foreign elements depended on the differences in the cultural and social milieu of the author. The "immune mechanisms" of all known types of texts in relation to Orientalisms were quite stable, but writing standards might let pass Greek dialectal elements as variant forms but more strictly filtered Turkisms. Turkic anthroponomy and place-names, however, provide a stealthy means of discovering the extent of Orientalisms in everyday use.

242 Cf., for instance, with Brand's view: "But only after 1453 was spoken Greek influenced by Turkish..." (Brand, Charles. "The Turkish Element in Byzantium, 11th–12th Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), p. 19).

If Oriental neologisms moved from spoken to written language, the question arises as to who these bearers of Orientalisms were, from whose mouth did the Greeks acquire “doublet names” to describe their world? Obviously within that Greek linguistic field there had to be present certain individuals who spoke Turkish (Turkophones) and were the source of linguistic borrowings.

Byzantine sources are stingy with information concerning the knowledge and use of non-Greek languages in the Byzantine environment. The Byzantines were not concerned with the problem of the knowledge of a foreign language, considering it as one tool (and not the most important one) in rare cases of communication between the Roman and the Barbarian. However, we have at our disposal significant indirect, mostly incidental, testimonies showing that, in the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries Turkic speech was a habitual element of the Byzantine world.

Knowledge of Turkic and/or Persian was often mentioned among four categories of Byzantines: Greek immigrants who repatriated from Muslim Anatolia, indigenous Byzantines who had learned Turkic, descendants of Greek-Turkic marriages, and Turks who by fate found themselves in the Byzantine territory. These are the people who also may have been called διγλωσσος “double-tongued,” “speaking two languages.”²⁴³

The first group consists of those ethnic Greeks who fled to Byzantium from Hagarene Anatolia or Scythian Danubian regions. The earliest information about the partial Turkification of Anatolian Greeks goes back to the first half of the twelfth century. We have eloquent indications to that effect in Byzantine texts complaining of partial and sometimes full Turkification of Greeks who had formed symbiosis with neighboring Turks. John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates reported for the 1140s a probably common cultural metamorphosis that the population of the islands of Pousgouse Lake (now Beyşehir Gölü) in Phrygia on the Byzantine-Seljuk border had undergone. According to Choniates, “These islands were inhabited by colonies of Christians who by using their barks and light boats had dealings with the Ikonion Turks and not only strengthened their mutual bonds of friendship but also adopted many of their habits [ἐπιτηδεύμασιν]. Allied with their neighbors, they looked upon the Romans as their enemies. Thus custom, reinforced by time, is stronger than race

243 Cf.: *Scholia in Thucydidem ad optimos codices collate* 8.85.2.2, ed. Karl Hude (Leipzig, 1927): “διγλωσσον: καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν ἐπιστάμενον.” Kantakouzenos maintains about his negotiations with the Mongol raiders in spring 1324: “διὰ τινος ἀπεκρίνατο τῶν διγλωσσῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς . . .” (Kantakouzenos, John. *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri iv*, ed. Ludwig Schopen, 3 vols (Bonn, 1828–32), 1:192.11–12).

and religion." Kinnamos gives the same information but more succinctly: the Romans in the lake's islands avoid cooperating with the Roman rule because they "by long time and usage were united in their views [τάς γνώμας] with the Turks."²⁴⁴ Another observation of Choniates for events of the second half of the twelfth century concerning the Turkicized population of the northeastern Anatolian border with the Byzantine Pontos can be interpreted in a similar sense.²⁴⁵ The Turkification of Anatolian Greek communities assumed the development of Greek and Turkish bilingualism, language being an important element of people's "habits" and "customs" (ἔθος, ἐπιτήδευμα). Choniates refers to a certain Mauropoulos by name, apparently a local Anatolian Greek (τὸ γένος Ῥωμαῖος), who had mastered two languages (διγλωττος).²⁴⁶ Mauropoulos' bilingualism was most likely a result of the linguistic Turkification that was in full swing in Muslim Anatolia in the twelfth century.

By the first half of the fifteenth century, Greek and Turkish bilingualism was so widespread in Anatolia that it was noticed by an outside observer who knew neither Turkish nor Greek. An anonymous Latin account, which was compiled in 1437 for the Council of Basel, states that high-ranking Greek clerics in Anatolia, bishops and metropolitans, dressed in the Muslim style and spoke Turkic. By 1437, although the liturgy was still read in Greek the sermons

244 Choniates, Niketas. *Historia*, ed. Jan Louis van Dieten, 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1975), 1:37.88–93; Kinnamos I.10 (p. 22.16–17). These reports have been commented upon many times; see, for example: Chalandon, Ferdinand. *Les Comnènes. Études sur l'empire byzantin au XI^e et au XII^e siècles*, 2: Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143–1180) (Paris, 1912), p. 181 n. 3; Vryonis, Speros. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), p. 459 n. 54; Necipoğlu, Nevra. "The Coexistence of Turks and Greeks in Medieval Anatolia (Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries)," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 5 (1999–2000), p. 58; Balivet, Michel. *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc: Histoire d'un espace d'imbrication gréco-turque* (Istanbul, 1994), p. 44; Shukurov, Rustam. "Имя и власть на византийском Понте (чужое, принятое за свое)," in *Чужое: опыты преодоления (очерки по истории культуры Средиземноморья)*, ed. R. Shukurov (Moscow, 1999), p. 228.

245 Choniates, 1:226. This passage has been similarly interpreted first by Vryonis (Vryonis, *The Decline*, p. 459 n. 54) and later by Bryer in his paper at the 19th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Copenhagen (Bryer, Anthony A.M. "The Late Byzantine Identity," in *Byzantium. Identity, Image, Influence, XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies. University of Copenhagen, 18–24 August, 1996*, 1: *Major Papers* (Copenhagen, 1996), pp. 49–50).

246 Choniates, 1:190.25–26.

were pronounced in Turkic.²⁴⁷ Bishops and metropolitans could be appointed to a chair in Anatolia from any other part of the Byzantine world; they did not necessarily have to be local Anatolians. A Turkish translation of the patriarch Gennadios Scholarios' *Confession of Faith*, which survives only in one variant in Greek script, was probably intended for this Christian Turkic-speaking environment from the middle of the fifteenth century onward.²⁴⁸ Oriental and Latin sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries also indicate the prevalence of Greek-Turkish bilingualism in Muslim Anatolia.²⁴⁹

Modern Anatolian Turks have derived in some part from such Turkicized Greeks. Karamanli- and Turkic-speaking Christian communities of Bithynia, Sivas, Kastamonu, Niksar, Cappadocia, Alaşehir/Philadelphia, and other regions of Anatolia, which existed until the population exchange, could have descended from those Turkicized Greeks. The same was true of Turkic Crypto-Christians, whose existence was recorded by researchers until the beginning of the twentieth century. The long process of Turkification of the Greeks began with this transition to a Greek-Turkish bilingualism in parts of Anatolia as early as Byzantine times.²⁵⁰ A significant proportion of Greek immigrants from Muslim Anatolia to Byzantine lands could have been Greek-Turkish bilinguals, or even Turkic speakers.

247 The anonymous *Terre hodie Greecorum et dominia secularia et spiritualia ipsorum. De ecclesia et dominio Greecorum hic infra* was edited and published in: Lampros, Spyridon. "Υπόμνημα περί των Ελληνικών χωρών και εκκλησιών κατά τον δέκατον πέμπτον αιώνα," *Νέος Ελληνομνημύων* 7 (1910), pp. 360–67, esp. p. 366: "Notandum est, quod in multis partibus Turcie reperiuntur clerici, episcopi et arciepiscopi, qui portant vestimenta infidelium et locuntur linguam ipsorum et nihil aliud sciunt in grece proferre nisi missam cantare et evangelium et epistolas. Alias autem orationes multi dicunt in linguam Turcorum." See on this passage also: Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 1 n. 1; Vryonis, *The Decline*, p. 453.

248 Blanchet, Marie-Hélène. *Georges Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400–vers 1472): un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 2008), pp. 104–06. For the Turkish translation of Scholarios' *Confession of Faith*, see: Halasi-Kun, Tibor. "Gennadios' Turkish Confession of Faith," *Archivum ottomanicum* 12 (1987–92), pp. 5–103; *PG*, 160:333–52. For some corrections, see: Choudaverdoglou-Theodotos, S. "Η Τουρκόφωνος Ελληνική φιλολογία, 1453–1924," *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 7 (1930), p. 299; see also: Vryonis, *The Decline*, p. 453.

249 Shukurov, Rustam. "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. Andrew C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yildiz (London, 2012), pp. 115–50; Vryonis, *The Decline*, p. 462.

250 Dawkins, Richard M. "The Crypto-Christians of Turkey," *Byzantion* 8 (1933), pp. 247–75; Vryonis, *The Decline*, pp. 458–59.

Meager confirmation of the bilingualism of Anatolian Greeks can be found in Byzantine sources of the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. Among known Greek immigrants from Muslim Anatolia there is an interesting group of intellectuals whose knowledge of the languages of the Turks was so profound that they were able to read written texts in Arabic script. They apparently were Greek by birth and bilingual. The Basilikoi brothers, natives of Rhodes who had made a spectacular career at the court of the sultan 'Izz al-Din Kaykāwus II, moved in 1261 to Byzantine lands. Basil Basilikos, formerly the sultan's *kundaştibil* and *beglerbek*, became *parakoimomenos* in Constantinople, and his brother, formerly the sultan's *amīr-maydān*, became *meḡas hetairei-arches*. Basil Basilikos understood not only the spoken language of the Turks but could also read "Hagarene letters" (γραμμάτων Ἀγαρηνῶν) and interpreted an inscription on an Egyptian bowl for the emperor (1279).²⁵¹ Consequently, Basil not only spoke Persian and/or Turkish, common in Anatolia, but also knew written Arabic and could decipher the inscriptions with which Mamluk metalwork was decorated.

A native of Philadelphia, Theologos Korax moved from Anatolia to Constantinople shortly after 1402 and, due to a high-ranking friend, was invited as an interpreter to the imperial palace. According to Doukas, "he was extremely well versed in the Turkish language [διάλεκτον]."²⁵² Theologos Korax was a constant participant in embassies to the Turks "because he was a master of the Turkish language [γλῶτταν] and knew it well."²⁵³ Korax must have had exceptional knowledge of both languages, for over two decades he was the chief negotiator of the Byzantines with the Turks. He was, however, an apparently unreliable man, a rogue (πανούργος) who spied for both sides, and was executed by the Greeks in 1422.²⁵⁴

The Byzantine term for court translator and the common designation for interpreter was represented by a word that was Oriental by its origin but entered Byzantine Greek through Italian mediation. The term δραγουμάνος (δραγομάνος, δραγούμηνος, τουργουμενής) "translator, interpreter," judging by its

251 Pachymeres, 2:575.16 (VI. 12); *PLP*, nos 2454, 2458.

252 Doukas 22.7 (p. 161.19–20).

253 Doukas 28.1 (p. 229.21).

254 *PLP*, no. 92415; Doukas 22.7–9, 23.4, 28.1–5 (pp. 161–63, 173, 229–35). On Korax, see: Barker, John. *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), p. 361. For "personal" diplomacy in the eleventh-fifteenth centuries, see Balivet's recent study: Balivet, Michel. "Élites byzantines, latines et musulmanes: Quelques exemples de diplomatie personnalisée (x^e–xv^e siècles)," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500*, pp. 423–37.

phonetic shape, derived from Italian *dragomano* ← Arabic ترجمان *tarjumān*. The term is attested for the first time in Greek-speaking Italy in 1126 in the form τουργουμένης, which is phonetically much closer to its Arabic original.²⁵⁵ In the central areas of Byzantine culture, however, this word became current only as late as the fourteenth century. In vernacular literature and in fifteenth-century high literary genres (Sphrantzes and Bessarion), it was used as a standard term for interpreter.²⁵⁶ As a byname Δραγουμάνος was prevalent since 1314.²⁵⁷ In the Trapezuntine list of dignitaries of Pseudo-Kodinos, the term is mentioned as a court title in the form δραγουμάνος with a remark that it was a contemporary variant for the traditional denominations διερμηνευτής and ἐρμηνεύς.²⁵⁸ In the list of dignitaries, δραγουμάνος is found in the middle 40s of the total 70. The word entered Modern Greek with the same meaning.²⁵⁹ Among court *dragomans* there could have been persons of Turkic or mixed origin and Greeks repatriated to Byzantium from Turkic states.²⁶⁰

The fate of one of Corax's contemporaries and friends turned out differently. Michael Pylles was a Greek from Ephesus and, remaining a Christian, served at the Ottoman court in Adrianople. Michael Pylles was "a trained secretary versed in both Roman and Arabic letters," i.e., he knew both languages well enough to be able to write. He was the person who disclosed to the Byzantines Theologos' double-dealing and, by way of punishment, was forcibly converted to Islam by the Turks.²⁶¹ Anatolian Greeks – both Christian and Muslim neophytes – were an integral part of Muslim life in Anatolia. According to sources they often acted as mediators and translators. The translator of Manuel II Palaiologos in Ankara in the winter of 1391 was a Muslim descendant of a Greek Christian family who not only spoke Greek but was well disposed to the religion of his ancestors.²⁶²

255 Caracausi, *Lessico greco*, p. 574; Caracausi, *Arabismi*, pp. 385–86.

256 LBG, p. 409; TLG.

257 PLP, nos 5787–91, 91829.

258 Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, p. 184.19 ("Ο μέγας διερμηνευτής ἐστὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἐρμηνέων, οὓς κοινῶς δραγουμάνους καλοῦσιν") and p. 348.54.

259 Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 85.

260 For a useful discussion of official translators in the Byzantine service, see also: Dagron, Gilbert. "Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance (IX^e–XI^e siècle)," *Travaux et mémoires* 12 (1994), pp. 219–40.

261 Doukas 28.5 (p. 235.6–18, esp. p. 235.7–9): "Οὗτος γάρ ὁ Πύλλης ἦν ἐξ Ἐφέσου, Ῥωμαῖος τῷ γένει, τὸ σέβας χριστιανός, ... τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα γραφεὺς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐν γράμμασι Ῥωμαῖοις καὶ Ἀραβικοῖς ..."

262 Manuel II Palaiologos. *Dialogue mit einem "Perser"*, ed. Erich Trapp (Vienna, 1966), p. 79.34–35: "Χριστιανῶν δὲ ἦν βλάστη καὶ τὰ γονέων ἡγάπα καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τούτους

Anatolian Greeks were particularly in demand in the time of the civil wars in the fourteenth century. One of the mediators between Greeks and Turks was another native of Philadelphia, Maurommates, who knew Turkish/Persian (περσιστί διαλεγόμενος) and was sent by Kantakouzenos to his ally the emir Umur-bek.²⁶³ Anne of Savoy used another Philadelphian as an intermediary: *great stratopedarches* George Tagaris who she sent in 1346 to the Saruhan Emir for negotiations. George was the son of the famous ruler of Philadelphia Manuel Tagaris (d. before 1342), and, through his father, was on friendly terms with the emir (ἦν συνήθης).²⁶⁴

It seems that Philadelphian Greeks were particularly familiar with Turkic customs and were likely for the most part bilingual. The population of the entire west Anatolian borderland, of which Philadelphia was a part, was mixed Greek and Turkish. The sultan Kaykhusraw I, who died in the battle of Antioch on the Meander in 1211, was temporarily buried by the Greeks in a Muslim cemetery located near the site of the battle, possibly Philadelphia.²⁶⁵ The presence of a Muslim cemetery on Byzantine territory indicates that borderland Turks were not forced to adopt Christianity. A confirmation of the existence of Hagarene population in the Nicaea and Prousa areas by 1183 can be seen in a statement of Eustathios of Thessalonica. He claimed that, in these cities, not only Greeks but also local Hagarenes opposed Andronikos I's revolt.²⁶⁶

Byzantine and Ottoman courts (generally any center of Byzantine and Ottoman culture) were natural points of attraction for capable and well-educated Anatolian Greeks, who often made a good career through their knowledge of both languages. Given the prevalence of Greek-Turkish bilingualism in Muslim Anatolia, one could assume that the major part of Greek immigrants from Anatolia had a more or less profound knowledge of Turkish. We do not know, however, even the approximate number of these immigrants, the dynamics of migration from Muslim Anatolia to Byzantium, the places of

προσέχειτο..."; Balivet, Michel. "Culture ouverte et échanges inter-religieux dans les villes ottomanes du XIV^e siècle," in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon, 1993), p. 4.

263 Kantakouzenos, 2:407–09, on Maurommates' knowledge of Turkish: *ibid.*, p. 408.3–4; *PLP*, no. 17462.

264 Kantakouzenos, 2:591.10–11; *PLP*, no. 27399.

265 Ibn Bibi (AS). p. 111: *در مقابر عاریت برسم مسلمانان دفن کردند*. Cf.: Necipoğlu, "The Coexistence of Turks and Greeks," p. 67.

266 Cf.: Merianos, Gerasimos A. "The Sons of Hagar' in Archbishop Eustathios' the Capture of Thessaloniki: Some Evidence Concerning Late Twelfth Century Byzantine-Turkish Relations," *Σύμμεικτα* 17 (2005), pp. 215–18.

their settlement, and how they were incorporated by Byzantine authorities into local communities.²⁶⁷

In the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, a large number of bynames may indicate an origin from Muslim Anatolia. There are in the Palaiologan empire, for instance, Ἀνατολική (PLP, nos 878–81, 9176–77), Ἀνατολικός (PLP, nos 882–91, 9178–90, 93080), Ἀρζουρούμητης (PLP, no. 93119), Ἰκονιάτης (PLP, nos 8155, 93610), Καππαδόκης (PLP, nos 11044–48, 93768), Καππαδόκιος (PLP, no. 11049), Καππαδοκᾶς (PLP, no. 11043), Καππάδοξ (PLP, nos 11050–63, 93769), Κασταμονίτης (PLP, nos 10927, 11370–74, 93787), Μετυληνός (PLP, no. 94158), Νεοκαισαρείτης (PLP, nos 20089–99), Παφλάγων (PLP, nos 22149–58), and Σινωπίτης (PLP, nos 25391–92). In the Empire of Trebizond are found Καμαχενός (PLP, nos 10800–02, 92301–03), Καμάχης (PLP, no. 10803), Καμαχινή (PLP, no. 10804), Παφλάγων (PLP, no. 22159), and Χαλυβίτης (PLP, no. 30534). Greek emigration from Muslim Anatolia to the Byzantine lands (Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξ ἀνατολῆς, ἔωθεν) at times grew to the scale of an exodus.²⁶⁸ The scale of this ingress of Greek immigrants from Muslim lands contributed to the introduction and maintenance of Turkophonia in Byzantine society. Even

267 See also Chapter 6.6: probably, in Palaiologan Byzantium, *hetaireiarchai*, headed by *great hetaireiarches*, were in charge of refugees.

268 Some scattered material on refugees in the Byzantine world can be found in: Vacalopoulos, Apostolos. *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine Period, 1204–1461* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1970), p. 8 (depopulation of southern Albania, Epiros, Thessaly, Aetolia, and Acarnania, and the flight of Greek population to coastal areas or inland enclaves since the mid-fourteenth century); pp. 10–11 (on the concentration of Greek refugees and displaced persons in the Peloponnese in the end of the fourteenth century); pp. 80–82 (mass migration of Greek population to the Peloponnese, Serbia and Danube in the first half of the fifteenth century). On mass exodus and depopulation of some regions in the Peloponnese in the end of the fourteenth century, see, for instance: Chrysostomides, Julian. “Symbiosis in the Peloponnese in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade,” in *Byzantium. State and Society. In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, ed. A. Avramea, Angeliki E. Laiou, and E. Chrysos (Athens, 2003), p. 162. On the migration of Greeks inside Anatolia and from Anatolia in the twelfth–fourteenth centuries, see: Vryonis, *The Decline*, pp. 169–72, 448; Laiou, “The Black Sea of Pachymeres,” p. 96. On migration of Greeks from Anatolia to the Aegean islands in the second half of the thirteenth century, see: Jacoby, David. “Phénomènes de démographie rurale à Byzance aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles,” *Études rurales* 5–6 (1962), p. 184. See also on the movement of population in the Balkans after the disaster of 1204: Nicol, Donald M. “Refugees, Mixed Population and Local Patriotism in Epiros and Western Macedonia after the Fourth Crusade,” in *Actes du XV^e congrès international des études byzantines* 1 (Athens, 1976), pp. 1–33.

so, at least in the fifteenth century, as Doukas testified, there could paradoxically have been difficulty finding a Turkic interpreter at the imperial court.²⁶⁹

A second group of Turkophone Greeks were most likely native to Byzantine territories and acquired their knowledge of the language (or languages) of the Turks by some other means. The end of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries find numerous examples of Byzantine Turkophones belonging to the elite of the empire. John Kantakouzenos, the emperor in 1347–54, in connection with the events of 1348 spoke directly about his knowledge of "Persian" (that is, either Persian or Turkish, or both). Kantakouzenos openly admires this knowledge in writing about himself: "the emperor . . . ordered them in Persian . . . because he was not entirely ignorant of their [i.e., Turks'] language."²⁷⁰ In another passage of his "History," reflecting on the personality of Anne of Savoy, he says "I heard a Persian proverb speaking about woman's nature correctly and wisely: it is said that even if a woman's head has risen to the clouds, nevertheless she remains tied to the earth." Kantakouzenos further on explains its meaning: even if a woman reaches the top of judgement, greatness, and courage, she will remain tied to her natural passions.²⁷¹ Such an allusion to "Persian wisdom" is unique for historians of the fourteenth century. Greek wisdom seems no longer sufficient for Kantakouzenos as he complements it with a "Persian" one. The witty judgement of Dummer that "Byzantine Fürstenspiegels" did not consider it commendable for the high and mighty to know foreign languages²⁷² is not necessarily true as it comes into contradiction with the personality of John Kantakouzenos. Kantakouzenos, not relying on apologists of his persona, openly praised himself, in particular, for his knowledge of "Persian" and his ability to communicate with the Turks in their language.

In the same way, Kantakouzenos considered remarkable the aptitude of John Vatatzes, a member of the high nobility and prominent military commander, who was on friendly terms with the Turkic emirs of western Anatolia, "because Vatatzes knew their language and spoke Persian."²⁷³ John Vatatzes'

269 Doukas thus starts his account on Theologos Korax: "μὴ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐγένετο ζήτησις τινος διερμηνευτοῦ χρείας κατεπειγούσης . . ." (Doukas 12.7.11–12).

270 Kantakouzenos, 3:66.5–7.

271 Kantakouzenos, 2:48.11–18.

272 Dummer, Jürgen. "Die Begegnung mit den Nachbarvölkern als Sprachproblem in byzantinischer Sicht," in *Byzanz in der europäischen Staatenwelt*, ed. J. Dummer and J. Irmscher (Berlin, 1983), p. 227.

273 Kantakouzenos, 2:552.18–20: "ἦν γὰρ πρὸς τινὰς τῶν σατραπῶν φιλίαν ἔχων τῷ τε τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν εἰδέναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι Περσιστί . . ." See also about him: *PLP*, no. 2518; Parisot, Valentin. *Cantacuzène homme d'état et historien* (Paris, 1845). p. 206; Zachariadou, Elizabeth. "Histoire et légendes des premiers Ottomans," *Turcica* 26 (1995), pp. 76–77.

daughter was married to Sulaymān, emir of the Karasi principality. Because of his linguistic abilities Vatatzes acted as a mediator between the warring parties in the civil war and the Turkic mercenaries, until he was killed by the Turks in 1345.

It is interesting that neither Gregoras nor any other contemporary writer of the civil wars referred to knowledge of the Turkish language by any of the Byzantine nobles. If not for Kantakouzenos' testimony, we would never have learned that members of Byzantine nobility could already at this time successfully communicate in the language of the barbarian Turks. The efficiency of Byzantine diglossic censorship is clearly visible in this thematic "sterility" of Gregoras' *History*, which refused not only single words and expressions, but also undesirable themes.

Noble Turkophones who undoubtedly knew Turkish rather well included the intellectuals John Kanaboutzes and Doukas. Doukas, being sensitive to linguistic issues, even quoted and explained many Turkish phrases and occasionally attempted to trace the origin of "Turkish" words.²⁷⁴

It is possible that many of the noble Byzantine Turkophones learned Turkish from their domestic Turkic slaves and freemen. In the twelfth century, Tatikios and Axouchos, Turkic childhood friends of the Komnenian princes, being bilingual, probably taught some Turkish to the future emperors Alexios I and John II Komnenoi.²⁷⁵

Another category of native Byzantines, often commoners and the poor, had been former captives and learned barbarian languages in captivity. The noble Slav Radomir in the army of Alexios I Komnenos, having been among the Turks in captivity at the end of the eleventh century, learned Turkish ("οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀδαῆς τῆς τοιαύτης ἦν διαλέκτου").²⁷⁶ Prototypes of the fictional Katablattas, who were Greeks serving in the Ottoman army and returned to their homeland, might have learned some Turkish.²⁷⁷ Also there were Greeks who adopted (or were forcibly converted to) Islam and later returned to Christianity, and due to the logocentric character of Muslim religious practice must have gained a

274 See, for instance: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:20–22. It is not impossible that Doukas (b. ca. 1400) spent his childhood in Turkish Ephesus where to his grandfather Michael moved in 1345 (Doukas 5.5, p. 47). If so, Doukas, according to my classification, has to be listed in the group of Anatolian immigrants.

275 Brand, "The Turkish Element," pp. 15–19.

276 Anna Komnene 11.2.9.2–5. See on Rodomir: Skoulatos, Basile. *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 274–75 (no. 179).

277 Canivet, Pierre and Oikonomides, Nicolas. "La Comédie de Katablattas. Invective byzantine du xv^e s.," *Δίπτυχα* 3 (1982–83), pp. 5–97; Necipoğlu, "Sources for the Social and Economic History," pp. 99–100.

certain knowledge in the languages of the Turks. This category is represented by the example of the martyr St. Theodore, a native of Adrianople who had been converted to Islam and, ten years later, returned to Christianity. He was subsequently martyred by the Turks in the middle of the fourteenth century in Malagina.²⁷⁸ Some Muslim Greeks returning to Christianity escaped the fate of St. Theodore and found themselves in Byzantine lands. A decision of the Synod refers to the *grammatikos* Nikolas who adopted Islam and compiled an Islamic apology against the Christian faith but returned to the bosom of Christianity.²⁷⁹ According to Byzantine canon law of the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries, apostates and repentant apostates must have been numerous, since the church under pressure significantly reduced the punishment for such lost souls, facilitating their return to the Christian community.²⁸⁰

As to mixed-origin Greco-Turks, they did not always come from outside the empire. Some were born inside Byzantium if one of their parents was a Turkish immigrant (usually father, but sometimes mother). Greco-Turks were usually bilingual. Anna Komnene calls them "hellenophone mixobarbarians" ("ἡσαν γὰρ καὶ τινες ἐν αὐτοῖς μιξοβάρβαροι ἑλληνίζοντες").²⁸¹ Mixobarbarians more than once reported to Alexios I Komnenos about his enemy's evil plans.²⁸² Anna refers to the prominent military leader Monastras who "μιξοβάρβαρος ἦν καὶ τῆς τουρκικῆς εἰδήμων διαλέκτου."²⁸³ Elsewhere Anna mentions that, in 1092, the Turks of Tzachas, being besieged in Smyrna, cried out to God in the Roman language ("ἐπεκαλοῦντο Κύριον ῥωμαϊζόντες").²⁸⁴ Aydın Turks spoke Greek during

278 Oikonomides, Nicolas. "Ακολουθία του αγίου Θεοδώρου του νέου," *Νέον Αθηναίον* 1 (1955), pp. 213–21.

279 *Les registes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. Venance Grumel, Vitalien Laurent, and Jean Darrouzès, 2 vols, 8 pts (Paris, 1932–89), 1/4: no. 1300 (1223–40), it is possible, however, that Nikolas lived in Muslim territories outside Byzantine civil jurisdiction.

280 See more details in: Oikonomides, Nicolas. "La brebis égarée et retrouvée: l'apostat et son retour," in *Religiöse Devianz. Untersuchungen zu sozialen, rechtlichen und theologischen Reaktionen auf religiöse Abweichung im westlichen und östlichen Mittelalter*, ed. D. Simon (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), pp. 143–57.

281 Anna Komnene 15.5.2.18; Vryonis, Speros. "Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower," in *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans: Reprinted Studies* [Βυζαντινά και Μεταβυζαντινά, 2] (Malibu, 1981), no. 3, p. 139; Vryonis, Speros. "Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), p. 59.

282 Anna Komnene 7.9.3.16; 15.6.3.1.

283 Anna Komnene 11.2.9.1–2. On Monastras as a μιξοβάρβαρος, see also: Anna Komnene 10.2.7.17; 10.4.10.19; 11.2.7.19; 11.9.4.9; 14.3.1.15. More details on him, see: Skoulatos, *Les personages*, pp. 213–15 (no. 139).

284 Anna Komnene 7.8.3.13.

negotiations with John Kantakouzenos in 1331.²⁸⁵ Smyrna's and Aydın Turks who spoke Greek to the Byzantine enemies likely were either Greco-Turkish mixobarbarians or Greek renegades.²⁸⁶ Children of Greco-Turkish marriages were presumably bilingual as well.²⁸⁷

Of course Turkish settlers in Byzantine lands spoke Turkish. This group comprised mercenary soldiers, captives, and slaves including women and children, "political" refugees, hostages, and those who for this or another reason found themselves in Byzantine territory. They generally adopted Christianity and local customs and language. Anna Komnene reports the deliberate linguistic assimilation of Turkic newcomers. In her account of a children's school in the famous orphanage founded (or renewed) by Alexios I, she remarks that one can see there "a Scyth learning Greek" ("Σκύθην ἐλληνίζοντα").²⁸⁸ Soon after 1402, Yūsuf (Ίωσούφης), son of the deceased Bayezid I, found himself at the Constantinopolitan court (possibly as a hostage). In the words of Doukas, he was absorbed by the love of learning and attended school with John, Manuel II's son; he accepted baptism and the new Christian name Δημήτριος but died soon after of the plague ca. 1413.²⁸⁹ The Byzantine educational system was available to Asian newcomers.

285 Kantakouzenos, 1:471.25: "οἱ βάρβαροι πρότερον Ἑλληνιστὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἶπον . . ." See also: Vryonis, *The Decline*, pp. 461–62.

286 On the Greek ethnic element in the Turkish raids against Thrace, see Pachymeres, 4:643.18, who for the events of 1305 maintains that among the Turks landed in Thrace were Anatolian Greeks ("ἐπιμειξάντων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξ ἀνατολῆς"). It is not impossible that as early as at the initial stages of Turkish invasions of the Balkans, in the first decades of the fourteenth century, the Greek members of Turkish brigand gangs acquired the name of *mārtulūs/martolos*, مارتولوس (← ἄρματολός "armed, soldier"), the name which later passed to Greek renegades in the Ottoman army in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. In any case, the Anatolian Greeks and the Ottoman *mārtulūsān* mentioned by Pachymeres were typologically identical phenomena. *Martolos* perhaps, appeared as an amalgamation of ἄρματα "arms" and ἁμαρτωλός "sinner" (Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 35). See also: Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène. "En marge d'un acte concernant le pengyek et les aqınçlı," *Revue des études islamiques* 37 (1969), pp. 27, 34; Imber, Colin. "The Legend of Osman Gazi," in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, p. 68; Rossi, Ettore and Griswold, William J. "Martolos," in *ET*, 6:613 (with further references). For the cooperation of some Greeks with Turkish invaders in Anatolia and Thrace, see also: Zachariadou, "Histoire et légendes," pp. 82–85.

287 See: Shukurov, "Harem Christianity."

288 Anna Komnene 15.7.9.9.

289 Doukas 21.4 (p. 143); Chalkokondyles, Laonikos. *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum demonstrations*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols (Budapest, 1922–27), 1:167.15–17. Doukas refers to Yūsuf's being a hostage, however, judging by Chalkokondyles' statement, he came to Constantinople after 1402, but independently of the noble hostages handed over to Manuel II by Süleyman Çelebi: *PLP*, no. 9082.

In 1258, when a question of the regency of Michael VIII was asked of the army, he was supported, in particular, by the Scythian soldiers who "answered not in a barbarian tongue but in Greek and intelligibly" in favor of Michael:²⁹⁰ Acropolites' remark shows that first-generation Cumans were Turkophone but that Greek was their second language. Christianized newcomers from Turkic Anatolia and the Golden Horde region were employed in diplomatic missions. In 1305, Kocabahşı (Κουτζιμπάσις), a naturalized newcomer from the Golden Horde, was sent as a commander by Andronikos II to the rebellious Alans and Cuman Tourkopouloi because he was "of the same race and language" as the rebels ("τῷ γὰρ ὁμοεθνεί τε καὶ ὁμογλώσσῳ"). The emperor believed that the commonality in race and language would facilitate their pacification.²⁹¹ The same Kocabahşı later headed a Byzantine embassy to the Golden Horde ruler Toqta.²⁹² Mamluk sources contain the description of a rare event: in 1326/27, two Byzantine envoys to Cairo, the brothers Aqsunqur and Bahādur, adopted Islam.²⁹³ Probably they were Christianized bilingual immigrants in Byzantium and were sent to the Turkish-speaking Egyptian court as envoys due to their linguistic abilities.

In the time of John Kantakouzenos, a rich and noble "Achaemenid" (that is, "noble Anatolian Turk") converted to Christianity and became a monk, taking the monastic name Meletios. While he was certainly deeply assimilated to Hellenic culture, he would have remained Turkophone or/and Persophone.²⁹⁴ According to Prokhorov, the representation of Meletios the Achaemenid is found in a miniature (Fig. 26) from Moscow's manuscript of Akathistos (GIM 80272, Syn. Gr. 429).²⁹⁵

290 Akropolites, 1:158.19–21.

291 Pachymeres XII.32 (4:603.29–30); *PLP*, no. 13622.

292 Pachymeres XII.32 (4:603.31).

293 Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn. *Kitāb al-sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā, 8 vols (Beirut, 1997), 3:97.

294 Kantakouzenos, John. *Johannes Kantakouzenos, Christentum und Islam. Apologetische und polemische Schriften. Griechisch-deutsche Textausgabe*, ed. Karl Förstel (Würzburg and Altenberge, 2005), p. 2.6–18; (=Kantakouzenos, John. *Contra Mahometem Apologia 1*, in *PG*, 154:372–77); *PLP*, no. 17738; Todt, Klaus-Peter. *Kaiser Johannes VI Kantakouzenos und der Islam. Politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz* (Würzburg and Altenberge, 1991), pp. 196–98; Mazal, Otto. "Zur geistigen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Christentum und Islam in Spätbyzantinischer Zeit," in: *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter*, ed. Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem, Albert Zimmermann, and Ingrid Craemer-Ruegenberg (Berlin and New York, 1985), pp. 8–9.

295 Proxorov, Gelian M. "A Codicological Analysis of the Illuminated Akathistos to the Virgin (Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synodal Gr. 429)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), pp. 237–52, pl. 7. For more details on the manuscript, see: Dobrynina, Elina N.



FIGURE 26 An (alleged) image of the monk Meletios the Achaemenid: he is probably the third from right in back row of the right group (State Historical Museum, GIM 80272, Synodal Gr. 429, fol. 28v; photo courtesy of the State Historical Museum in Moscow).

Prokhorov argues that the figure represented here as beardless and Mongol-eyed (indications of his being a Turk?) and extending his right hand toward Christ is Meletios the Achaemenid. Of course, such identifications of figures in Byzantine art are always doubtful and hardly provable.²⁹⁶ In this particular case, however, Prokhorov's suggestion may make sense at least to some degree: even if the painter had not in mind to represent specifically Meletios, however, the beardless and Mongol-eyed figure may well have represented a generalized image of a Turkic neophyte.

A certain Antonios, a former Muslim (ἐκ Μουσουλμάνων), first converted to Catholicism and later to Orthodoxy. In February 1374, according to the demand of the Constantinopolitan Synod, he refuted the Latin faith and confirmed his Orthodoxy. Antonios' confession of faith ends with his confirmation in Greek: "By my own hand I sign this in the language and with the letters which I understand." Below his Arabographic signature, the Greek scribe translated in the next line as "ταῦτα λέγουσι τῇ τῶν ἑλλήνων γλώττῃ· ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν Μουσουλμάνων ποτὲ Ἀντώνιος" ("In the language of Hellenes it was said: Antonios who has once been Muslim").²⁹⁷ The signature of Antonios (Fig. 27) was compiled in Persian and reads:

ان دون مسل مان سد مرده باور کردم ما دلم
بجدا

There are two orthographic mistakes in the Persian phrase, two calligraphic, and one deleted slip of pen in the beginning of the second line; a normalized reading is:

"Неизданные тропари патриарха Филофея Коккина: к вопросу о составе рукописи сборника ГИМ. Син. гр. 429 (Влад. 303)," in *Россия и христианский Восток 1* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 38–48.

296 For the criticism of Prokhorov's attribution of the manuscript and of his further identifications of the figures represented in its miniatures, see: Pérez Martín, Inmaculada. "The Escorial Akathistos: The Last Manuscript Illuminated in Constantinople," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 52 (2011), pp. 237–41, with relevant bibliography.

297 Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 1:550–51 (no. CCXCIII). For the commentaries on this document, see: Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes. "Conversion, Collaboration and Confrontation: Islam in the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (14th century)," *International Review of Turkish Studies* 2 (2011), p. 68; Mitsiou, Ekaterini and Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes. "Übertritte zur byzantinisch-orthodoxen Kirche in den Urkunden des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel (mit 10 Tafeln)," in: *Sylloge Diplomatico-Palaeographica 1*, ed. Christian Gastgeber and Otto Kresten (Vienna, 2010), p. 240 and plate 5.

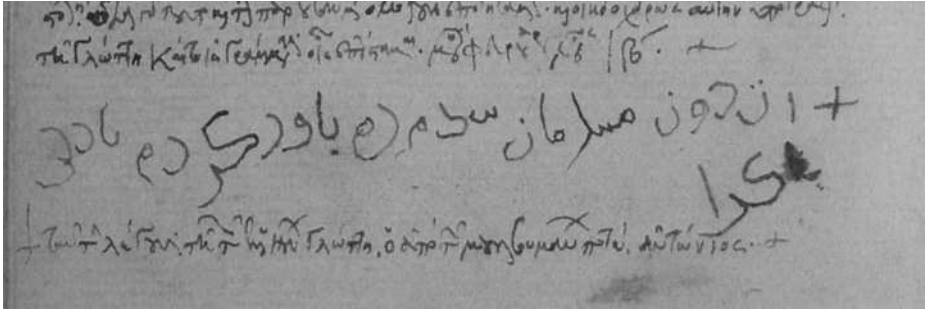


FIGURE 27 Antonios' Persian signature (after Mitsiou and Preiser-Kapeller, "Übertritte zur byzantinisch-orthodoxen Kirche," plate 5).

آندون مسلمان شد مرده باور کردم با دلم
بخدا

It can be translated as "Andūn. The Muslim has passed away, I have believed with my heart in God." Here "Andūn" is a Persian pronunciation of his name "Antonios."

Judging by the Persian signature, Antonios understood the procedure as his abjuration not from Latin Christianity but from the Muslim faith. The Persian language of Antonios was native albeit simplistic, while his script was only that of a moderately literate person. Persian was the language of the majority of Muslims in Anatolian cities many of whom were Persians by blood or Persianate Turks since the twelfth century. The Greek text of the entire confession of faith was compiled by a Greek scribe who knew no Persian and incorrectly translated Antonios' signature. There was a substantial linguistic barrier between the Greeks in the Constantinopolitan Synod and Antonios. Antonios was likely a resident of Constantinople who was probably bilingual in Persian/Turkic and Greek but without Greek literacy.

I have mentioned above Demetrios Yūsuf, who lived at Manuel II's court in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Byzantines called him with reverence Τζαλαπής κύρ Δημήτριος,²⁹⁸ where the honorary denomination "Çelebi" alluded to his sultanic blood. No doubt eager to assimilate with Byzantines culturally and religiously, nonetheless he remained basically Turkophone, which was also true of all other noble hostages at the Constantinopolitan court.

298 Sphrantzes 3 (p. 8.10–11).

Resettled Byzantine Turks could not have immediately ceased speaking their native language. The persistence of Turkophonia among Turkish newcomers is certified by the Balkan and Pontic toponymy (see Chapters 4 and 7). A place acquired a Turkish name only if its population was predominantly Turkish-speaking.

A subgroup of newcomers from the Orient probably existed who were less assimilated being exclusively Turkish, Persian, or Arabic speakers. These could have been those visiting Muslim intellectuals and wanderers, such as physicians, scientists, acrobats, or sorcerers, who sometimes were referred to in sources. Three “Persian” physicians treated Andronikos II in the beginning of the fourteenth century with a diet; the emperor, however, could not refrain from the heavy foods he liked to eat.²⁹⁹

Gregoras’ *History* contains a puzzling story which still cannot be fully explained concerning the conviction of John VI Kantakouzenos’ corruption of Christian morality. The story was reported to Gregoras at the end of 1352 or in the beginning of 1353 by his friend Agathangelos,³⁰⁰ who complained that some barbarians (that is, Anatolian Muslims) of the imperial court arranged noisy proceedings there whenever they wanted. During the palace church services, the barbarians “sing and dance in a ring in the palace halls, shouting down [the liturgy] by singing and dancing intricate dances, with unintelligible yells they cried out odes and hymns to Muḥammad thus attracting more listeners than the reading of the Holy Gospel, sometimes everybody and sometimes only some are gathered there [at these dances].” Moreover, the barbarians do the same “at the emperor’s table, often with cymbals and stage musical instruments and songs.”

Agathangelos identifies the “barbarians” engaged in such disruptive practices as “spiritual leaders and chiefs [μυσταγωγοὶ καὶ πρόεδροι] of the impious religion,” who lead a “simple and celibate” life, but indulge themselves in gluttony and consumption of undiluted wine. No doubt Anatolian Sufi mystics or dervishes are implied. The reference to “ring-dances” (χορούς) and “intricate dances” (γυμνικὴν ὄρχησιν) most likely points to adepts of the Mawlawī order of whirling dervishes. The singing of religious “odes and hymns” and the use of musical instruments may indicate the Mawlawī *samāʿ*. The presence of

299 Gregoras, 1:554.14–19.

300 On the personality of Agathangelos see the recent remarks of Kaldellis, who believes him to have been a fictitious personage invented by Gregoras: Kaldellis, Anthony. *Ethnography After Antiquity: Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature. Empire and After* (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 148–54.

Mawlawī Sufis at the imperial palace may have been connected with the “pro-Hesychast” mystical preferences of John Kantakouzenos. Interactions between the Mawlawī Sufis and mystically oriented Orthodox Christians, especially monks in Anatolia, are well known and, in the case of John Kantakouzenos, such mystical practices constituted a common ground for Muslim dervishes and pious Christians. However, it is difficult to understand in what capacity and for what reason the dervishes were introduced to the palace.³⁰¹

Inside Constantinople, even inside the palace, active groups of unassimilated Muslim dervishes communicated Turkish – and even Persian and Arabic – language and customs. Inhabitants and visitors of the palace (apparently Orthodox Greeks), contrary to Christian piety, ignored the sacred liturgy preferring to join the dervish mystical rituals. This precedent is exceptionally symptomatic of changes in Byzantine identity, of Greeks who without shame or fear, being in the palace of the world’s most Christian emperor, openly violated generally accepted traditions and even common decency.

John Tzetzes in his *Chiliades*, as early as in the second half of the twelfth century, outlined a vivid picture of the factual multilingualism in Constantinopolitan streets. This famous passage enumerates the Turkish and Alan languages and Cretan, Rhodian, and Chiote dialects of Greek, and more generally refers to the languages of “inhabitants of all countries” which can be heard in the capital.³⁰² For Tzetzes it seems that the linguistic diversity of population did not deprive Constantinople of the status of a Byzantine *πατρίς* and its foreign-language speakers the status of true Romans. Foreign languages were a habitual element of the urban linguistic landscape. It is interesting given the common Byzantine indifference to linguistic questions, that Tzetzes aligns Greek dialects with the other languages.

Among the other peoples (and therefore languages) Tzetzes refers to the Turks. This reference supplements his other famous passage from *Theogony*, which cites Turkish, “Persian,” and Arabic greetings and linguistic and cultural meaning of which has been discussed above in Chapter 1.9. Tzetzes’ remarks in his *Theogony* and *Chiliades* on Turkish speech in Constantinople indicate that it was no idle rhetorical gesture or imaginary dialogue with the ancient poet Meleagros, but reflected the true realities of the city. By the end of the twelfth century, Turks were not only seen on the streets and were distinguishable, but

301 Gregoras, 3:202.12–203.4.

302 Tzetzes, John. *Ioannis Tetztae historiae* 13.354–62, ed. Petrus Aloisius M. Leone (Naples, 1968), p. 528. For a detailed interpretation of the passage with its allusions to Homer’s *Iliad*, see: Dagron, Gilbert. “Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance (IX^e–XII^e siècle),” *Travaux et mémoires* 12 (1994), pp. 239–40.

one could have learned some of their language. Surely, some Byzantines, like Tzetzes, had learned commonplace Turkic expressions.

It seems, however, that irritation of the Turkic presence in the city grew among intellectuals in the course of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. In the beginning of the fourteenth century (after 1304) the patriarch Athanasios I sent the emperor a letter complaining of the prevalence in the city of foreigners: Jews, Armenians, and Muslims (Ἰσμαηλῖται). Athanasios was outraged by the Muslim ambassadors in Constantinople who "openly climb up on high, as is the custom in their land, and shout forth their abominable mysteries," that is, openly recited the Islamic call to prayer (*adhān*).³⁰³ If John Tzetzes with rapture describes the multilingualism of Constantinople, Sylvester Syropoulos, on the contrary, in the first decades of the fifteenth century reports the constant influx of Turks into the city with obvious irritation. Syropoulos, speaking of the events of 1416, puts into the mouth of the Medeian metropolitan Neophytos in his conversation with the patriarch Euthymios II the following exclamation: "Persons of other nations and other sects in flocks enter this city – Armenians and Hagarenes – arrive each day without anyone hindering them!"³⁰⁴ No trace of Tzetzes' placidity can be found in the attitude of Athanasios and Syropoulos toward foreigners.

In fact, by the mid-fifteenth century, the situation in Byzantium had changed radically. It seems that not only selected intellectuals, officials, and immigrants spoke Turkish, but almost all of the population of a shrinking Byzantium spoke Turkish to some extent. This finds confirmation in an important observation of Gennadios Scholarios made in the 1440s. In his *Apology* against accusations of Latinism, he adduces many counterarguments, among which is a linguistic one. Scholarios argues that his interest in Latin (or Italian) and its study cannot be proof of his alleged Latinophile bias. Further, he proposes an astounding parallel. One may ask the accusers, he says, "if they [really] believe that in the religion of our barbarian neighbors are all those of us who understand their language," and what could be more absurd than to claim "that all of us are in the religion of these barbarians (for almost all [of us] use their

303 *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, DC, 1975), p. 84.23–26 (no. 41).

304 Syropoulos, p. 102.1–3: "Πολλοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων γενῶν καὶ αἰρέσεων εἰσέρχονται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Πόλει· καὶ Ἀρμένιοι γὰρ καὶ Ἀγαρηνοὶ εἰσέρχονται καθ' ἑκάστην μὴ κωλυόμενοι παρὰ τινος." See also commentaries in: Necipoğlu, Nevra. "Ottoman Merchants in Constantinople during the First Half of the Fifteenth Century," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 16 (1992), p. 160; Balivet, *Romanie byzantine*, p. 35.

language no less than our own).³⁰⁵ According to Jugie, Scholarios implied under “their language” (ἐκείνων γλώττης and ἐκείνων φωνήν) the Latin language. However, first Ševčenko and more recently and comprehensively Blanchet have shown that the Turkish language was implied.³⁰⁶ In context, these words of Scholarios have to be understood literally. By the first half of the fifteenth century, most Byzantines had learned Turkish. This is confirmed by many other examples, especially by John Kanaboutzes and Doukas who self-confidently interpreted Turkish words and expressions outside the Greek linguistic sphere. Scholarios’ testimony supports the suggestion that, as early as before the fall of Byzantine civilization in 1453–61, the Greek linguistic space (especially spoken language) opened itself widely for the influx of Turkish loan-words only a small part of which are reflected in surviving sources.

It is apparent that these Oriental loan-words did not appear out of thin air. New words and expressions were introduced into the Greek language by specific individuals, as a rule foreign-language speakers. Consequently, in the Byzantine world there must have existed a rather numerous group of Turkophones, numerous enough to be able to influence the Byzantine linguistic situation.

Such a hypothesis on the substantial circulation of Greek–Turkish bilingualism in the Byzantine world in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries finds confirmation in the linguistic studies of Brendemoen. Brendemoen’s phonological study of the contemporary Turkish dialects of the Pontos reconstructs features of the native Turkic dialect, which is the basis of most modern Turkic dialects of the region. This original Turkic dialect was formed on the basis of Greek

305 Scholarios, George. *Discours justificatif de Scholarios accusé de latinisme*, in Idem, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Louis Petit, Xenophon A. Siderides, and Martin Jugie, 8 vols (Paris, 1928–36), 1:382–83, esp. p. 382.9–15: “Ἡ τοίνυν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἡμετέρους πάντας τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων τούτων θρησκείας εἶναι νομίζειν (πάντες γὰρ σχεδὸν τὴν ἐκείνων φωνὴν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ τὴν οἰκείαν μεμελετήκασιν), οὐ τί γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀτοπώτερον; ἢ μὴδ’ ἡμᾶς τῶν λατινικῶν δογμάτων οἴεσθαι κεκοινωνηκέναι, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα τῆς αὐτῶν μετέσχομεν γλώττης· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Λατίνοις μὲν τῆς φωνῆς κοινοῦντας ἀνάγκη καὶ τῶν δογμάτων μετέχειν, ἐκείνοις δὲ ἄλλως συμμιγνυμένοις μὴ καὶ τὴν θρησκείαν εἶναι κοινήν.” Further on, Scholarios continued that the prevalent knowledge by the Turks of the Greek language did not make them Christians, thus confirming that many Turks at that time to some extent were Greek-speaking.

306 Jugie, Martin. “Compléments à la biographie,” in Scholarios, *Œuvres complètes*, 8:21*; Ševčenko, Ihor. “Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence,” *Church History* 24 (1955), pp. 298–99; Blanchet, Marie-Hélène. “Georges-Gennadios Scholarios et les Turcs: une vision nuancée des conquérants,” in *Worlds in Change: Church Union and Crusading in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Christian Gastgeber, et al. (Cluj-Napoca, 2009), p. 104.

and the Turkish superstratum. Consequently, the initial speakers of the dialect must have been bilingual, that is, both Greek- and Turkic-speaking. Their bilingualism significantly influenced the phonology of subsequent Turkic dialects. The characteristics of this hypothetical dialect were close to the dialect of Aqqyunlu Turkmens and went back to the fourteenth century. Linguistic data are consistent with historical evidence: the region to the south of Vekfikebir, which is designated by Brendemoen as a nucleus for dialect formation, in the middle of the fourteenth century was occupied by Turkmen nomads of Aqqyunlu.³⁰⁷ Similar research on the historical phonology of the Balkan Turkish and Greek dialects has yet to be accomplished; however, Brendemoen's study to some extent compensates for the missing link in the chain of language metamorphosis in Byzantine territories. In the Byzantine Balkans, bilingual Greek and Turkish groups could have existed, and autochthonous Greeks in areas of dense concentrations of Turks might have also adopted the Greek-Turkic bilingualism.³⁰⁸

Some Turkisms, which first entered spoken Greek and were later randomly reflected in written Greek, were brought by bilingual Greek immigrants and refugees, as well as by pure Turks, both settled and nomadic. The cultural status of the Turks in the context of Byzantine culture was quite low until the fifteenth century, unlike the earlier status of Sasanian or Arabic-Muslim civilization. The Turks won a place within the Byzantine space by force of arms and by ethnic infiltration. Their cultural status was too low for their language to be considered prestigious. The substantial impact of Turks on the Greek language can only be explained by a relatively large number of these Turkophone Byzantines, both naturalized Turks and Turkish-speaking bilingual Greeks. Consequently, the source of linguistic and cultural neologisms of Oriental origin (or a substantial part of them) was within the Byzantine sociocultural sphere as a specific structural element. Such a broad layer of borrowings is unlikely to be explained by random "injections" of visiting aliens or imported slaves.

The Turkic spoken language was such an indispensable and influential element of Byzantine culture and linguistics that it made its way in the textual realm. Greek and Turkish redoubling of geographic names is clearly seen in

307 Brendemoen, Bernt. *The Turkish Dialects of Trabzon: Their Phonology and Historical Development*, 1: *Analysis* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 284–90.

308 For further discussion on bilingualism in Anatolia, see also: Janse, Mark. "Aspects of Bilingualism in the History of the Greek Language," in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford, 2002), pp. 387–88.

Late Byzantine sources in spite of archaizing censorship. In most cases the Greek transmission of Oriental borrowings was impeccably accurate. Phonetic Hellenization of borrowed words was minimal and the foreign lexica entered into the Greek language almost in its original form. This means that the Greeks were familiar with hearing Turkic, Persian, Arabic, and, possibly, Mongolian speech. Oriental languages had lost much of their “alien,” “foreign” sound for the Greek consciousness.

15 Latent Turkification

The latent Turkification of Byzantine society has been formulated in a number of my previous studies. By latent Turkification I mean the significant penetration into the Byzantine environment of Turkic ethnic elements that transformed Late Byzantine mentality. This mental transformation consisted of a gradual adoption of the realities of the *alien* Turkic world as an equal (or almost equal) version of Byzantium's *own* world. The lexical borrowings and what lay behind them were latent signs of a larger cultural transformation that directly affected the basic characteristics of Late Byzantine identity. These changes were “latent” because they were perceived neither by the subjects nor the objects of Turkification, but also because the symptoms are only implicitly present in available sources.

The accommodation and assimilation of the Byzantine *oikoumene* by Anatolian Turks and its de-Hellenization have been traditionally considered in modern scholarship, especially after the classic works of Vryonis, as a result of the Turkish conquest which led to the depopulation of the area (expulsion of the Greeks from their lands) and the Islamization of the Greeks who remained under the rule of the Turks.³⁰⁹ Vryonis' scheme, however, requires an important reservation. His conception of Islamization as a leading factor is applicable only to those areas that had already fallen under the rule of the Turks, and is absolutely valid for post-Byzantine times when the Ottoman Turks, putting an end to the Byzantine statehood, used Islamization as a tool of the ethnic assimilation of autochthonous peoples. For the period of the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, however, along with the Islamization of former Byzantine territories, latent Turkification occurred in areas remaining under Byzantine political control. This latent Turkification, of course, preceded the Turkish conquest and subsequent Islamization and was not the result of Islamization but rather a precondition of mass conversions to Islam.

309 Vryonis, “Nomadization and Islamization,” pp. 60ff.

There are two separate aspects in the structure of the Byzantine-Turkish contacts: confessional (Islam-Christian antinomy and related Islamization) and ethnic (Turkish-Greek antinomy and related Turkification). Confessional and ethnic aspects did not always accompany one another. Moreover, it is conceivable that in the long-term historical perspective the ethnic aspect of the Turkish mastering of the Greek *oikoumene* was more significant and long-lasting than the confessional.

Byzantine culture, as a recipient culture, responded to its meeting with the Other first through the adoption of new foreign names. The Byzantines used these foreign words more and more to express their everyday interests and needs.

16 Cultural Interchange and a Lethal Outcome

The escalation of this information alien to the Byzantines paved the way for the Turkish conquests. According to Doukas, in the beginning of April 1453 when the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II advanced toward Constantinople, the *megas doux* Loukas Notaras, who was second in power to the last Byzantine emperor Constantine XI, seeing the huge Ottoman army massed against Constantinople, uttered: "It would be better to see the turban of the Turks reigning in the center of the City than the Latin mitre."³¹⁰ In a striking way this expressed the aversion of some Byzantines to the ambitions of the papacy to subdue the Orthodox Church. These words bewitch by their paradoxical and tragic logic. The maxim reflects a sharp debate between Orthodox supporters and opponents of the union with the Catholic Church that divided Byzantine society. Loukas Notaras belonged to opponents of the union, while Doukas, who put this statement in his mouth, was a consistent unionist. Doukas, attributing these words to Loukas Notaras, expressed unionist charges of compromise with and capitulation to the Turks on the part of opponents. Because of this motivation the authenticity of these words ascribed to Loukas Notaras is questionable. As Ševčenko has shown, it is improbable that Loukas Notaras shared a defeatist mood as he ultimately fulfilled his duties as defender of the City in the spring of 1453. Opponents of the union never voluntarily surrendered to the Turks. It is clear that Doukas' accusation against Loukas Notaras

310 Doukas 37.10 (p. 329.11–12): "Κρειττότερόν ἐστιν εἰδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φακιόλιον βασιλεῦον Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν Λατινικήν."

(and implicitly against all like-minded opponents of the union) was deliberate propaganda.³¹¹

The statement ascribed to Loukas Notaras has often been interpreted as a manifestation of a tendency in Late Byzantine political thought (or, even more broadly, in Byzantine mentality) of “Turkophilia” (τουρκοφιλία) peculiar to “Turkophile party” in Byzantium. Evert-Kappesowa was the first to describe “Turkophilia” as the core concept of an anti-Latin political and intellectual movement.³¹² Tolerance of anti-unionist forces to Turkish rule has been discussed comprehensively by Udaltsova and Lomize.³¹³ Turkophile tendencies in Late Byzantine thought have been brilliantly described by Balivet. He has convincingly demonstrated the prevalence of the idea of a political deal with the Turks among Byzantines, as well as their willingness to recognize Turkish dominion. During military conflicts with the Ottomans, the Byzantine population often advocated pro-Turkish sentiments. Balivet analyzes the texts of Demetrios Kydones, Manuel II Palaiologos, and other authors who reproached compatriots who were ready to collaborate with the Turkish invaders. In times of acute political crisis, such as conflicts over Thessalonike in the 1380s, 1422, and 1430 and the siege of Constantinople in 1394–1402, some Byzantines preferred surrender to the Ottomans, and some even defected to the Turks.³¹⁴ The economic background of Byzantium’s compromise with the Turks has been studied by Matschke.³¹⁵ Necipoğlu has discussed in detail the pro-Ottoman party based on the case of John Anagnostes and the Thessalonians in the

311 Ševčenko, “Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence,” pp. 293–97, 315 n. 47. Now see also: Philippides, Marios and Hanak, Walter K. *The Siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453: Historiography, Topography, and Military Studies* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2011), pp. 41–42 and n. 120.

312 Evert-Kappesowa, Halina. “La tiare ou le turban,” *Byzantinoslavica* 14 (1953), pp. 245–57.

313 Udaltsova, Zinaida V. “Предательская политика феодальной знати Византии в период турецкого завоевания,” *Византийский временник* 7 (1953), pp. 93–121; Lomize, Evgenij M. “Византийский патриотизм в XV в. и проблема церковной унии,” in *Славяне и их соседи. Этнопсихологические стереотипы в Средние века* (Moscow, 1990), pp. 94–106; Idem, “Константинопольский патриархат и османская религиозная политика в конце XIV первой половине XV в.,” *Византийский временник* 53 (1992), pp. 89–96; Idem, “Константинопольская патриархия и церковная политика императоров с конца XIV в. до Ферраро-Флорентийского собора (1438–1439),” *Византийский временник* 55 (1994), pp. 104–10.

314 Balivet, Michel. “Le personnage du ‘turcophile’ dans les sources Byzantines antérieures au Concile de Florence (1370–1430),” in Idem, *Byzantins et Ottomans: Relations, interaction, succession*, pp. 31–47; Idem, *Romanie byzantine*, pp. 73–81.

315 Matschke, Klaus-Peter. *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar, 1981), pp. 56–64, 125–39.

1420s.³¹⁶ One may add the experience of such notable persons as the metropolitan of Peritheorion Dorotheos (1381), the famous *despotes* of Morea Demetrios Palaiologos (1449–60), the family of the Phrangopoulaioi (Φραγγοπουλαίοι) in the Peloponnese, and others who were condemned by their contemporaries for their open collaboration with the Ottomans. The phenomenon of collaborationism with the Ottoman invaders did exist in Late Byzantium and is abundantly supplied with historical evidence especially since the time of the military collapse of Byzantium in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

At the same time, the Byzantines did not know the concept of *Turkophilia*; the term *τουρκόφιλος* appeared for the first time in 1829 during the Greek War of Independence; the synonymic *φιλότουρκος* and the abstract *τουρκοφιλία* were first attested even later in 1888/89.³¹⁷ In fact, in Byzantine times an analogous notion existed defining a "bias" to the Latins, that is, *λατινόφρων* "Latin-minded." However, *λατινόφρων* merely indicated a sympathy for religious conceptions of the Latins and never a cultural or political affection for the Latin West.³¹⁸ A parallel notion of *σαρακηνόφρων* "Saracen-minded" emerged in the eighth century during the Iconoclastic crises and was applied to those who thought in Saracen-like way in the matters of faith.³¹⁹ Iconoclasts and iconodules accused each other of dogmatic "Saracenism"; however, in Late Byzantine times, *σαρακηνόφρων* was never used to describe current events. Instead, a person may have been accused of *φρόνημα τῶν Μουσουλμάνων*, that is, "the way of thinking of Muslims" or more semantically precisely "the faith of Muslims." However, this was never applied to pious Byzantines, but only to apostate Christians converted to Islam who had placed themselves outside Byzantine society.³²⁰

The Byzantines never thought of themselves as *capable of being "like-minded" with the Turks*. This idea was alien to Byzantine mentality. Therefore, it is unreasonable to suggest the existence of a specific "Turkophile party" in Byzantium, consisting of anti-unionist and anti-Latin individuals being disposed to surrender to the Turks as has been formulated by Evert-Kappesowa and Udaltsova, and followed by others.³²¹ The notions *τουρκόφιλος*, *φιλότουρκος*,

316 Necipoğlu, "Sources for the Social and Economic History," pp. 98–101.

317 See: Babiniotis, Georgios. *Λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας* (Athens, 2002), p. 1782.

318 See *TLG*: *λατινόφρων* and *λατινοφρονέω*.

319 See *TLG* for *σαρακηνόφρων* and esp.: Theophanes the Confessor. *Theophanis chronographia*, ed. Carolus de Boor, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1883–85), p. 414.27.

320 Lagopates, Spyridon N. *Γερμανός ὁ Β' Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας (1222–40). Βίος συγγράμματα καὶ διδασκαλαὶ αὐτοῦ* (Athens, 1913), p. 358 (Epistle 3, title); *Les registes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, 1/4:104–05 and above Section 14.

321 Evert-Kappesowa, "La tiare ou le turban."

and *τουρκοφιλία* are anachronistic to a description of Byzantine ideological and mental phenomena in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Any readiness of the Byzantines to deal with the Ottomans was always conditioned by specific social and economic circumstances and had nothing to do with an alleged hypothetical “passion” for the Turks. As Balivet has shown, the emperor Manuel II, although he cannot be suspected of any sort of defeatism in his attitude to the Ottomans, for political reasons looked for a compromise with them. His long-lasting alliance with the Ottoman sultans, as well as his explanations in his correspondence, indicate that it was pragmatism that prevailed in the emperor’s attitude to the invaders.³²² There did not exist in Byzantium at the level of intellectual and political reflection any coherent “Turkophile” program, and the term “Turkophilia” is hardly applicable to the contemporary Byzantine situation.

Explicit transformation in the Byzantine attitude toward the Turks, of course, cannot be denied, but it needs to be described in different terms. Toporov, the late Russian linguist and historian of culture, accurately and clearly articulated the problem of intercultural influences:

Since the acquisition of the “Other” is usually visibly a change of something in “One’s Own Self,” while the “Giving side” loses nothing and does not change, scholarly attention focuses mainly on the “Receiving and enriched side.” The “Giving side,” however, which never diminishes (*What I have given is yours*), remains in the shadows. Because of this, the focus is on “unilaterally” aimed situations that can be determined in their passive aspect as borrowing while in their active aspect it is an influence. However, the unilateralism in these situations is always putative [...] Any ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic contact is always an exchange and, therefore, is always bilateral, reciprocal ... The “Receiving side” gives way to the Other in return for gain in the form of a new and desired element, while [...] “the Giving side” obtains a new space that allows it in principle to dominate the “Receiving side” [...] The general formula for such an exchange can be expressed as follows: the “extensive” (that is “space” of culture) is exchanged for an “intensive” (that is a “new” element of culture).³²³

322 Balivet, “Le personnage du ‘turcophile.’”

323 Toporov, Vladimir N. “Из ‘Русско-персидского’ дивана. Русская сказка *301A, В и ‘Повесть о Еруслане Лазаревиче’ – ‘Шах-наме’ и авестийский ‘Зам-язат-яшт’ (Этнокультурная и историческая перспективы),” in *Этноязыковая и этнокультурная история Восточной Европы* (Moscow, 1995), pp. 142–44.

Michel Balivet has described Byzantine-Turkish contacts in the same vein. He demonstrates how Greek-Turkish symbiosis transformed both sides, gradually bringing to uniformity what had at first been irreconcilable differences. He is inclined to emphasize positive and "enriching" outcomes of the meeting between the Greek and Turkish worlds and, in particular and especially, the contribution of Turkish culture to Byzantine civilization, an approach scarcely appreciated by Byzantological "nationalism."³²⁴

There is, however, a different and mostly dark side of the relationships between "the Other" and "One's Own" in the fragile balance of culture. As Toporov has convincingly pointed out, the obtaining of the Other is always a rejection of a part of one's own. To preserve intact the identity of a culture it is vitally important to retain as many of its own words as it gives up in exchange for foreign names. There is always the risk of a tragic outcome of any intercultural meetings, which are always ready to turn into a violent fight, just as happened with the Greeks and the Turks.

Byzantine sources testify to an initial Turkicising transformation in Byzantine mentality. Subconscious openness to the Turkish world, which took shape in the course of these transformations, could have been interpreted by Byzantines as Greek-Turkish "similarity" in a cultural and even confessional sense. George of Trebizond (1395-ca. 1472/3), another descendant of Anatolian emigrants and famous Byzantine intellectual, who adopted Catholicism in 1426,³²⁵ wrote to Mehmed II in 1453:

As you see, the all-golden Emir and the true Sultan, the entire human race is divided into three parts, the Jews, the Christians, and the Muslims, of whom the race of Jews is small and very much scattered, that of Christians is of immense numbers and great, and owns great power, wisdom, and knowledge, while that of Muslims is very large and admirable. So if someone would unite in one belief and faith these two human races, I mean Christian and Muslim, I swear by the God of heaven and earth that he will be glorified by all men, on earth and in heaven, and will enter

³²⁴ Balivet, *Romanie byzantine*.

³²⁵ George of Trebizond derived from an emigrant family moved from Trebizond to Crete. For his biography and works, see: Monfasani, John. *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of his Rhetoric and Logic* (Leiden, 1976); *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond*, ed. John Monfasani (Binghamton, NY, 1984), and now also: George of Trebizond. *Георгий Трапезундский. Об истинности христианской веры*, ed. Ksenia Lobovikova (Samarkand, 2009).

the ranks of angels. None other, O admirable Emir, than you can accomplish this.³²⁶

George later demonstrates in detail the hollowness of the Muslim-Christian theological controversies in Christology and Trinitarian questions, the source of which he saw in the malicious machinations of Jews. George concludes that, if Mehmed II would implement the union of Christians and Muslims, Alexander the Great, Caesar Augustus, and Constantine himself would look insignificant compared to the sultan's power.³²⁷ In support of the interpretation of Lobovikova, George of Trebizond did not mean here to establish some kind of a hardly imaginable union between Christians and Muslims, as suggested by Balivet and others. George's goal was to persuade Mehmed II to convert to Christianity, because Islam was, in fact, the same as Christianity, only set out differently. Once Mehmed converted to Christianity, the world order would return to its normal state. At its center, as before, would be the eternal universal Christian Roman empire.³²⁸

George of Trebizond, as many other Byzantines and later post-Byzantine Greeks, cherished the hope that the "Otherness" of the Muslim Turks was just a semblance, that the Ottoman "Otherness" was just a variant of the Greek "Own," that due to the prevailing influence of Greeks and their culture and Constantinople's *genius loci* the Muslim Turks were only a step from becoming Greeks and Christians.

The acute political rivalry of the Byzantines with the Turkic worlds (mainly Anatolian and partly that of the Golden Horde), the described Turkic "internal colonization" of the Byzantine *oikoumene*, led to an increasing cultural "immunodeficiency" in the Byzantine mentality. When the Turkic speech, Turkic mode of life, and a variety of elements of the neighboring Turkic world began to be perceived by Byzantine consciousness as familiar, understandable,

326 George of Trebizond. *George de Trébizonde, De la vérité de la foi des chrétiens*, ed. Adel-Théodore Khoury (Altenberge, 1987), pp. 70.45–72.54; Balivet, Michel. *Pour une concorde islamo-chrétienne. Démarches byzantines et latines à la fin du Moyen-âge (de Nicolas de Cues à Georges de Trébizonde)* (Rome, 1997), p. 38; George of Trebizond, ed. Lobovikova, p. 20 (§ 5).

327 Balivet, *Pour une concorde*, pp. 46–48, 77; George of Trebizond, ed. Lobovikova, pp. 33 (§ 35), 35 (§ 43), 90 (§ 183). See also: Geanakoplos, Deno J. *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago and London, 1984), pp. 384–85.

328 George of Trebizond, ed. Lobovikova, pp. 142–79, 210–33; Lobovikova, Ksenia. "Византия и Запад: поиски путей к примирению мусульман и христиан: (по поводу книги М. Баливе)," *Византийский временник* 65 (2006), pp. 204–17.

when the Turks ceased to seem mysterious and dangerous, the instinct of self-preservation failed the Greeks. In the first half of the fourteenth century, the political mistakes of the Byzantines, who attracted the Turks to the Balkans and who later hoped to reach a peace agreement with the Ottomans, were inadvertently caused by this lack of cultural "immunity." Latent Turkification was not the only but a very significant factor in the existential defeat of Byzantine civilization.

Etymological Glossary

The glossary represents a brief etymological description of those Oriental borrowings in Byzantine Greek that have been mentioned in this study. Therefore, most of the lexemes included belong to the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries with occasional inclusions of earlier vocabulary. Each entry, with minor exceptions, contains elementary information and bibliography concerning the origin of the loan-words. The glossary is divided into two sections: “Proper Names” and “Appellatives.” Included in “Proper Names” are first names and bynames (family names, nicknames, and sobriquets), ethnic names, place-names, and a few related adjectives. The section “Appellatives” contains only those words that entered Byzantine Greek as loan-words and were in common usage, omitting words borrowed from technical “scientific” terminology (astrology, medicine, magic, etc.) and those Oriental terms that the Byzantines employed to describe the outer Muslim world (Muslim dignities, administrative, religious, and social terms). In most cases, I have omitted the Arabographic versions of Turkic words giving them in Roman script.

Abbreviations

Arab. – Arabic
 e.n. – ethnic name
 g.n. – geographical name
 Gk. – Greek
 Mg. – Mongol
 Ott. – Ottoman
 p.n. – personal name
 Pers. – Persian
 Tk. – Turkic

1 Proper Names

Ἀβραμπάκης, p.n. – “Ibrāhīm-bek” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. إبراهيم *ibrāhīm*, biblical Abraham, a widespread Muslim name + Tk. بك *bek* “chief, lord,”

- initially “mighty, strong.” – Clauson, Gerard. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 322–23; Moravcsik, Gyula. *Byzantinoturcica* (Leiden, 1983), 2:54.
- Ἀβράμπαξ, p.n. – “Ibrāhīm-bek” or “Ibrāhīm-paşa” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. إبراهيم *ibrāhīm* + Tk. بك *bek* (see above s.v. Ἀβραμπάκης); however, παξ may derive also from Tk. *paşa* “leader, commander” ← Pers. *pāshā* contraction of پادشاه *pādshāh* “king.” – Cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:54.
- Ἀζατίνης (Aziathim), p.n. – “might of the Faith” ← Tk. *izetin* ← Pers. ← Arab. p.n. عز الدين *‘izz al-dīn*, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:57.
- Ἀχαουτλοῦ, p.n. – “fortunate elder brother” ← Tk.-Mg. *ece/āce* “elder brother” + Tk. *qutlu* “fortunate”; see also Κουτλάς. Kuršanskis’ interpretation ἄζα ← Arab. اعضا *a‘dā* is implausible. – Clauson, *Etymological*, pp. 20, 61; Doerfer, Gerhard. *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, 4 vols (Wiesbaden, 1963–75), 1:187–88; 2:15 (*eĉi*); cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:57; Kuršanskis, Michel. “Relations matrimoniales entre Grands Comnènes de Trébizonde et princes géorgiens,” *Bedi Kartlisa* 34 (1976), pp. 116–17.
- Ἀηλαζής, p.n. – “wind-raider” ← Tk. *yel* “wind,” widespread Tk. name + Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. غازی *ghāzī* “raider, conqueror, hero”; for the latter see Γαζής. – Rásonyi, László and Baski, Imre. *Onomasticon Turcicum: Turkic Personal Names*, 2 vols (Bloomington, IN, 2007), p. 343.
- Ἀναδοβλάς, p.n. – see Ἀναταυλάς.
- Ἀλής, p.n. – “Alī” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. علي *Alī*, a widespread Muslim name. Beldiceanu’s suggestion that Ἀλής derives from *āl-i* (Arab. آل *āl* “family, lineage” + Pers. *izafa -i*) is implausible. – Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène. “Pachymère et les sources orientales,” *Turcica* 32 (2000), p. 431; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:62.
- Ἀλιάζης, p.n. – “Ilyas,” biblical Elijah ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. إلياس *ilyās*, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:62, 123.
- Ἀλίσέριος, Ἀλησέρης, Ἀλυσύρης, p.n. – “Alī the Lion” ← Alī + Pers. شیر *shīr* “lion,” a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:63.
- Ἀπούσης, p.n. – “heroic” ← Tk. *alpıṣ*: *alp* “hero” + suffix *ıṣ*, cf.: Modern Gk. names Ἀλπος, Ἀλπας, Ἀλπίδης, Ἀλπόγλου ← Tk. *alp*. – Tompaïdes, Demetrios. *Ελληνικά επώνυμα τουρκικής προελεύσης* (Athens, 1990), p. 44; Yurtsever, Erk. *Türkçe Adlar Derlemesi* (İstanbul, 1997), p. 26.
- Ἀταμούριος, p.n. – “red iron” or “gilt iron” ← Tk. *altamir*, Ott. *aldemir*, a widespread Turkish name; cf. with the same Cuman name Ἐλτιμηρής. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:65, 124; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 42; Yurtsever, *Türkçe*, p. 25.

- Ἀλτούμης, p.n. – “gold” ← Tk. *altun/altın*. – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, pp. 57–58, 60.
- Ἀμελγαζᾶς, p.n. – “father of ghāzī” ← Arab. p.n. أبو الغازی *abū al-ghāzī*.
- Ἀμζᾶς, p.n. – “hot, burning” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. حمزه *hamza*, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:66, 339.
- Ἀμηρεσάν, p.n. – “emir Ḥasan” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. أمير *amīr* “emir” + Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. حسن *hasan* “good.”
- Ἀμιρούτζης, Ἀμηρούκης, Ἀμηρούτζης, Ἀμοιρήτζης, Ἀμοιρούκιος, Ἀμοιρούτζης, Ἀμυρούτζης, p.n. – “small emir” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. أمير *amīr* + Gk. diminutive suffix ούτζης (← Slavonic masculine suffix ~уѣ or ← Italian -uccio); cf.: similar Modern Gk. names derived from “emir.” – Andriotes, Nicolas P. *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής* (Thessalonike, 1967), p. 134; Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 45.
- Ἀμιτιώται, e.n. – “those dwelling in Omidie” (?) ← place-name Omidie/Ammodion (?), a Gk. name for the Aquyunlu tribes. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:58.
- Ἀμούριος, p.n. – “pilgrim” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. عمر *umar* and also ← Tk. ← Arab. امور *umūr* “good manners, knowledge, experience.” – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:68, 216.
- Ἀμυρτζαίνα, ἡ, p.n. – “small emir” ← Tk. *amırça* ← Pers. امیرچه with Tk. diminutive *ça*; or alternatively “emir’s scion”: Tk. ← Pers. *amırza* (← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. أمير *amīr* + Pers. زاده *zāda* “born, scion” (cf.: Modern Gk. p.n. Ζαδές “son”) + Gk. suffix αίνα. Cf. with the name Emirza (= Amirza) mentioned by Beldiceanu and Năsturel. – Beldiceanu, Nicoară and Năsturel, Petre. “Biens du monastère Sainte-Sophie de Trébizonde dans plusieurs bandons du pays à la charnière de la conquête (1461),” *Byzantion* 60 (1990), p. 77 (no. 24); Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 74.
- Ἀναταυλᾶς, Ἀναδοβλᾶς, p.n. – “the eye of the dynasty” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. عين الدولة *‘ayn al-dawla*. Moravcsik’s etymology Ἀναταυλᾶς ← ‘Alāeddaula is impossible for linguistic reasons. More interesting but no less improbable is the suggestion of Hartmann: Ἀναταυλᾶς could have been connected with Tk. name *dülāt* (دولات)/τοβλά, which, however, I failed to find in dictionaries. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:69; Hartmann, Richard. “Zur Wiedergabe türkischer Namen und Wörter in den byzantinischen Quellen,” *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst* 6 (1952) p. 7 n. 4.
- Ἀναχουτλοῦ, ἡ, p.n. – “fortunate mother” ← Tk.-Mg. *ana* “mother” + Tk. *qutlu* “fortunate”; see also Κουτλᾶς. – Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 2:130; Kuršanskis, “Relations matrimoniales,” pp. 116–17; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:69.

- Ἀπελμενέ, p.n. – “rhetor, knowledgeable man” ← most likely Arab. *أبو المعاني* *abū al-ma‘ānī* or less probable ← Arab. *أبو المعالي* *abū al-ma‘ālī* “sublime, great.” A similar pattern of the Hellenization of Arabic names: Porphyrogennetos’ Ἀπελμουζέ ← Arab. *أبو المعز* *abū al-mu‘izz*. – Cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:54, 71; Porphyrogennetos, Constantine. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio* 44.74–96, Greek text ed. Gy. Moravcsik, English transl. R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington, DC, 1967).
- Ἀράπης, p.n. – “Arab” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *عرب* ‘*arab*; cf. with Pontic Gk. ἄραπης and Modern Gk. p.n. Ἀράπης. – Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 46; Papadopoulos, Anthimos A. *Ιστορικό λεξικόν της Ποντικής διαλέκτου*, 2 vols (Athens, 1958–61), 1:136; Christides, Vassilios. “The Names ἄραβες, σαρακηνοί etc. and their False Byzantine Etymologies,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 65 (1972), pp. 329–31.
- Ἀραχαντλούν, p.n. – “with fortunate crown of the head” ← Mg. *orai* “crown of the head” + Tk. *qutlu* “fortunate,” see also Κουτλάς. – Rybatzki, Volker. *Die Personennamen und Titel der mittelmongolischen Dokumente. Eine lexikalische Untersuchung* (Helsinki, 2006), p. 151; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:71.
- Ἀσάν, p.n. – see Χασάνης.
- Ἀσθλαμπέκης, p.n. – “Arslan-bek” ← Tk. *arslan*, *aslan* “lion,” cf.: Pontic ἄσλάνης “lion,” Lazan *aslanī* + Tk. *bek* “leader” (see Ἀβραμπάκης). Epenthetic θ appeared between σ and λ in Ἀσθλάμ/Ἀσθλάν to facilitate pronunciation of the combination σλ, which was not characteristic for ancient and medieval Greek (cf.: ἐσθλαβῶθη). Cf.: Modern Gk. p.n. Ἀσλάνης and its derivatives. “Arslan” was a widespread name in Muslim Anatolia, being also found as a secondary component in compound names such as Alp Arslan, Qılıç Arslan, etc. – Clauson, *Etymological*, p. 238; Radloff, Wilhelm. *Опыт словаря тюркских наречий*, 4 vols (St. Petersburg, 1893–1911), 1:547; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:72; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικό λεξικόν*, 1:151; Symeonidis, Charalambos. “Lautlehre der türkischen Lehnwörter im neugriechischen Dialekt des Pontos,” *Archéion Πόντου* 31 (1971–72), p. 84 n. 1; Marr, Nikolaj. *Грамматика чанского (лазского) языка* (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 127; Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 47.
- Ἀτζάμιοι, e.n. – “Persians” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *عجم* ‘*ajam* “non-Arab,” “Persian” – an old name that the Arab Muslims used for designating the Iranians of the central and eastern parts of the Caliphate. – Chalkokondyles, Laonikos. *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols (Budapest, 1922–27), 1:156.18–157.1; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:77–78.
- Ἀτιλαντζής, p.n. – see Τιλαντζής.

- Ἀτουμάνος, p.n. – “Uthmān” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. عثمان; a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:79.
- Ἀχπουγάς, p.n. – “white bull” ← Tk. *aq* “white” + Tk. *buqa* “bull,” a widespread name. – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, pp. 29–30; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:92.
- Βαμβακοράβδης, p.n. – “having a cotton rod,” the mocking nickname of the emperor Alexios III; see βάμβαξ in Section 2. – Du Cange, Charles. *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyon, 1688), cols 172–73; *LBG*, p. 262.
- Βαρβαρηνοί, e.n. – “Berbers” and probably generally “North Africans”; the self-denomination of the Berbers was *amazigh*; cf.: χωράφιον τῶν Βερβεριάδων and χωράφιον τοῦ Βέρβερι. – Oikonomides, Nicolas. “À propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats,” *Travaux et mémoires* 8 (1981), pp. 360–64.
- Γαζής, Γαζί, Γαζέας (Pontos), Γαзи, p.n., g.n. – “raider” ← Tk. *gazi* ← Pers. ← Arab. غازی *ghāzī* “warrior, conqueror, raider, soldier of fortune.” – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:108–09.
- Γαμάλ, p.n. – “beauty, perfection” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. جمال *jamāl* and dialectal *gamāl*.
- Γενισάρη, g.n. – “Yenişehir” ← Tk. *yeni şehir* “new city.” – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:109–110.
- Γιαγούπενα, ἦ, p.n. – Γιαγούπ- (see Ἰαγούπης) + Gk. suffix ενα/αινα.
- Γιαγούπης, p.n. – see Ἰαγούπης.
- Γιάχσσα, p.n. – see Γιάξῆς.
- Γιάξῆς, p.n. – “good” ← Tk. *yaqşı, yaxşı*; I consider the name as more typical for the “Scythian” (Qipchaq) areas, although it was occasionally found among Anatolian Turks. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:113; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 325.
- Γοζάλης, p.n. – “Oğuz hero” ← Tk. tribal name *oğuz, ğuz* + Tk. *alp* “hero”; cf. with the similar name Γουζάλης/Ογουζάλης. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:115, 213; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 2:526; *PLP*, no. 21001.
- Γουσμάνος, Γουσμάνων, pl. Γουσμανάνται, p.n. – “Uthmān” ← dialectal Tk. *gousman* ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. عثمان; the initial γ corresponds to Arab. ʿayn, which in some Turkic dialects was pronounced as a velar fricative (thence γ). The suffix -άνται in Γουσμανάνται denotes a large group or family. See also above another variant of the same Arab. name Ἀτουμάνος. – Symeonidis, Charalambos. “Die Nominalendung -άντ(οι), -άντων, -άντα im neugriechischen Dialekt des Pontos,” *Archiv für Pöntonistik* 36 (1979), pp. 97–103.
- Ἐλτιμηρής, p.n. – see Ἀλταμούριος.

- Ζαγάνης, p.n. – “white, good, noble” ← Mg. *cazan* (цагаан) (?). – *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, ed. F.D. Lessing (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), p. 158; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:128–29 (← Pers. شاهین *shāhīn* “Würgfalte”); Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” pp. 151–52 (Pontic Gk. σαγάν ← *sahan/zağan* “kupferne Schüssel”).
- Ζεέτης, p.n. – “gift” ← Tk. p.n. Zeyt ← Pers. ← Arab. زيد *zayd*; a widespread Arabic name.
- Ἰαγουπασάν, p.n. – “smashing the enemy” ← Tk. ياغي-بان *yağı-basan*. Laurent was wrong suggesting that the name was connected with Arabic “Ya‘qūb.” – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, pp. 322–23; cf.: Laurent, Vitalien. “Note additionnelle. L’inscription de l’église Saint-Georges de Bélisérana,” *Revue des études byzantines* 26 (1968), p. 369.
- Ἰαγούπης, Ἰαούπης, Γαγούπης, p.n. – “Ya‘qūb” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. يعقوب *yacqub*, biblical Jacob, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:32, 135.
- Ἰανάκης, p.n. – possibly, “cheek, face” ← Tk. *yanak*. Alternatively, the name may have been a variant of the Gk. p.n. Γιαννάκης. – Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 3:59, 82.
- Ἰσάχας, p.n. – “Ishāq” ← Arab. اسحاق *isḥāq*, biblical Isaac, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:140.
- Ἰωσούπης, Ἰοσούπης, Ἰωσούφης, p.n. – “Yūsuf” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. يوسف *yūsuf*, biblical Joseph, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:118, 144.
- Καβάδης, p.n. – “Qubād” ← Pers. قباد *qubād* probably in its Tk. pronunciation *kavad*.
- Καζάνης, Καζάνος, p.n. – “cauldron” ← Tk. *kazan/qazan*; cf.: Modern Gk. p.n. Καζάνης. – Clauson, *Etymological*, p. 682; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, pp. 448–49; Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 80; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:146.
- Καζανία, p.n. – feminine of Καζάνης.
- Καζανόπουλος, p.n. – see Καζάνης.
- Καλχανᾶς, p.n. – “shield-maker” ← Pontic Gk. καλχάνιν “shield” ← Tk. *kalkan/qalqan/qalqañ* + Gk. suffix *ās*; cf.: Mg. *qalqa*; cf.: Modern Gk. p.n. Καλχάνης “shield” with further derivations; similar Modern Tk. p.n. Kalkan. – Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικό λεξικόν*, 1:386; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 144: χαλχάν; Clauson, *Etymological*, p. 621; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:501–03; Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 2:251; Budagov, Lazar’ Z. *Сравнительный словарь тюркско-татарских наречий*, 2 vols (St. Petersburg, 1869–71), 2:23; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 412; Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 83; Yurtsever, *Türkçe*, p. 50.

- Κανζίκης, p.n. – “bitch, apostate” ← Tk. *qançiq*; cf.: Lazan *kandjughi* “bitch.” – Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:519–20; Clauson, *Etymological*, p. 635; Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 2:127, 130; Marr, *Грамматика*, p. 152.
- Καπάνιν, g.n. – “Kapan” ← Tk. *qapan* “hill, high place”; cf.: Pontic Gk. *καπάνιν* “mountain, hill, mountainous or hilly terrain.” – Zerzelides, Georgios. “Τοπωνυμικό της Ἀνω Ματσούκας,” *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 24 (1961), p. 262; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικό λεξικόν*, 1:403.
- Καραμάνοι, Καραμάν, e.n. – a tribal name ← Tk. *qaraman*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:151–52; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 435.
- Καρᾶς, Καρᾶ, p.n., g.n. – “black” ← Tk. *qara*, cf.: Modern Gk. p.n. *Καρᾶς*; Yurtsever refers to Tk. p.n. *Kara* characterizing it as “Kıpçak-Kuman adlarından.” It is a widespread Tk. name and a component of compound names such as *Qara Muḥammad*, *Qara Yūsuf*, and the like. – Clauson, *Etymological*, p. 643–44; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 422; Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 88; Yurtsever, *Türkçe*, p. 51.
- Καρατζίας, p.n. – “thief, robber” ← Tk. *qaracı*, Ott. *karacı*; the name is still present in Modern Gk.: *Καρατζής*. – Redhouse, James W. *Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük* (Istanbul, 1997), p. 602; Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 88.
- Καρίμης, p.n. – “generous” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *كريم* *karīm*, a widespread Muslim name.
- Καρμανοί, Καρμιάν, e.n. – a tribal name ← Tk. *germiyan*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:160.
- Κασσιμπούρης, Κασινπούρης, Κασυνπούρης, p.n. – “son of Qāsim” ← Pers. ← Arab. *قاسم* “breadwinner” (see also Μπελχασήμ) + Pers. *پور* *pūr* ← Pehlevi *puhr* “son.” – Justi, Ferdinand. *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), p. 507; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:155.
- Κατούχ, p.n. – a sort of soured milk ← Tk. *qatıq*, “soured milk.” – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 445; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:156.
- Κατζάριος, p.n. – “moving swiftly, fleeing” ← Tk. *kaçar/qacar*; it is possible that the name derives from the Turkmen tribal name *qacar*. – Kúnos, Ignác. *Šejx Sulejman Efendi's Čagataj-Osmanisches Wörterbuch* (Budapest, 1902), p. 112.
- Κατζίκης, p.n. – “mad, crazy, insane, crooked” ← Tk. *qaçiq*, Ott. *kaçık*; the name is found in Modern Gk. anthroponymy in the form *Κατσίκης*. – Redhouse, *Türkçe-İngilizce*, p. 575; Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 91.
- Κομανίτζης, p.n., g.n. – “little Cuman” ← e.n. *Cuman* + *ιτζής* ← Slavonic masculine suffix *-užь* or ← Italian *-uccio*. – Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 134.
- Κομάνκα, ἡ, p.n. – “little Cuman woman” ← *Κόμαν* + Slavonic feminine suffix *-ka* of diminutive meaning. – Miklosich, Franz. “Die Bildung der Slavischen Personen- und Ortsnamen,” *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Vienna, 1860–74), p. 230.

- Κότζαπα, p.n. – “nomad” ← Tk.-Mg. *koçapa*; cf. with Ott. *göçebe* and Azerbaijan *кочабэ* with the same meaning. – Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 2:1645; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, pp. 375–76.
- Κουζουλᾶ(ς), p.n. – “having a lamb” ← Ott. *kuzulu*; cf.: Pontic *κουζί*, Lazan *kuzi* ← Ott. *kuzi* and *kuzu*. – Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 1:477; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 82; Marr, *Γραμματικά*, p. 159.
- Κουϊᾶ(ς), g.n. – “pit, ditch” ← Tk. *кују*; cf.: Pontic Gk. *κουῖν* with the same meaning. – Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 1:477; cf.: Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 82, 125: “Brunnen.”
- Κουλᾶς, Κουλᾶ, g.n. – see *κουλᾶς* in Section 2.
- Κουλάνχατ, p.n. – “maiden picking roses” ← Pers. گلکن *gulkan* “picking roses” + Tk. *qat* “woman, maiden”; on Tk. *qat* see *χατ*.
- Κούμανοι, Κόμανοι, e.n. – “Cumans” ← Tk. tribal name *quman*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:163, 167–68.
- Κουμάνος, p.n. – “Cuman,” see Κούμανοι.
- Κουμουτζούλου, Κουμουτζούλου, g.n. – “having a buried treasure” ← Tk. *kümcülü* (*kümcü* ← *kümcüncü* “a buried treasure”; cf. Ott. *gömü* “a buried treasure”). – Clauson, *Etymological*, p. 722.
- Κουνούκης, p.n., e.n. – tribal name ← Tk. tribal name *qunuq* “greedy”; alternatively ← Tk. *qonuq* “bed, guest, guest-house.” – Clauson, *Etymological*, p. 637; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:527–30; Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 2:909; Budagov, *Сравнительный*, 2:94; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 455.
- Κούρτης, p.n. – “wolf” ← Tk. *kurt*; cf.: Modern Gk. p.n. Κούρτης with numerous derivatives. – Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 104.
- Κούρτος, e.n., p.n. – “Kurd”; in Byzantine Gk., as it seems, *κούρτ* with a circumflex accent was associated with “Kurd” but not Tk. *kurt* “wolf.” Cf. with Κουρτιστάν ← Pers. کردستان *kurdistān* in an astrological text. The Byzantine Pontic derivatives like Κουρτιστής, Κουρτιστόπουλος, Κουρτιστάβα have to be derived from e.n. “Kurd” as well. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:169, 175–76; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 1:486; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 75; Lampros, Spyridon. “Τραπεζουντιακόν ωροσκόπιον του έτους 1336,” *Νέος Ελληνισμός* 13 (1916), p. 40.31.
- Κουστουγάνης, p.n. – “mighty falcon” ← Tk. *küç-tuğan*. Emecen interprets the name as Kuş-Tuğan (“Bird-Falcon”). Brendemoen noted that Emecen’s reading was senseless and put forward his own interpretation of the name as Oğuz-Doğan “Oğuz’s Falcon,” which is questionable phonetically. – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, pp. 385–86, 755–57; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:170; cf.: Emecen, Feridun M. “Giresun tarihinin bazı meseleleri,” in: *Giresun tarihi sempozyumu 24–25 Mayıs 1996. Bildiriler*

- (Istanbul, 1997), p. 22; Brendemoen, Bernt. *The Turkish Dialects of Trabzon: Their Phonology and Historical Development*, 1: *Analysis* (Wiesbaden, 2002), p. 287.
- Κουτζιμπαζις, p.n. – “chief shaman” ← Tk. *koca* “chief” + Tk. *bahşi* “shaman.” – Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Observations on some Turcica of Pachymeres,” *Revue des études byzantines* 36 (1978), pp. 262–63; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:170.
- Κουτλάς, p.n. – “fortunate” ← Tk. *qutlu/kutlu*; cf.: Modern Gk. p.n. Κουτλής. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:170–71; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, pp. 507–08 s.v. *qutla, qutluq*; Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 105.
- Κουτλουμούσιος, p.n. – see Κουτουλμούς.
- Κουτουλμούς, p.n. – “he adorned himself with clothes” ← Tk. *qutalmış* (*qutal+miş*), or alternatively “he took life force or happiness” ← Tk. *qutalmış* (*qut almiş*). The name was popular among early Seljuks and Ottomans. – Kúnos, *Čagataj-Osmanisches*, p. 139 (*kutalmak*); Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:171, with further variants and derivatives of the name in Byzantine sources.
- Μαλκούτζης, Μαλκουτζᾶς, Μαρκουτζᾶς, Μαρμουτζᾶς, p.n. – “sly fellow, intrigant” ← Tk. مالقوق *malquq/malqoq*. The two alternative etymologies seem improbable: ← Pers. مارپیچ *mārpīch* (Balivet), and μαρκουτζᾶς ← Arab. مرء *mar* “man” + *kutzi*, “longinquis sive ex longinquo profectus advena” (Du Cange). – Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 4:2039; Redhouse, James W. *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople, 1921), p. 1660; Darrouzès, Jean. “Le traité des transferts: édition critique et commentaire,” *Revue des études byzantines*, 42 (1984), p. 186 no. 67/Codex R; cf.: Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 880; Balivet, Michel. “Menteşe dit ‘Sâğlâm Bey’ et Germain alias ‘Mârpûç’: deux surnoms turcs dans la chronique byzantine de Georges Pachymère,” *Turcica* 25 (1993), pp. 141–42.
- Μανταχίας, g.n. – Menteşe ← Tk. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:182.
- Μασιγιδᾶς, p.n. – “glorified” ← Arab. مجيد *majīd*, a widespread Muslim name, or alternatively “of mosque” ← Byzantine Gk. μασιγίδιον “mosque” ← Arab. مسجد *maṣjid* “mosque.” – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:182–83.
- Μασούρος, p.n. – “victor” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. منصور *manṣūr*, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:183.
- Μαχλαμᾶς, p.n. – “shawl, towel” ← Tk. محرمه *mahrāma* ← Pers. ← Arab. مفرمه *maqrāma*. – Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 112: Μαχραμάς ← *mahrāma* ποδιά, προσόψι.
- Μαχμούτης, p.n. – “praised” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. p.n. محمود *maḥmūd*, a widespread Muslim name.
- Μαχράμης, p.n., g.n. – “victorious” ← Tk. *behram* ← Pers. بهرام *bahrām*.
- Μελίχ, p.n., Μελίχι, g.n. – “prince, king” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. ملك *malik*.

- Μουγαλτᾶ(ς), p.n. – “Mongol” ← e.n. + Mg.-Tk. onomoaffect *tay*. – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. LXXXI (*tay*³).
- Μουγούλιοι, Μουγούλαιοι, e.n. – “Mongols” ← Pers.-Arab. tribal name مغول *mughūl*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:193.
- Μουγούλ(ης), p.n. – see Μουγούλιοι.
- Μουζάκης, p.n. – see μουζάκιον in Section 2.
- Μουρτατόπουλος, p.n. – see μурτáτος in Section 2.
- Μουρτάτος, p.n. – see μуртáτος in Section 2.
- Μουσῆς, p.n. – “Musa” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. موسى *mūsā*, biblical Moses, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:197.
- Μουσούλης, p.n. – “of Mosul” ← Μουσούλ, the city of Mosul ← Pers., Tk. *mūṣul* ← Arab. الموصل *al-mūṣul*, consequently, a native of that city.
- Μουσουλμάνος (Μουλσουμάνος), p.n. – “Sulaymān” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. سليمان *ṣulaymān*, biblical Solomon, a widespread Muslim name; or alternatively the Byzantine sobriquet “Musulman,” that is, “Muslim” ← Pers., Tk. مسلمان *musulmān*. – cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:198.
- Μουσταφάς, Μουσταφᾶς, p.n. – “elected” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. مصطفى *muṣṭafā*, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:199–200.
- Μουχουδενός, p.n. – “reviving the Faith” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. محي الدين *muḥī al-dīn*, a widespread Muslim name.
- Μπελχασήμ, p.n. – “father of the breadwinner” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. ابو القاسم *abū al-qāsim*, a widespread Muslim name.
- Μυσούρης, p.n. – see Μασούρος.
- Ναστράτιος, p.n. – “helper of the Faith” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. نصر الدين *naṣr al-dīn*, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:209.
- Ούζοι, e.n. – “Uzes” ← Tk. tribal name *üz* ← *oğuz*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:228.
- Πακτιάρης (genitive: Πακτιάρη), p.n. – “fortunate, wealthy” ← Pers. بختيار *bakhtiyār*. Πακτιάρης was referred to in both Lascarid and Trapezuntine sources of the first half of the thirteenth century: in John Lazaropoulos’ narration and in a letter of Theodore II Laskaris. Cf.: alternative etymology of Nystazopoulou and Rosenqvist: ← Gk. πάκτον “agreement, lease, tribute” (an old borrowing from the Latin *pactum*). Theodore II Laskaris refers to Πακτιάρης in a somewhat “Orientalizing” context: “ὁ Πακτιάρης τέθνηκεν ἰππεύων ταταρικῶς.” The name Πακτιάρης is probably not identical with Πακτιάριος of the twelfth century, referred to by Choniates and Kinnamos, for the stem of the latter lexeme is different (πακτιάρι ← Gk. πάκτον). – Lazaropoulos, John. *Synopsis miraculorum sancti Eugenii*, in *The Hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Indexes*, ed. Jan O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala, 1996), lines 1162–63, 1178 and p. 436; Laskaris, Theodore. *Theodori*

- Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. Nicola Festa (Florence, 1898), p. 230.26 (Epistle 179); Kinnamos, John. *Ioannis Cinnami epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. August Meineke (Bonn, 1836), p. 6.19; Choniates, Niketas. *Historia*, ed. Jan Louis van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 1:13.2–9; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1081; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 61; Nystazopoulou, Maria. *Η εν τη Ταυρική χερσονήσω πόλις Σουγδαία από του ΙΓ' μέχρι του ΙΕ' αιώνας* (Athens, 1965), pp. 18–19 n. 52.
- Παξής, p.n. – see Κουτζίμπαξις.
- Παπούτζης, p.n. – “shoe” or “shoemaker” ← Gk. παπούτζιον “shoe,” see s.v. below in Section 2; this name still exists in Modern Gk.: Παπουτσης. – Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 139.
- Πατζινάκοι, e.n. – “Pechenegs” ← Tk. *bečenek*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:247–49.
- Πατρατίνης (Πατρατίνος), p.n. – “the light of the Faith” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. بدر الدين *badr al-dīn*; cf.: Pontic Gk. πατρατίνος “fat man with an unsteady gait”; cf.: Πατρατίνης ὁ Πουπάκης (← Arab. *badr al-dīn abū bakr*). – Heisenberg, August. “Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion,” *Sitzungsberichte Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 1–3 (1922–23), pp. 70–71; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:249; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικό λεξικόν*, 2:169.
- Παχατούρ, p.n. – “hero” ← Tk. *bahadur/bahatur*, a widespread Turkic name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:205; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 94.
- Πητζαράς, p.n. – “poor, unfortunate” ← Tk. *biçare* ← Pers. بچاره *bīchāra*.
- Ποσδογάνης, p.n. – “grey falcon” ← Tk. *boz-doğan*. – Cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:256.
- Προυσούχ, p.n. – “badger” ← Tk. *borsuq*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:257; L. Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 162.
- Ψιμψάς, p.n. – “Irim-paşa” ← Tk. *irim* “good omen, prophecy, hope, luck” + Tk. *paşa* “leader, commander” (for “paşa” see Ἀβράμπαξ). – Kúnos, *Čagataj-Osmanisches*, p. 90; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 305; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:260.
- Σαβούλης, p.n. – “plummet, adjusting tool” ← Pontic σαβούλιν [šavulin] ← Ott. *şavul* ← Arab. شاقول *shāqūl*. – Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικό λεξικόν*, 2:258; cf.: Karapotosoglou, Kostas. “Ετυμολογικά σε ποντιακές λέξεις,” *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 33 (1990–91), p. 312.
- Σαακάς, p.n. – “water carrier” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. سقا *saqqā*.
- Σαλαχατηνός, p.n. – “righteousness of the Faith” ← Tk. *salahaddin/salahettin* ← Pers. ← Arab. صلاح الدين *ṣalāḥ al-dīn*, a widespread Muslim name.

- Σαλίχ, p.n. – “wayfarer, dervish” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *سالك* *sālik*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:264.
- Σαμούχης, p.n. – “ambergris” ← Tk. *samuq*. – Radloff, *Оным словаря*, 4:434; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:266; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 627.
- Σαρακηνός, p.n. – “Saracen” with unclear etymology. – Christides, “The Names,” p. 331 n. 10; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:268.
- Σαρουτζᾶς, p.n. – “yellowish, blond” ← Tk. *sarıça/saruça* ← Tk. *sarı* “yellow, pale”; cf.: Pontic *σαρής* “blond”; a similar name in Modern Gk.: *Σαριτζίδης* “pale.” It was a widespread Ottoman name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:269; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 2:266; Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, 151.
- Σάρσστζα, Σαρτζά, p.n. – “starling” ← Tk. *sarsac*. – Kúnos, *Čagataj-Osmanisches*, p. 167.
- Σατουλμίσης, p.n. – “sold” ← Tk. *satulmuş*. – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 642; Yurtsever, *Türkçe*, p. 66.
- Σαφᾶς, p.n. – “fidelity, purity” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *صفا* *ṣafā*.
- Σαχμελίας, p.n. – see Σαχμελίκης.
- Σαχμελίκης, p.n. – “šah-Melik” ← Tk. ← Pers. *شاه* *shāh* “king” + Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *ملك* *malik* “king, prince.” – Cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:187–88, 271.
- Σιάους, p.n. – “Siyāwush” ← Pers. *سیاوش*, a widespread Persian name. – Cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:274 (wrong etymology: the same as τζαούσης).
- σινιτικός, g.n. – “Chinese” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *صيني* *ṣinī*. – LBG, p. 1554.
- Σουλαμάνης, p.n. – see Μουσουλμάνος. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:286.
- Σουλιμᾶς, p.n. – “Sulaymān”; see Μουσουλμάνος.
- Σουλτάνος, Σουλτάν, Σολτάν, p.n., fem.: Σουλτανίνα – “sultan” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *سلطان* *sultān*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:286–89.
- Σούτος, p.n. – “milkman” ← Tk. *süt* “milk”; cf. with similar bynames in Modern Gk. Σούτης, Σούτας, Σούτος, Σουτάκης, Σούτογλου, Σουτόγλου, Σουτλιόγλου. – Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 187.
- Συτζιγάν, p.n. – “mouse” ← Tk. *sıçğan*, Ott. *sıcan*. – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 661; Vásáry, István. *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 68; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:294.
- Ταχχατζιάρης, Ταχχατζιάρης, p.n. – “Tağaçar,” a widespread Mg-Tk. name – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:296; Rybatzki, *Die Personennamen*, p. 352.
- Ταλαπάς, p.n. – “pupil” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *طلبه* *ṭalaba*.
- Ταρτάρης, p.n. – “Tatar” ← Tk. ← Pers.-Arab. *تاتار* *tātār*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:300.
- Τάταροι, e.n. – “Tatars” ← Pers.-Arab. tribal name *تاتار* *tātār*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:301.

- Τατάρα, ἡ, p.n. – “Tatar woman,” see Τάταροι.
- Ταταρομούτζουνη, ἡ, p.n. – “Tatar ugly mug”; see Τάταροι.
- Τζακαρόπουλος, p.n. – “servant’s son” ← Tk. *çaqar* “servant” either slave or hired + Gk. -πουλος. – Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 3:1833; Budagov, *Сравнительный*, 1:461.
- Τζακᾶς, Τζάκας, p.n. – “a fireplace-maker” ← Tk. *ocak*; cf.: Pontic τζάκ(ιν) and ὀτζάκιν, Byzantine Gk. *τζάκιν ← Tk. *ocak* “fireplace” + Gk. suffix ᾶς. – Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικόν λεξικόν*, 2:373, 2:122; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 107; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:310.
- Τζακέρης, p.n. – “blue-eyed” ← Tk. *çakır*; cf.: Modern Gk. τσακίρης, Pontic Gk. τσαχούρης “blue-eyed.” Cf. with Çakır, an Anatolian Turkic emir in the twelfth c. The name still exists in Modern Gk. as Τσακίρης and in Tk. – Clauson, *Etymological*, p. 409; Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 3:1834; Budagov, *Сравнительный*, 1:461; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικόν λεξικόν*, 2:431; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 145; Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 170; Yurtsever, *Türkçe*, p. 39.
- Τζαμᾶς, p.n. – “of mosque” ← Tk. dialectal *came*, Tk. *camı* “Friday mosque” ← Pers. ← Arab. جامع *jāmiʿ*; cf.: Pontic τζαμίν, Modern Gk. τζαμί; cf.: Τσαμέ, ἡ “mosque,” a later place-name in Matzouka. – Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικόν λεξικόν*, 2:375; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 56; Zerkelides, “Ερμενευτική,” p. 283.
- Τζαμιώτης, p.n. – probably a person who originated from mosque’s area/quarter ← Gk. τζαμί “mosque” (see Section 2 s.v.) + Gk. suffix -(ι)ώτης.
- Τζαμουχί(ας), p.n. – “Jamuqa” ← Mongol p.n. – Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 1:18, cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:308.
- Τζαπρί(ς), p.n. and Τζαπρέσιν, g.n. – “crooked” ← Pontic Gk. τζαπρός ← Tk. *çarpık* “twisted, curved, crooked.” – Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 168; Zerkelides, “Ερμενευτική,” p. 246: on suffix ές(ιν), ής(ιν).
- Τζαράπης, p.n. – “scabby” or “rusty (sword)” ← Tk. *cereb* ← Pers. ← Arab. جرب *jarab*. – Redhouse, *A Turkish and English*, p. 653; Steingass, Francis J. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to Be Met with in Persian Literature* (London, 1984), p. 359; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:309.
- Τζηλιπή, p.n. – “nobleman, man of quality, dandy” ← Ott. *çelebi*; cf. with Pontic and Modern Gk. τσελεπή; the name is found in the Modern Gk. anthroponymy as Τσελεμπής and Τσελέπης. – Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 3:1978; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 2:89–91; Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 174; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:311.
- Τζιαπνίδες, e.n. – Tk. tribal name ← Tk. *çapni/çepni* “sheep with long tail” (?). – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 197; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:309.

Τζίκνογλος, p.n. – Çıkanoglı “son of nephew on the mother’s side” ← Tk. *çiqa*n “nephew on the mother’s side” + Tk. *oğlu* “son.” – Kúnos, *Çagataj-Osmanisches*, p. 43; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 203.

Τζιληπηνόπουλος, p.n. – “son of a *celebi*”; see Τζηλιπή.

Τζουρακίνα, ἦ, p.n. – see Τζυράκης.

Τζυράκης, Τζουράκης, and probably Τζουράχης, p.n. – “domestic slave, client and dependent, child brought up in a wealthy house” ← Tk. چراق *çirak*, *çirac*. Cf. also with Modern Gk. τζουράκης “worker, servant, client” and τσιράκι “pupil, faithful follower.” The name still exists in Modern Gk. as Τσιράκης, Τσιράκος, Τσιρακάκης, Τσιρακίδης, Τσιράκογλου, Τσιρακόπουλος, Τζιράκης. Τζυράκης should not be confused with Τζούρακος (as in *PLP*, no. 28049), which, with its accent on the first syllable and ending –ος, sounds Slavic and can be derived from “чyp” or “чypак.” – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:315; Redhouse, *Türkçe-İngilizce*, p. 252; Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 3/1: 2077; Babiniotis, Georgios. *Λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας* (Athens, 2002), p. 1834; Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 178.

Τιλαντζής, p.n. – “beggar” ← Tk. *dilençi/tilänçi*. – Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 3:1767; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 746.

Τουραλής, p.n. – “Tur-‘Alī” ← Tk. *tur* “stop! live long!” + Arab. p.n. ‘Alī. The name “Tur” as a component of compound names may be given when a baby died in the family earlier. – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 794; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:319; Yurtsever, *Türkçe*, p. 75; the Arabographic shape of the name: Tihriānī, Abū Bakr. *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer, 2 vols (Ankara, 1962–64), 1:14–15, 148: **طورعلى**.

Τουρκής or more preferable Τουρχής, p.n. – “Turkic” ← Per. and Tk. **ترکی** *turkī*; see Τοῦρκοι.

Τουρκίτζη, p.n. – “little Turk” ← e.n. Turk + ιτζη + Slavonic masculine suffix ~уѣ. – Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 134.

Τοῦρκοι, e.n. – “Turks” ← Pehlevi, Pers. **ترک** *turk*, pl. **ترکان**. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:320–27.

Τουρκομάνοι, e.n. – “Turkmen.” There are two variants for the origin of the term Turkmen (**ترکمان**, Arab. pl. **تراکمة**, Pers. pl. **ترکمانان**) derived either from ethnic name Turk + Tk. *man/men* (augmentative suffix) or, according to a medieval etymology, from Pers. **ترک ماند** *turk mānand*, **ترک مانا** *turk-mānā* “resembling a Turk, looking like a Turk.” The latter Persian etymology appears to be more plausible. The former etymology, which is shared now by many scholars, does not give acceptable semantics (if *man/men* is an augmentative suffix, Turkmen means “a big Turk” which makes little sense). – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:320, 327; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 2:498–99; Clauson, *Etymological*, p. XIV.

- Τουρκόπουλος, Τουρκόπλος, p.n. – “son of a Turk”; see Τούρκοι.
- Τούρκος, p.n. – see Τούρκοι. Τουρκ- was widely used as the first element of compound Byzantine names such as Τουρκόπουλος, Τουρκοθεόδωρος, Τουρκοθεριανός, Τουρκοβούνιν and the like.
- Τουρμπασάς, p.n. – “Turum-paşa” ← Tk. *turum/turun* “resembling a stallion” + Tk. *paşa* “leader, commander,” for the latter element see above Ἀβράμπαξ. – Clauson, *Etymological*, p. 549; Kúnos, *Čagataj-Osmanisches*, p. 197.
- Φατμάκατσον, ἡ, p.n. – “lady Fāṭima” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *فاطمة fāṭima(t)*, a widespread Muslim feminine name + Tk. *hatun* (see Section 2: χατοῦνα). – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:332.
- Φαχρατίνης, p.n. – “glory of the Faith” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *فخر الدين fakhr al-dīn*, a widespread Muslim personal name and honorary title (*laqab*).
- Φιλῆς, p.n. – “elephantine” ← Tk. ← Pers. *فيلī*. The appellative φίλιν (see Section 2, s.v.) probably provides the key to the etymology of the Byzantine family name Φιλῆς (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), which comprises the stem *φιλί/filī* Pers., Tk. “elephantine” deriving from the same root *fil*. Semantically, the reading of the personal name Φιλῆς as “elephantine” or rather “elephant-like” is quite plausible: in Persian literature and especially epics of the time, *fil/pīl* was used as an epithet describing a huge, strong, belligerent man. – Stickler, Günter, “Manuel Philes und seine Psalmenmetaphrase,” *Dissertationen der Universität Wien* 229 (Vienna, 1992), pp. 12–14, 18–19 (attempts to etymologize the name); Redhouse, *A Turkish and English*, p. 1403; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 100, 252 (some Iranian names with the root *fil*).
- Φουρνουτζιώτης, p.n. – “baker” ← Tk. *furuncu/fırıncı* (Tk. *furun* ← Lat.-Gk. *φούρνος* “stove” + Tk. suffix *-çi*) + Gk. suffix *-(ι)ώτης*; cf.: Pontic *φουρουντζής*. Hence, the old Gk. *φούρνος* returned to Greek in its Turkic appearance. P.n. *Φουρουντζής* and its derivations still exist in Modern Gk. – Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικό λεξικόν*, 2:466; Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 184.
- Χάζαρος, e.n., p.n. – “Khazar” ← Tk. e.n. *qazar*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:334–36.
- Χαλίλης, p.n. – “faithful companion” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *خليفة khalīl*, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:338.
- Χαλούφης, p.n. – “successor, heir” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *خليفة khalīfa*, a widespread Muslim name. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:339.
- Χαμάλης, p.n. – “porter, carrier” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *حمال hammāl*. See Section 2, s.v.
- Χάνης, p.n. – “khan, overlord” ← Tk. *khan*, Ott. *han*; alternately, the name may have been derived from Armenian Հանա *hanna*, a contraction of the

- standard Յովհաննէս *yovhannēs* “John”; however, the Armenian derivation is less appropriate phonetically. – Cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:339.
- Χαντζαλής (or more likely Χαντζαλής), p.n. – “having a hook, provided with a hook” ← Tk. قانجه لو *kancalı*, in which ق → χ; cf.: Modern Gk. Καντζέλης. – Redhouse, *A Turkish and English*, p. 1425; Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 85.
- Χαρᾶς(ς), g.n. – most likely the same as Καρᾶς s.v.; the spelling of fricative *q* as χ is normal for Byzantine tradition. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:340–41.
- Χαρατζᾶς, p.n. – “dark, black” ← Tk. *qaraca*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:340.
- Χασάνης, p.n. – “good” ← Tk. *hasan* ← Pers. ← Arab. حسن *hasan*; a widespread Muslim name; it still exists in Modern Gk. – Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 188; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:341.
- χατ – anthropo-lexeme ← Tk. *qat* (قات), it is a contraction of *qatın/kadın* “woman, maiden” and plays the role of a secondary component in Turkish names referring to the female sex. – Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 2:277; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. LXX.
- Χατία, g.n. – “China” ← Tk. ← Pers. ختای *khiṭāy* ← Uighur *kytai*. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:342.
- Χατζή, p.n. – “pilgrim” ← Tk. *hacı* ← Pers. ← Arab. حاجي *ḥājjī*; in the Muslim world, the word was widely used as a honorary sobriquet, especially for those who made a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina; cf.: Pontic, Modern Gk. χατζής. This name still exists in Modern Gk. as Χατζής. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:343; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 423; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 2:230; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” pp. 87, 121; Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 189.
- Χατζίλαλα, p.n. – “pilgrim slave” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. حاجي *ḥājjī* “pilgrim” + Tk. ← Pers. لله and لالا *lala* “slave, slave tutor.” – Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. 517; Dehkhodā, *Loghatnâme. CD-version* (Tehran, 1998), s.v. لله and لالا.
- Χησάπογλας, p.n. – “son of calculation” and hence “calculator” (?) ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. حساب *ḥisāb* “account, calculation, counting” + Tk. oğlu “son”; the nickname probably alludes to commercial accounts and accounting.
- Χοτζᾶ Λουλοῦ, p.n. – “Hoca-Lulu” ← Tk. *hoca* ← Pers. خواجه *khwāja*, pronounced as *khoja* “master, lord, teacher” + Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. لولو *lūlū* “pearl.” – Tompaïdes, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 190: Χοτζᾶ; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 2:524 and Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 121: χοτζᾶς/χοτζᾶς.
- Χουμαίας, p.n. – “Humay” ← Pers. همای *humāy/humā* (← Pehlevi *humāk*) “Pandion haliaëtus”; according to an old Iranian belief going back to pre-Islamic times, if the shadow of *humāy*’s wings covers somebody’s head, it brings great fortune and power to that person; cf.: Ott. *hūma* “paradisiacal bird.” It was a widespread Iranian name, which was mostly but not exclusively feminine. – Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 132.

Χουρτζιριώτης, Χουρτζεριώτης, p.n. – “member of special military detachment” ← χουρτζής, see below in Section 2 + Gk. -αρι- (like in the Byzantine Gk. προσωδιάριος, δημοσιάριος etc.) + -(ι)ώτης.
 Χωσαίνης, p.n. – “good” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. حسين *husayn*, a widespread Muslim name.

2 Appellatives

ἄϊράνιν – “ayran,” Turkish drink made of yoghurt and water, curdled milk ← Tk. ایران *ayran*; cf.: Pontic Gk. ἀριάνιν and Modern Gk. αριάνι. – Golden, Peter. “Byzantine Greek Elements,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 5 (1985 [1987]), p. 63; *Asmā al-lughāt bi-l-‘arabiyya bi-l-fārsiyya bi-l-turkiyya wa bi-l-yūnāniyya*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 52: أَيْرَانِن [ayrānin]; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 168; Redhouse, *Türkçe-İngilizce*, p. 106; Babiniotis, *Λεξικό*, p. 278.
 ἀμανάτιον – “pawn, mortgage” ← Ott. *emanet* ← Pers. ← Arab. امانت *amānat*; cf.: Modern Gk. ἀμανάτι. – *LBG*, p. 63; Kriaras, s.v. αμάνετι; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 15.
 ἄμυ(ρ)τζανταράνται – troops under the command of ἄμυρτζαντάριος in the Empire of Trebizond; see ἄμυρτζαντάριος.
 ἄμυρτζαντάριος – “commander of bodyguards” ← Tk. ← Pers. *amīr-jāndār* (← Arab. *amīr* + Pers. جَانْدَار *jāndār* “bodyguard”). – cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:68 s.v. ἀμυράς.
 ἄτματζάς – “hawk” ← Ott. اَتْمَاجِه *atmaca*; cf.: Pontic Gk. ἄτματσάς and Modern Greek personal and family names Ἀτματζίδης and Ἀτματζάκης. – *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 61v: اَتْمَاجَان [atmājān], the word is given in accusative case: ἄτματζάν; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 135; Tompaides, *Ελληνικά επώνυμα*, p. 48; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English*, p. 22.
 βάμβαξ, βάμβάκιον – “cotton” ← dialectal Pers. پنبک *pambak* “cotton.” – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, cols 172–73; *LBG*, p. 262.
 βιρίμιον – “annual tribute” ← Ott. *verim* “return, output.” – *LBG*, p. 280; Redhouse, *Türkçe-İngilizce*, p. 1226.
 γιανίτζαρος, ιανίτζαρος – “janissary” ← Ott. *yeni çeri* “new soldiery.” – *LBG*, p. 317; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:110, 113.
 γιοργόν, γιουργόν (ἄλογο), adjective – “ambler (horse)” ← Ott. يورغه *yorga* (in *Asmā* for Turkish: يورغا). – *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 58: يَرْغُونُ الْوُغُو [yurghūn alūghū]; Kriaras, s.v. γιοργάς (but with the meaning

- “fast horse”); *TLG*: γιοργάδες (pl. of γιοργάς); Redhouse, *A Turkish and English*, p. 2213.
- γιούππα – “long skirt, women’s clothing” ← Arab. جبة *jubba*, cf.: Russ юбка. – *LBG*, pp. 318, 327.
- γουλάς – see κουλάς.
- γουνδής, γύνδοι – “soldiers, soldiery” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. جندي *jundī*. – *LBG*, pp. 328, 333.
- δεσποινάχατ – feminine honorary title ← Gk. δέσποινα “mistress, queen” + χατ (see Section 1 s.v.). – Cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:343–44.
- διαγο(υ)μάς – “loot, plunder” ← Tk. یغا *yaghmā*; cf.: Modern Gk. διαγούμισμα “plunder,” διαγουμεστής “plunderer,” διαγουμίζω/διαγουμάω “to plunder.” – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 290: διαγουμίζειν; *LBG*, p. 356; Kriaras, s.v. διαγουμάς, διαγουμίζω; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 76.
- διφθέριν, τεφτέρι – “account book” ← Ott. defter ← Pers. دفتر *daftar* ← Ancient Gk. διφθέρα; cf.: Pontic and Modern Gk. τεφτέριν, τεφτέρι. – Cf.: *LBG*, p. 399; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 2:372; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 365.
- ζάμβας – “jasmine” ← Tk. zambak ← Pers. زنبک *zanbak* or its Arabicized form زنبق *zanbaq*; the word has entered Greek through, apparently, Turkish mediation. In Modern Greek ζαμπάκι is a standard word for narcissus. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 456; *LBG*, p. 640; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 112.
- ζαρκοῦλ(ς) – “felt hat worn under some other headgear” ← Tk., Ott. külâh ← Pers. کلاه *kulâh* “hat,” in its Hellenized form κολάς which probably is a corrupted form of κουλάς (see also below ζαρκοῦλ(ς)). As to the first element of the word ζαρ it presents some difficulty. Seemingly, it is a corrupted form of the Ott. zîr “under” ← Pers. zîr “under, beneath” and therefore the hypothetical source might look like زیرکلاه **zîrkulâh* “under-hat” semantically implying “a hat (or likely a cap) worn under some other headgear.” **Zîrkulâh*, originally a Persian word, is not found in Persian and Turkish lexicons known to me; however, its existence is probable because it is constructed in complete accordance with a standard Persian model: زیرپوش *zîrpûsh* “underclothing,” زیرپیش *zîrpîch* “a small turban worn under a larger one,” زیرجامه *zîrjâma* “undergarment,” زیربند *zîrband* “girth,” and the like. The meaning “cap or hat worn under some other headgear” is confirmed by the Ottoman translation of ζαρκοῦλ(ς) in *Asmâ as-Börk* “Janissary hat.” – *Asmâ*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 54: زركلا [zarkulâ]; cf. *LBG*, p. 641; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:129.
- ζαρκοῦλ(ς), ζαρκοῦλ(ς) – “a person wearing very expensive headgear.” The word is found in Doukas’ narration describing the “communist” ideas of

the Turkish heretic followers of Börklüce Mustafa: “Then the followers of Börklüce Mustafa (for this was his name), confirming their regard for the false monk and extolling him as one greater than a prophet, set forth the doctrine that one must not cover the head with a hat [πῖλος], which they call a *zarkoula*, and that one must go through life wearing only a simple tunic and bareheaded, adhering to Christian beliefs rather than to Turkish.” Vasile Grecu, the editor and Romanian translator of Doukas’ *History*, translates ζαρκουλᾶς as *fes*, i.e. “fez” – a felt round cap without a visor. Konstantin Zhukov sees in ζαρκουλᾶς a dervish cap (Ott. *külâh*, *tâj*). Michel Balivet translates it as “bonnet de feutre.” Franz Babinger maintains that ζαρκουλᾶς and ζαρκολᾶς are synonyms and signify some kind of hat (“Mütze”). Trapp’s *Lexicon* does not distinguish ζαρκολᾶς and ζαρκουλᾶς registering them in the same entry “ζαρκουλᾶς”; moreover, the translation of it is given as “turban,” while, in Persian and Ottoman Turkish, **کلاه** *kulâh* means any kind of hat made of cloth, leather, felt, etc., but not a turban, that is, a headdress made by swathing a length of cloth around the head or around a caplike base. However, judging by the context of Doukas’ passage, ζαρκουλᾶς ← Ott. **زرین کلاه** *zerinkülâh* ← Pers. **زرین کلاه** *zarrînkulâh* means “a person wearing a golden headdress or that embroidered with gold” and, therefore, “a person of high rank and dignity.” The word meant not a particular kind of *headgear*, but *a person* wearing a kind of headgear. The latter meaning apparently was implied in Doukas’ text. According to the context, ζαρκουλᾶς means here a very expensive headdress, a symbol of wealth and worldly power and, consequently, arrogance. The general sense of the passage is that people should repudiate their pride and worldly concerns and devote themselves to a spiritual life. This is a commonplace requirement for Sufi adepts. Of course, Doukas reproduced this meaning in a somewhat simplified manner, probably owing to his misunderstanding of the contextual meaning of ζαρκουλᾶς. Doukas’ expertise in Oriental languages proved to be insufficient here, and he probably understood *zarrînkulâh* (which was unknown to him) as the more familiar term *zîrkulâh*. It is also remarkable that here Doukas treats ζαρκουλᾶς as a foreign word, thus acknowledging the problem in understanding it. – Doukas. *Ducas, Istoría turco-bizantina* (1341–1462), ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), p. 151.25–29, p. 179; Magoulias, Harry J. *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks by Doukas* (Detroit, 1975), pp. 120–21; *LBG*, p. 641; Dehkhodâ, *Loghatnâme*, s.v. “Zarrînkulâh”; Shukurov, Muhammad et al. (eds), *Farhangi Zaboni Tojiki*, 2 vols (Moscow, 1969), 1:442; Babinger, Franz. “Scheich Bedr ed-din, der Sohn des Richters von Simaw,” *Der Islam* 11 (1921), pp. 53–54; Balivet, Michel. *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans Ottomans. Vie du Cheikh*

Bedreddîn le 'Hallâj des Turcs' (1358/59–1416) (Istanbul, 1995), p. 73; Zhukov, Konstantin. “Börklüce Mustafa. Was He Another Mazdak?” in: *Syncretismes et heresies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIV^e–XVIII^e siècle)*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 2005), p. 125. On Börklüce Mustafa's movement see also: Imber, Colin. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power* (Houndmills and New York, 2002), p. 20.

ζαρταλού, ζαρταλούδι – “apricot” ← Pers. زردالو *zardālu* (cf. Ott. *zerdali*); cf. with Modern Greek ζαρταλούδι, ζερδελιά, ζερτελίν, etc. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 459; *LBG*, p. 641; *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 52v: زَرْدَالُودْش [zardālūdhash], the ending in *sigma* in *Asmā* is an obvious mistake; Redhouse, *Türkçe-İngilizce*, p. 1280; Demetrakos, Demetrios. *Μέγα Λεξικόν Όλης της Ελληνικής Γλώσσης*, 15 vols (Athens, 1953–58), p. 3185.

ζατρίκιον – “chess” ← Pers. شترنج *shatranj*; cf.: Modern Gk. ζατρίκι. – *LBG*, p. 641; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 112.

ζιλίν – “cover, mat” ← Ott. *zili/zilü* ← Pers. زیلو *zīlū*. – *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 49: زِيلِينَ [zīlīn]; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English*, p. 1023; Dehkhodā, *Loghatnâme*, s.v. زیلو.

ζουλάπι(ο)ν, τζουλάπι(ο)ν – “syrup” ← Arabicized جلاب *julāb* ← Pers. *gulāb* گلاب “rose-water, a purgative.” – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 465; *LBG*, p. 644; Kriaras, s.v.

θούμενον – capacity unit ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. ثمن *thumn* (1/8 *qadaḥ* = 0.94 liter). – *LBG*, p. 690.

ιανίτζαρος – see γιανίτζαρος.

καλάϊ – “tin” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. قلاي *qalāy*; cf.: Modern Gk. καλάϊ. – *LBG*, p. 742; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 139.

*καλχάν – “shield,” see Section 1 s.v. Καλχανάς.

καμουχάς, χαμουχάς – “brocade, damask” ← Pers. کمخا *kamkhā* → Ott. *kemha*; the Muslim Orient borrowed it from Chinese *gǐmhuā* of the same meaning; the earliest references to the word in Oriental sources date to the ninth century. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 564; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:148; *LBG*, p. 755; Redhouse, *Türkçe-İngilizce*, p. 636; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:602–06, no. 1644; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 143.

κοιλόν – capacity unit ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. كَيْل *kayl* (34.168 liters). – *LBG*, p. 845.

κότζιν – “ram” ← Ott. قوچ *koç*; cf.: Pontic Gk. κοτζ, γοτζ and Cappadocian

Gk. qóč, qóič. – *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 56: قُوچِينَ [qūjīn]; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικών λεξικόν*, 2:473; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” pp. 140, 142; Dawkins, Richard M. *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 683; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English*, p. 1481.

- κουλάς, κουλά, γουλάς – “tower, castle” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. قلعه *qal’a*; cf.: Modern Gk. κουλές. – *LBG*, p. 872; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:166; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 168.
- κυλιχάρτιον – a kind of expensive silken fabric ← Mg. *qoli xuartai*. – *LBG*, p. 896.
- μαῖμου – “monkey” ← Arab. ميمون *maymūn*; cf.: Modern Gk. μαῖμου. As shown by Maidhof, Gk. μαῖμου is not a reverse borrowing. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 852; *LBG*, p. 961, Kriaras, s.v.; Golden, “The Byzantine Greek Elements,” p. 106; *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 57: مأمو [māmū]; Maidhof, Adam. “Rückwanderer aus den islamitischen Sprachen im Neugriechischen (Smyrna und Umgebung),” *Glotta; Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache* 10 (1920), p. 14; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, 193.
- μαῖτάνιν – “square” and also “market place” ← Pers. میدان *maydān* “square, arena, parade ground”; cf.: Ott. *meydan*, Modern Gk. μεῖντάνι. – Kriaras, s.v.; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:180; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 201.
- μαστραπᾶς – “cup with handle” ← Tk. *mašrapa* ← Pers. ← Arab. مشربة *mashraba*. – *LBG*, p. 978; Kriaras, s.v. (μαστραπάς).
- μαχαγιάρη – “mohair” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. مخير *mukhayyar*, literally “chosen,” a kind of woollen cloth made of yarn from the hair of Angora goat; cf. Russ. *мышьяк*. – *LBG*, p. 981.
- μαχλάμιν – see μοχλόβιν.
- μουζάκιον – “boots” ← dialectal Pers. موزك *mūzak*, cf.: Arab. موزج *mawzaj* and Pers. موزه *mūza* ← Middle Pers. *mūzak* “boot, shoe”; cf. also with Byzantine derivations μουζακοπέτζωμα “soling of boots,” μουζακοπράτης “boot maker/seller.” – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 959; *LBG*, pp. 1046–47; Steingass, Francis J. *Arabic-English Dictionary* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 1082.
- μουρτάτος – “renegade” ← Tk. *murtad* ← Pers. ← Arab. مرتد *murtadd*. – *LBG*, p. 1048; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:197.
- μουχρούτιον, μουχρούτιν – “clay pot for wine or food” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. مِقْرَاة *miqrā(t)* “dish or cup for a guest.” The word survived in Pontic Greek (μουχρούτιν). – Karapotosoglou, Kostas. “Ποντιακά έτυμα,” *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 40 (1985), pp. 162–64 (etymology); Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικό λεξικό*, 2:64; Kriaras, s.v.; *LBG*, p. 1050; Steingass, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, p. 1041; cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:203.
- μοχλόβιν, μαχλάμιν – “embroidered veil, especially of wool” ← Ott. *makrama* and *mahrma* “handkerchief, kerchief, napkin” ← Pers. ← Arab. مِغْرَمَة *miqrama* or مِغْرَم *miqram*. – *Digenes Akrites* IV, 220, ed. with an introduction, transl. and comment John Mavrogordato (Oxford, 1956), and p. 79 n. 1200; *Digenes Akrites. Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen* VII, 3615, ed. Erich Trapp (Vienna, 1971); Kriaras, s.v. μαχλάμιν.

μώμιον – “mummy” ← Pers. *مومیا* *mūmiyā* (← Pers. *موم* *mūm* “wax, wax-candle”); cf.: Arab. *موميا* and Ott. *mumiya* ← Pers. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, Addenda, col. 138; Kriaras, s.v.; *LBG*, p. 1064.

νυκτοταλάλιος – “trade broker working at a night market”; see *ταλάλιος*. – Cf.: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:296–97; *LBG*, p. 1088.

ὀγκά – weight unit ← Tk. *اوکه* *okka* (= 1.283 kg). – *LBG*, p. 1102.

παζάριον, παζάριν – “market” ← Tk. *pazar* ← Pers. *بازار* *bāzār*; cf.: Modern Gk. *παζάρι*. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1077; Kriaras, s.v.; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:239; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 258; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικό λεξικόν*, 2:131.

παζαριώτης – “trader, merchant”; cf.: Modern Gk. *παζαριώτης*. – Lampros, “Τραπεζουντιακόν ωροσκόπιον,” p. 40.27; Kriaras, s.v.

παπούτζιον, παπούτζιν – “footgear” ← Tk. *pabuç* ← Pers. *پاپوش* *pāpūsh*. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, cols 1101–02; *LBG*, p. 1204; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικό λεξικόν*, 2:144.

πασ(ου)μάκιν – “shoes” or “kind of women’s shoes” ← Ott. *باشمق / پشمق* *başmak, pašmak*. As Peter Mackridge has pointed out to me, Greek speakers reanalyzed the –άκι ending in *πασουμάκι* as the Greek diminutive suffix, and thus assumed that the nondiminutive form should be *πασούμι*. – *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 54: *بَشْمَاكِينَ* [*bashmākīn*]; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, 269, Demetrakos, *Μέγα Λεξικόν*, p. 5578.

πούρτζιον – “tower” ← Tk. *burc* ← Pers. ← Arab. *برج* *burj* ← Gk. *πύργος*; cf.: Modern Gk. *μπούρτζι*. – *LBG*, p. 1361; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 222.

ρότλα – weight unit ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. *رطل* *ratl* (= 337.5 g) ← Aramaic form of Gr. *λίτρον*. – *LBG*, pp. 1501 and 1511 (*ρότουλον*).

σαλίβα – a kind of spear ← Arab. *ثلبة* *thaliba*. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1327; *LBG*, p. 1524; Lane, Edward W. *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols (London, 1863–93), 1:346–47.

σαμουντάνιν – “candlestick” ← Tk. *şamdan* ← Pers. *شامدان* *shāmdān*. – *LBG*, p. 1526.

σαμούριν – “sable coat” ← Ott. *سمور* *samur* “sable, sable fur”; cf.: Modern Greek *σαμούρι* “marten, sable.” – *LBG*, p. 1526; *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 54v: *سَمُورِينَ* [*samūrīn*]; Kriaras, s.v. *μακρινός* and *ολόμαυρος*; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 316.

σαντούκιον, σενδούκιον, σεντούκιν, σεντάκιν – “chest used for storage or shipping” ← Pers. *صندوق* *sandūq*, cf.: Ott. *sandık*; cf.: Russian *сундук*. In Modern Gk. it exists in the form *σεντούκι*. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, cols 1353–54; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:272–73; *LBG*, p. 1540; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 321.

σαραπτάρ – “cup bearer” ← Pers. شرابدار *sharābdār*.

ταβή – “quarrel, strife, hatred, abuse” and ποιῶ ταβήν “to quarrel, to conflict, to scold” ← Ott. *da’va etmek* “to claim, to demand” ← Pers. دعوی کردن یا داشتن *da’wā kardan (dāshtan)* ← Arab. دعوي *da’wā/da’wī* “claim.” – Lampsides, *Odysseus*. “Γλωσσικά σχόλια εις μεσαιωνικά κείμενα του Πόντου,” *Αρχεῖον Πόντου* 17 (1952), p. 230; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικόν λεξικόν*, 2:353; cf.: *LBG*, p. 1736: wrong meaning – “Vertrag”.

ταγαρτζούκι – “leather bag, knapsack” ← Ott. طغرجق *dağarcık*. In Modern Gk., there exists ταγάρι, a derivation from the same root ← Ott. طغر *dağar*. *Dağarcık* is a diminutive form of *dağar* “bag, bowl, vessel, etc.” As shown by Doerfer and Sevortyan, a view that ταγάρι (and respectively ταγαρτζούκι) derives from Middle Greek ταγάριον ← ταγή, which is common among Greek lexicologists, is erroneous. – *The King’s Dictionary: The Rasūlid Hexaglot – Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol*, ed. Peter Golden et al. (Leiden, 2000), p. 181.13; Golden, “Byzantine Greek Elements,” p. 79: δαγαρτζούκι; *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 60: طَغْرَجُوكِي [ṭağharjūkī]; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 2:512–19; Sevortian, *Ervand V. Этимологический словарь тюркских языков*, 7 vols (Moscow, 1974–2003), 3:120–22; cf.: Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, pp. 358–59, Babiniotis, *Λεξικό*, p. 1753.

τακάς, τεκάς – “goat” ← Tk. *teke*; cf.: τακάς in Cappadocian Gk. – *The King’s Dictionary: The Rasūlid Hexaglot*, p. 168.6; Golden, “The Byzantine Greek Elements,” p. 137; Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 670.

ταλάλιος – “market broker, dealer” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. دلال *dallāl*; cf.: Ott. *tellal*. – cf.: *LBG*, p. 1738; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:296–97.

τατᾶς – “grandfather, tutor” ← Tk. *dede* ددە; cf.: Modern Gk. τάτας. – *TLG*, s.v.; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:198; Dehkhodā, *Loghatnâme*, s.v. ددە; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 361.

*τζακά- – “fireplace” see Section 1 s.v. Τζακάς.

τζαμαντούνος, τζαμάνδος, τζαμανδᾶς – “suitcase, chest for storing clothes” ← Pers. جامه دان *jāmadān*; cf.: Ott. *camedan* and Russian чeмодан. – *Du Cange, Glossarium*, col. 1561.

τζαούσιος, τζαούσης, τζαβούς, τζαβούχη – “messenger,” a military rank ← Tk. چاوش *çavuş* ← Sogdian; cf.: Modern Gk. τσαούσης “sergeant.” – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:308–09; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:35–38; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 382.

τζαρούκιν – a kind of sandal ← Tk. چاروق *çarıuq*; cf.: Ott. *çarık*; the word was borrowed by Slavic languages in the Balkans and Russia, as well as by Armenian and Romanian; cf.: Modern Gk. τσαρούχι. – Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:23–25; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 383.

τζόλιν – “haircloth, burlap, gunny” being generally a kind of coarse cloth ← Tk.,

Ott. *çul*. – Redhouse, *Türkçe-İngilizce*, p. 262; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 387.

τζουλάπι(ο)ν – see ζουλάπι(ο)ν.

τζόχα, τζώχα – “broadcloth” ← Pers. چوخه/چوقه *jūqa/jūkha*; cf.: Ott. *cuha* ←

Pers. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1576 and “Addenda,” col. 187; *TLG*; Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 3:110–14 no. 1133 (the word is marked as being of unclear etymology); Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 388.

τοσ(έκ)ιν – “bed, mattress, sleeping place” ← Ott. دوشك *döşek* (the Turkish

word is given by *Asmā* as دشك). Τοσέκιν and similar words are recorded in the Pontic dialect only. – *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 49: دوشين

[*dūshin*]; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English*, p. 922; Radloff, *Опыт словаря*, 3:1818; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικόν λεξικόν*, 2:403; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 207.

τουκάνιν – “shop” ← Ott. *dükkân* ← Pers. دكان/دوكان *dūkān*; cf.: Cappadocian and Pontic Gk. τουκάν and τουκάνι. – *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939,

fol. 48v: دكانين [*dukānin*]; Dawkins, *Modern Greek*, p. 674; Symeonidis, “Lautlehre,” p. 207.

φίλιν – “elephant” ← Ott. فيل *fil* ← Pers.; cf.: Pontic Gk. φίλιν. – *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 55v: فيلين [*filin*]; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικόν λεξικόν*, 2:457.

*φουρνουτζί- – see Section 1 s.v. Φουρνουτζιώτης.

χαβιάρι, χαβιάριον, χαβάρα – “caviar” ← Pers. خاويار *khāwiyār*, cf.: Tk., Ott.

هاويار/خاويار *havyar*; cf.: Modern Greek χαβιάρι. – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, cols 1722–23; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 418.

χαζίριν, χανζύρ, χατζίρ – “pig, pork” ← Tk. ← Pers. ← Arab. خنزير *khinzīr* “pork”; its

derivatives: χανζύρισσα (she-pig) and χατζίροφαγούσα (fem. “pork eater”). – *Asmā*, BnF, supplément persan 939, fol. 56v: خيزرين [*khazīrīn*]).

χαμάλης – “porter, carrier” ← Tk. *hamal* ← Pers. ← Arab. حامل *hammāl*; cf.: Modern

Gk., Cappadocian Gk. χαμάλης. – Schreiner, Peter. *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican, 1991), pp. 110 (4/34), 186 (20/22); Beldicianu-Steinherr, Irène. “Review: *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana*, ed. P. Schreiner,” *Turcica* 26 (1994), p. 379; Dawkins, *Modern Greek*, p. 672; Papadopoulos, *Ιστορικόν λεξικόν*, 2:490; Andriotes, *Ετυμολογικό*, p. 419.

χαμουχᾶς – see καμουχᾶς.

χανακᾶς – “inn, house, or room for rent” ← Pers. خانقاه *khānaqāh* (the Arabicized

form of initial Pers. خانه گاه *khāna-gāh*) “house, dwelling, Sufi convent, hospice, inn”; cf.: Arm. քանութ [khanut] “shop.” – Laurent, Vitalien. “Deux chrysobulles inédits des empereurs de Trébizonde Alexis IV-Jean IV et David

II,” *Архивъ Понтова* 18 (1953), p. 265.116 and p. 278.

χαράτzion, χαράτζι – “land-tax” ← Ott. *harac* ← Pers. ← Arab. خراج *kharāj* (← Gk. χορηγία). – Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1732; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:340–41.

χατ – see δεσποινάχατ and Section 1 s.v.

χατοῦνα, χατοῦν, ~κατουν – “mistress, queen, etc.” ← Tk. خاتون *hatun* ← Sogdian; see also Section 1: Φατμάκατουν. – Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2:343–44; Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*, p. LXVIII.

χουρτζής – “bodyguard, bow-bearer” ← Tk.-Mg. *qurçi* “bodyguard, archer” (Mg. *qorçi* “archer, quiver-bearer” ← *qori* “quiver”). – Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische*, 1:429; Guiland, Rodolphe. *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1967), 1:531 n. 22; Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Les janissaires de l’empereur byzantin,” *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dedicata. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici. Series Minor* 19 (1982), p. 594; Savory, Roger M. “Kürçî,” in *EI*² 5:437a–b.

Epilogue

In the present study, I have sought to avoid an unwanted oversimplification that would be inevitable if I had constructed a unitary conceptual perspective. Many issues of Byzantine mental phenomena discussed in the book contain significant inner contradictions. Structural inconsistency in the Byzantine worldview was due to the exceptional variety and richness of past traditions (Attic city-states, Hellenistic imperial, Roman republican and imperial, Christian Semitic, etc.) which were subjected to incessant reassessment and modification in the centuries-long course of intellectual and spiritual evolution of the Byzantines. Unitary explanations often bring under a common denominator phenomena that are incomparable. My strategy was the opposite: explicitly to highlight, as far as possible, these contradictions in the Byzantine mind, which were never fully reconciled with one another, and to reveal the mechanisms of leveling them that allowed Byzantine culture to maintain its integrity and viability. The present book has discussed basic contradictions in the Byzantine image of the world relating to the Byzantine concepts of the Self and the Other, as well as the Byzantine reaction to contacts with the Turks in juridical, social, ideological, and cultural dimensions. Below there follow some observations of general and comparative character, which may outline the possible directions for further research.

1 The Turkic Minority

Late Byzantine sources clearly show the physical presence in the Byzantine world of Turks who settled there as subjects of the Byzantine emperors. These naturalized Turks may be described as a specific category of the Byzantine population, that is, Byzantine Turks. Byzantine Turks adopted Christianity and, as a rule, married local Greeks, Slavs, etc. The adoption of Christianity and resettlement on Byzantine territory placed them under the jurisdiction of Roman law and bestowed upon them the same rights and obligations as native Byzantines had. As a result of their naturalization, depending on circumstances, they could be given land, other properties, and rank in the state hierarchy. Most Byzantine Turks were currently or formerly military, as well as being current or former slaves. Second-generation barbarians, although culturally (not in any way legally) sometimes distinguished from locals by native Byzantines, in most cases were fully integrated into the local culture and spoke the Greek language. The majority of Turkic immigrants belonged to

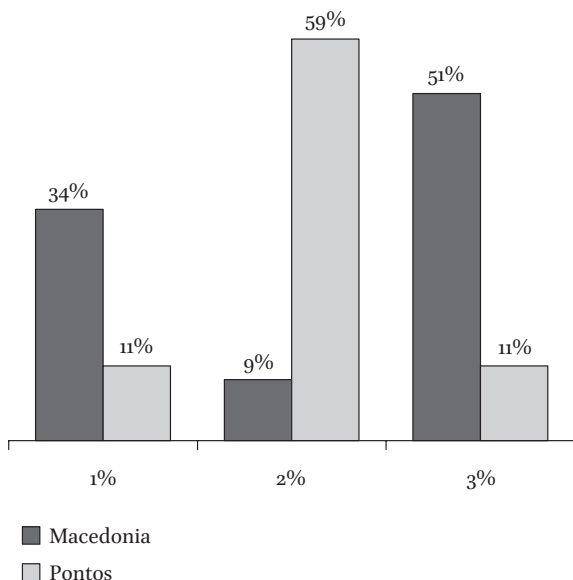
the middle and lower classes of society. These aspects were common to Middle and Late Byzantine times, reflecting basic models of naturalization of barbarians (whether west European Christian, Oriental Muslim, or pagan) in the Byzantine world. In these respects, the west Byzantine lands and the Pontos, after 1204, differed little from each other.

2 Regional Features

However, the west Byzantine and Pontic paradigms of Turkic presence exhibit some important differences. There are, first, differences in the distribution of Turkic immigrants among the social scale of society. To draw direct comparisons between the quantitative indicators of the entire west Byzantine lands and the Byzantine Pontos would not be advisable. More logical would be to compare isometric regions, such as, for instance, the central parts of the Byzantine Pontos and Macedonia where population density, numbers of immigrants, and territorial size were comparable. These similarities are amplified by the fact that both regions were predominantly agrarian, with only a single major urban center (respectively, Trebizond and Thessalonike) and several medium-sized and small cities. There are five major aspects in which can be noticed a substantial difference in the west and the east Byzantine models of handling the Turkic newcomers.

1. The Pontic list of Asian residents records a much lower number of destitute commoners and *paroikoi* (usually peasants of lower social and property status). There is one more difference: Macedonia represents almost no middle-class property-owners, merchants, intellectuals, or clerics among the Orientals, while in the Pontos this group was the most numerous. A similar significant difference can be seen in the proportion of upper-class Asians (nobility, high bureaucracy, and with some reservations *pronoïars*): they were plentiful in Macedonia and very few in the Pontos (see Table 15).

From this comparison one may come to a number of important conclusions and hypotheses. Macedonian society was open to noble Turks (members of the ruling houses, court nobility, Turkish commanders who had defected) to a greater extent than the Pontos. This is perhaps due to the fact that the Palaiologoi used the Turkic mercenaries immeasurably more than did the Grand Komnenoi. The continuous influx of Turks into the Byzantine military machine as a result of the reliance of west Byzantine authorities on Turkic manpower led to the formation of a layer of nobility and senior military commanders of Turkic origin. As a result, several Turkic families appeared at the

TABLE 15 *Social standing of the Byzantine Turks*

1. Nobility, *pronoians*, and large property-owners
2. Middle-class property-owners, merchants, intellectuals, and clerics
3. *Paroikoi*, small-holders, and slaves

highest level of the social hierarchy (the Sultanoi, the Melikai), and even more Turks joined the middle layer of the aristocracy (the Gazedes, the Iagoupai, the Masgidades, the Anataulai).

In the Empire of Trebizond, there were no truly noble families among Turkic immigrants compared to the influence of the powerful Greek and Laz clans of the Scholarioi, Doranitai, Kabatzitai, Tzanichitai, etc. Trebizond seems to have been less dependent on the services of Turkish mercenaries, relying mostly on autochthonous manpower. It was only the palace guard units in Trebizond (ἀμυρτζανταράνται and χουρτζιρίωται) that had a genetic link with Turkic mercenaries. The commanders of these units, however, were Greek or Laz.

Trapezuntine society was much more corporate and clannish than was the west Byzantine one. Aristocratic clans in the Pontos maintained their unity for many generations and acted as a consolidated force in political struggles. These clans sometimes actually entered into an alliance against the imperial power, as they sometimes fought each other for more influence. It was a sort of a feudal clan system. The Grand Komnenoi followed a similar model, acting as an aristocratic family among other aristocratic clans, with the difference

being a matter of their imperial charisma. Due to more of a clan structure in the Pontic elite, vertical mobility in the highest stratum of society was limited in the Pontos, whereas in west Byzantine lands a civil society model prevailed, which may explain the relative ease with which Turkic immigrants penetrated the Palaiologan aristocracy.

The discrepancy in the numbers of middle- and lower-class Asians can be explained by the fact that generally Macedonian society was somewhat more closed to Turkic commoners and slaves compared to the Byzantine Pontos. Turks who settled in Macedonia occupied lower positions than the aboriginal population. They were often *paroikoi*, with ways to accomplish acculturation and entry into the category of “intellectuals” (clergy, monks, scribes) less accessible to them and their descendants. It seems that the Hellenization standards for the Turkic newcomers were higher and stricter in the Lascarid and Palaiologan empires than in the Grand Komnenian Pontos. West Byzantine society, probably, expected deeper cultural assimilation with the dominant population from the Turkic newcomers. It was more difficult for a Turkic immigrant commoner to achieve social success and join the middle-class rural and urban population.

By contrast, the Pontic Asian settlers were rarely found in the lower strata of society. They or at least their descendants were able to enter the middle-class bureaucracy and clergy. In this sense, probably, the Grand Komnenoi in the Pontos were more tolerant of cultural and mental Otherness of the Turkic newcomers. Another feature of the middle-class Asian immigrant experience in Pontic Matzouka – one that was atypical in the west Byzantine lands – was that a number of Asian immigrant “peasant dynasties” and their descendants kept their Oriental bynames through generations. Asian immigrants in the Pontos were generally more numerous and more successful socially, while lower- and middle-class immigrants in Macedonia probably had to struggle to disguise their Asian ancestry.

To sum up, paradoxically, Macedonian society, being generally more closed to foreigners, demonstrated exceptional openness in the part of noble Turkic newcomers, while, in Pontic society, which was generally more tolerant, the small circle of patrimonial aristocracy was almost inaccessible to foreigners.

2. In the Balkans, the height of influx of both Anatolian and Qipchaq Turks took place at the end of the thirteenth century and the first decades of the fourteenth century. The Black Death affected the Asian settlers dramatically, and their numbers declined abruptly in the second half of the fourteenth century. Pontic sources indicate that there was an increase in the influx of Turks in the thirteenth century, and a reduction beginning in the fourteenth century, but an increase again in the first half of the fifteenth century. The reduction

in the inflow of Turks into the Palaiologan empire was due to the collapse of the *pronoia* system and a general impoverishment of the imperial treasury. The Empire of Trebizond, by contrast, had not undergone such a catastrophic transformation in the economy and, with the rise of the Ottoman threat at the turn of the fifteenth century, Trebizond activated alliances with its immediate Muslim neighbors in eastern Anatolia making its territory accessible to Asian newcomers.

3. The Byzantines had no particular preference among the barbarians. The boundaries of the Byzantine world were permeable to all newcomers. Ethnically, however, most registered Turkic incomers originated from Anatolia. The opportunity to integrate successfully into Byzantine society was enhanced for those who understood and accepted the local rules. For this reason, throughout the history of Byzantine civilization newcomers from the Arab, Persian, and Turkic eastern Mediterranean, because of their greater capacity for cultural adaptation, established themselves in Byzantine society and culture with more ease and in greater quantities than Turks and Mongols from the North. This was equally the case for both west and Pontic Byzantine societies. Some essential differences in the ethnic composition of Oriental immigrants, however, can be noted. In the west Byzantine lands, Cumans were numerically predominant only in northwestern Macedonia. In other regions, Anatolian and Qipchaq elements were mixed but with Anatolians numerically prevalent. Turkic immigrants in west Byzantine lands resettled mainly in rural areas remote from major strategic centers. The Byzantine Pontos hosted in the same manner immigrants from both Anatolian and the northern Black Sea Turks. In addition, the Pontic Asian immigrants included a noticeable layer of Iranians and Kurds who were absent in the western part of the Byzantine world. Arabs and Mongols lived in both the Byzantine Balkans and the Pontos, but the Mongols were more numerous in Trebizond, while the Arabs were more frequent in the Balkans. These exceptions are due to traditional trade and political ties to the empires of the Palaiologoi and the Grand Komnenoi.

4. The territory of the Empire of Trebizond, to a greater extent than the west Byzantine lands, was open to the resettlement of Turkic nomads. The agricultural regions of western Anatolia and the Balkans housed almost exclusively Turkic settled immigrants. Only distant and desolate Dobrudja in ca. 1262–63 was colonized by nomads from Anatolia, but Byzantine control over that area is unlikely to have extended beyond the turn of the fourteenth century.

5. Byzantine Turks were usually subjected to assimilation through Christianization and a gradual transition to the Greek language. For the Laskarid and Palaiologan periods, outside the akritic borderland zones, we know of not a single case of the retentions of original religious identity (whether Muslim or

pagan) by individual incomers or groups of eastern and northern barbarians. Assimilation mechanisms in the west Byzantine areas were extremely effective. All subjects of the empire professed Orthodox Christianity. In this regard, Late Byzantium exhibited continuity with Byzantine tradition. These mechanisms for assimilation in Palaiologan Byzantium remained operative up to the very end of the empire, with Turks adopting Christianity and assimilating to local habits and culture. The Byzantine Pontos in this respect was somewhat different. In the fifteenth century, some Asians who settled in the Byzantine Pontos may have continued secretly to maintain their Muslim identity. The presence in the Pontos of crypto-Muslims indicates an insufficient saturation of Christianization and, probably, looser control by church authorities over heterodox settlers. This difference can be accounted for by the ethnic fragmentation of the Byzantine Pontos, which was populated not only by Greeks but by a significant number of Kartvelians (whose level of Christianization may not always have correspond[▲] to traditional Byzantine standards), as well as by Armenian Monophysites. Furthermore, the number of Asian immigrants in the Pontos exceeded those in west Byzantium by three or four times. Confessional and ethnic fragmentation, as well as corporatism of the society, probably prevented a rapid and deep Christianization of aliens in the Pontos.

3 Cultural Transformation

Recently Anthony Kaldellis has asserted that “The Turks, moreover, were a purely military problem, whereas the Latins posed a major ideological challenge to Byzantine society, for they too were Christian and claimed the Roman legacy for themselves as well.”¹ However, as shown in this study, the Turkic presence inside the Byzantine world instigated, directly and indirectly, profound cultural transformations. The presence in Byzantine territories of numerous linguistically influential groups of speakers of the Turkic language (or languages) gradually changed the linguistic as well as the Byzantine cultural sphere. The Turkic subjects of Byzantine rulers continued to speak the Turkic language, and in some Byzantine regions there appeared a significant bilingual (Greek- and Turkic-speaking) population.

1 Kaldellis, Anthony. *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition (Greek Culture in the Roman World)* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 295.

The presence of a Turkic minority in Byzantine society, along with the external pressure of Turkic states, gave rise to secondary transformations. Signs of Turkification can be attested in the military sphere, in the palace realm, and in urban and rural everyday life as reflected by the appearance of new Turkic terminology and the displacement of old Greek denominations by Turkic neologisms. Moreover, some Byzantines acquired enough Turkic to speak with Turks in their own language, a phenomenon that became more prominent toward the end of the Byzantine world.

The Oriental influence on Greek society with all its cultural consequences began as an early manifestation of Turkic ethnic expansion and gradually increased throughout the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The meaning and consequences of the Greek-Turkic ethnic and cultural “interchange” in the Late Byzantine period should be seen in a historical perspective. The capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, as well as the fall of Trebizond in 1461, had already been prepared by Turkicizing trends in Byzantine society. A Turkic presence within Greek cultural space represents a particular *latent stage* of Turkic expansion, which eventually asserted itself in the political defeat of the Byzantine world and subsequent waves of Turkification.

The cultural changes caused by this latent Turkification can be described not as a consequence of “mutually beneficial cultural exchange,” but rather as one of a number of destructive factors that implicitly undermined Byzantine self-identity and modified traditional Byzantine mental patterns. A critical mass in cultural interchange beyond reciprocity often results in the destruction of one culture by another. The physical and cultural penetration of the Turks into Byzantium, once it exceeded a certain limit, began the active and total transformation of the recipient Byzantine substratum.

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Abbreviations

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